

Breifny Antiquarian and
Historical Society

Journal

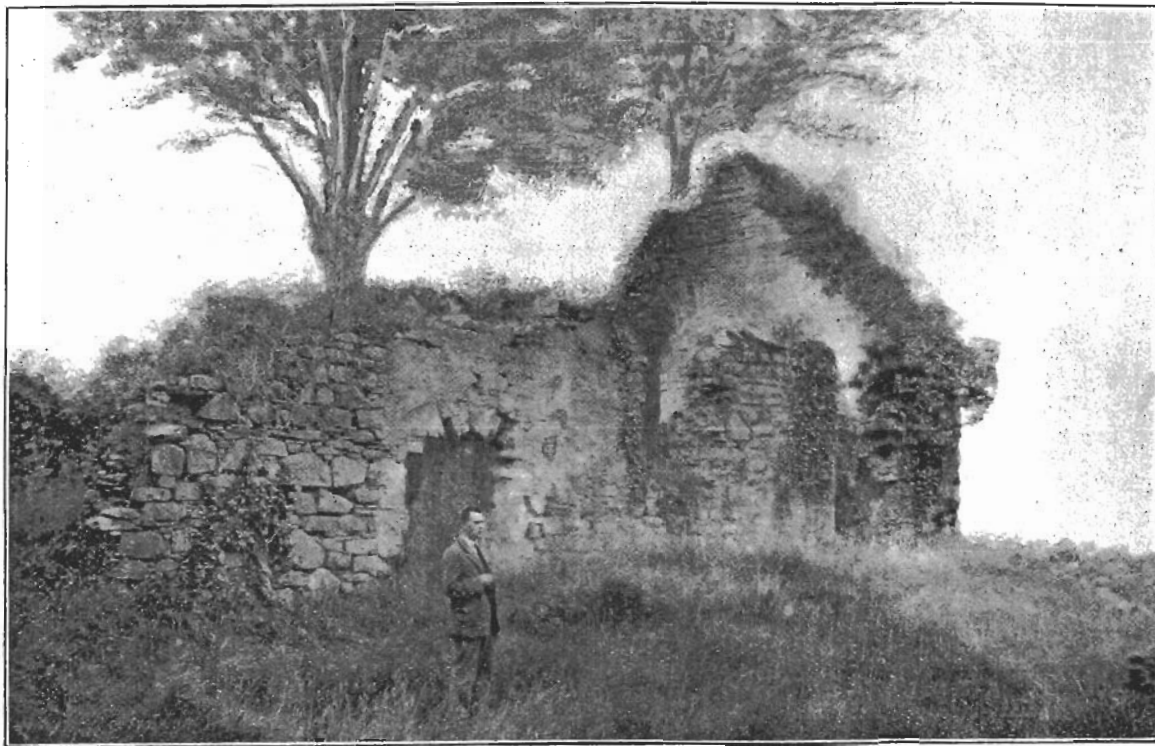
1927.



THE CARRICKACROY DOLMEN.

VOL. III.

No. I.



THE RUINED CHURCH OF KILDRUMFERTAN IN 1927.

PHOTO BY]

[REV. P. CONWAY, MAGHERA.

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and
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Report of Meetings.

FOURTEENTH GENERAL MEETING.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ANNUAL MEETING, 1927.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

FIFTEENTH GENERAL MEETING.

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

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

The following papers were submitted to the meeting :—

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

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

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

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

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

The exhibits were as follows :—

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

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

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

SIXTEENTH GENERAL MEETING.

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

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

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

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

The following Papers were read and discussed :—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE PARISHES OF CROSSERLOUGH AND KILDRUMFERTAN,

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

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

I.—CIVIL HISTORY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* This translation is a literal one.

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

NATIVE RULERS IN THE 16TH CENTURY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

† *Ibid.*, 31st October, 1538.

‡ *Ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1540.

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

.....*

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

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

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

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

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

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

† *Ibid.*, 1562, 5 Elizabeth.

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

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

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

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

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

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

* *Ibid.*, 1562.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The sign manual + of O'REIGLYE.

"EDMUND O'REIGLYE'S sign manual +.

"PHILIP O'RAILL.

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

"This is a true copy.—H. SYDNEY."*

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

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

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

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

‡ *Ibid.*, 1576, p. 92.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ *Ibid.*, 1579, p. 202.

† *Ibid.*, 1579, p. 195.

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

‡ *Ibid.*, 1579, p. 197.

¶ *Ibid.*, 1581, p. 320.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ *Ibid.*, 1583, p. 453.

§ *Ibid.*, 1583, p. 454.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† *Ibid.*, 1583, p. 468.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1583, p. 477.

§ *Ibid.*, 1584, p. 517.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ *Ibid.*, 1585, p. 559.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1586 (19 Jan.)

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

KILLNECROTT.—Turlagh M’Bryen O’Lynce.

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

1586 (June 12).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GRADEM.—Patr. M'Teig M'Owen O'Lynce.

FYNWEY.—Tirlagh M'Teig O'Lynce.

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

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

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

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

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

KILLNECROTTA.—Molaughlin M'Cormock O'Lynce.

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

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

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

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

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

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

DUTRASHLANE [Duffcastle].—Wm. Istroky.

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

FYNWEY.—[] M'Ustion O'Lynce.

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

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

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

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

* In Kilbride Parish.

† In Ballintemple Parish.

‡ In Denn Parish.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1590 (8 Dec.).

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

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

* In Kilbride Parish.

§ In Ballymachugh Parish.

† In Ballintemple Parish.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† *Ibid.*, 1587, p. 264.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1587, p. 268.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† *Fiants*, 16 Jan., xxx. Eliz.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† *Ibid.*, 1594, p. 93.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1595, p. 112.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† *Ibid.*, 1596, p. 140.

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

§ *Ibid.*, 1596, p. 141.

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

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

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

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

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

To which the Commissioners replied :—

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

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

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

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

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

† *Ibid.*, 1596, p. 146.

‡ *Ibid.*, 1596, pp. 146-147.

§ *Ibid.*, 1596, p. 165.

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

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

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

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

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

departed from his allegiance [and] traitorously adhered to

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

† *Ibid., 1596, p. 172.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

* *Patent Rolls*, 4 James I.

† *Patent Rolls*, 11 James I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE 17TH CENTURY: DECLINE OF NATIVE POWER.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† *Patent Rolls, 5 James I.*

‡ *Vide Journal, Vol. I, p. 310.*

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

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

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

° *Ibid., 23 June, XLIV, Eliz.*

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

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

DR. HUGH O'REILLY.

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

DR. EDMUND O'REILLY.

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

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

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

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

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

MYLES THE SLASHER.

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

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

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

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

* * * *

He fought till the dead and the dying
Heaped high on the battlements lay.
He fell; but the foot of a foeman
Passed not o'er the Bridge of Finea.

—*Popular Ballad.*

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

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

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

THE BATTLE OF FINEA (1644).

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

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

shovels, pickaxes and spades, with plenty of ammunition.

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

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

SIR JOHN O'REILLY'S DESCENDANTS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

MYLES'S DESCENDANTS.

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

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

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

† Vide *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 66.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE JACOBEBAN GRANTS.

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

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

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

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

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

† *Patent Rolls*, 1 James I.

‡ *Ibid.*, 2 James I.

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

|| In Kilbride parish.

¶ In Castlerahan parish.

° In Loughtee barony.

∴ *Patent Rolls*, 7 James I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 303.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE DOWN SURVEY: CROSSERLOUGH IN 1641.

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

* *Patent Rolls*, 9 James I.

† Kilmore parish.

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

§ Denn parish.

¶ *Inquis: Ultonia*, 1629.

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

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

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

CROSSERLOUGH PARISH.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SIR,

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

Your very obedient servant,
 PIERCE MORTON.

Kilnacrott,
 25th May, 1836.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

KILLDRUMFERTAN PARISH *alias* CROSSERLOGH.
CLONMOGHAN BARONY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C. + 5. DRUMON.—“Dromion” (P.M.).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* "Agharina" (P.M.).

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE COMMONWEALTH GRANTS.

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

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

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

CROSSERLOGH PARISH, CASTLERAHAN BARONY.

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

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

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

				A.	R.	P.			
	44B.	Of the same	...	85	3	24	Unprofitable.		
	44b.	Of the same	...	23	0	0	Unprofitable.		
								53	0 3
	45	Kenagh	... ..	117	3	8			
								64	3 5
	46	Finnoy	... ..	149	0	32		149	0 32
JAMES	46b.	Of the same	...	16	0	2	Unprofitable.		
NUGENT,	46B.	Of the same	...	23	0	0	Unprofitable.		
Irish									
Papist.									
PHILLIP	47	Drumboe	... ..	126	0	0		126	0 0
REILLY,	47R.	Of the same	...	13	0	32	Unprofitable.		
Irish									
Papist.									
JOHN									
REILLY,	48	Curraghabreedy	... ..	59	2	16		59	2 16
Irish									
Papist.									
B. ✠	49	Crosserlogh	... ..	256	2	0		256	2 0
Church									
Land.	49R.	Of the same	...	17	3	8	Unprofitable.		
WILLIAM									
BEDELL,	49 (2)	Part of Crosserlogh	...	80	2	32		80	2 32
Bishop of									
Killmore.	M.	Of the same	...	17	0	0	Unprofitable.		

Henry Pallmer, by cert. 4 May, 1666. R. 1, p. 397.

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

Henry Pallmer, by cert. as above.

Henry Pallmer, by cert. as above.

Lord Massarene, by cert. as above.

B. ✠.

Bishops' Land.

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

KILLDRUMFERTAN PARISH, *alias* CROSSERLOGH, CLONMOGHAN BARONY.

PHILLIP MAC EDMD. O'RELY.	}	90	}	Clonmult	45	3	32	}	38	0	32	}	Richard Lewis, by cert. 6 July, 1666. R. 2, p. 119.
											7		3
	}	91	}	Drumkilly	126	2	0	}	4	0	0	}	William Stephens, by cert. 2 Nov., 1666. R. 4, p. 458.
											122		2

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

THE SIX POLES OF KILLDRUMFERTAN, viz. :—

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

WESTMEATH.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ *Patent Rolls*, 9 James I.

§ *Pynnar's Survey*, 1619.

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

NATIVE OWNERS IN 1664 : THE HEARTH TAX ROLLS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

† *Vide Journal*, Vol. I, p. 41.

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

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

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

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

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

CROSSERLOGH PARISH.

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

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

SALLAGHILL.—Thomas O'Boiland.

DYN.—Hugh Magartry, and ——— ‡ widdow.

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

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

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

CONAGHER.—Thomas Smith.

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

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

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

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

‡ Blank in original.

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

Total 78 Hearths : †VII : S. XVI.

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

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

* Blank in original.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ Vide *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 311.

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

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

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

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

II. ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

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

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

* *Political Anatomy*, p. 9.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, V Martii.

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

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

|| *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 716.

¶ Edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. XVII.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ *Ogygia seu Rerum Hibernicarum Chronologia*—1685,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ *Patent Rolls*, 10 James I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ *Patent Rolls*, 11 James I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

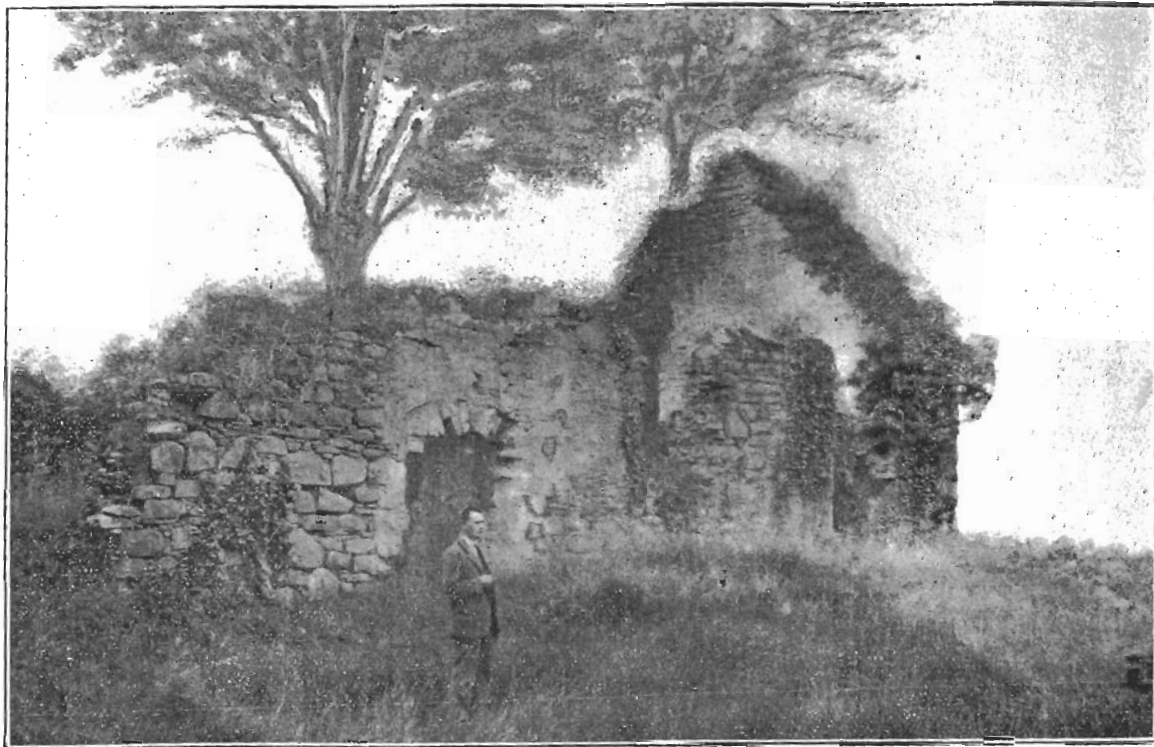
* Evidently this island, in early times, belonged to Co. Cavan, as also did the entire Loch Sheelin,

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

KILDRUMFERTAN: EXISTING RUINS AND TOMBS.

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

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



THE RUINED CHURCH OF KILDRUMFERTAN IN 1927.

PHOTO BY]

[REV. P. CONWAY, MAGHERA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CROSSERLOUGH: RUINS AND TOMBS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MASSROCKS AND CHURCHES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In 1882 a chapel of ease was erected in Kilnaleck.

SUCCESSION OF PASTORS.

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

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

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

† *Vide Journal*, Vol. I, p. 51.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† *Ibid.*, p. 3.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ *Vide Journal*, Vol. II, p. 308.

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

In Memoria eterna erit Justus
Ab auditione mala non timebis.

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

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

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

Requiescat in Pace.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Very Rev. Hugh Brady succeeded in 1909.

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

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

LIST OF KILDRUMFERTAN AND CROSSERLOUGH
PARISH PRIESTS.

KILDRUMFERTAN.

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

KILDRUMFERTAN AND CROSSERLOUGH.

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

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

PHILIP O'CONNELL.

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

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

[Read 26th May, 1927.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† *Ibid.*, Carew MSS., 1606, p. 18.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ *Ibid*, p. 46.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Moran, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Renehan, *Collections*, p. 160.

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

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

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

* See History of Kildrumfertan in this *Journal*.

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

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

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

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

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

* *Collections*, pp. 100-103,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

† Stuart's *Armagh*, pp. 267-268.

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

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

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

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

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

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

§ *Hibernia Dominicana*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RICHARD BRADY,

The Coming of the Ui-Briuin

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The title of every individual *Coiced* varied oftentimes in Gaelic writings. Thus the western *Coiced*° was sometimes called *Coiced*

* See Thurneysen, *Die Irische Helden und Koenigsage*, p. 76.

† Many of the fundamental texts will be found in Prof. O'Maille's Study of *Medb Chruachna*, in Vol. XVII of *Zeit. fur Celt. Philologie*. I insert this note at the last moment, for my own Paper was written nearly a year before the 1927 Zeitschrift reached me (in January, 1928).

‡ "Tres præcipuæ fuerunt familiae, viz. Gamanradii, Firraibii, et Tuatha-taidhen; a quibus Connactia in ternas Connactias distincta, et hi Fir-Olnegmact etiam sunt appellati." (Ogygia, p. 175). See also Keating, II, p. 184. O'Flaherty, *more Scotico*, enlarges Olnegmact into Fir-Olnegmact.

§ *Ibidem*.

|| This document is in the *Book of Ballymote* (Facsimile Copy), pp. 9 and 10. The manuscript has been edited, with a translation, by Dr. B. MacCarthy in the Todd Lectures Series of R. I. Academy, Vol. III, pp. 278-286.

¶ *Coiced* used as a substantive, to mean a fifth-part, becomes *coicid* in the gen. sing. and in the nom. and acc. plur.

° This word is commonly rendered in English by province; but the term *province* (derived from the Latin *provincia*) does not adequately convey the meaning of *Coiced*.

n-Olnegmact, sometimes Coiced n-Aillello (the Coiced of Ailill), sometimes Coiced Medba (the Coiced of Medb), and sometimes Coiced Cruachna (the Coiced of Cruachan).* The fact that the coiced names meant by these several names were all one and the same becomes evident when we recall that Ailill and Medb were husband and wife, that they ruled from Cruachan, and that they claimed to be chief sovereigns of the Olnegmact. Geoffrey Keating, writing in the 17th century, uses the expression Cuigead (Coiced) Chonnacht; but, in doing so, he takes liberties both with history and chronology. The Connachta, like the Eoghanachta, emerged among the old populations of Ireland as a convulsive force whose dynamic effects were shown in the disintegration of the Coiced, and the disruption of the governments that had sustained their precarious equilibrium. Under the concurrent impacts of Eoghanachta and Connachta the political structure of Erin, as framed in the age of heroes, collapsed, bringing down in its fall the races whose deeds shine with an unfading lustre through the dawn of our history.

The home-kingdom of the Connachta included Breifne, because the Ui-Briuin of Breifne were themselves a pushful arm of the Connachta. But how did Breifne stand in relation to the Olnegmact? The question leads into a very obscure corner of our proto-history; but the inquiry cannot be shirked if an attempt is to be made at arranging the historical background of Breifne in some sort of orderly perspective. A few fragments of Annals that we happen to possess fortunately shed a faint light on the era of Ailill and Medb. But for that period our chief sources of guidance consist in gossipy scraps of information, rather appetising than satisfying—often, indeed, repelling by their mutual contradictions—which a diligent searcher may glean from the pages of our heroic tales. In the Chronicle already cited from the Book of Ballymote Medb's husband is styled Ailill MacMata. In the Annals of Tigernach his sobriquet is MacMagag.† The particular Magu, or Mata, in question was a lady who, as Mata of Muirese,‡ attained a great notoriety in the generation preceding that of the still more notorious Medb.

Ailill and Medb were intruders among the Olnegmact; and one cannot help wondering by what artful means they managed to set up, and to maintain themselves, in Cruachan. The story, as summarised by O'Flaherty from the most reputable originals at his command—and it is certain that, with the single exception of his great contemporary Dubhald MacFirbis, no man of his day had a better manuscript equipment for studying the long-vanished Olnegmact—may be condensed as follows:—

* See Hogan's *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, pp. 79, 80.

† *Revue Celtique*, XVI. The form used in O'Conor's Edition of these Annals is Madach (*Rev. Script. Hib.* II, p. 12).

‡ "Magach porro (quibusdam Mata) de Muresca" *Ogygia*, p. 269.

Shortly before the commencement of our era the three constituent populations of the Olnegmact had for kings, respectively, Fidach macFeig, who governed the Fir Craibe ; Eochaid Allat, who swayed in Irros Domnann ; and Tinni MacConrach, who ruled the Tuatha Taiden.* Fidach's kingdom lay at the south side, and reached to the Shannon ; Eochaid's stretched along the coast, from Galway Bay to the river Drowse ; while Tinni's patrimony not alone covered the plain of Roscommon, but crossed the Shannon and extended well into the present Leinster. The superior fertility of Tinni's lands naturally ensured him precedence among the triumvirs ; and from his fortress of Cruachan he exercised some degree of suzerainty over all the Olnegmact. In virtue of this power he advanced Mata of Muirese's son, Ailill Finn, to the headship of the Gamanraide, when that office became vacant by the death of Eochaid Allat.

Mata, or Magu,† was herself of the Gamanraide, being the daughter of another Ailill, a Fir Domnann chief. Mata begot a numerous progeny ; and some of her sons, e.g., the famous Cet MacMagach, ranked among the foremost champions of their age. As wife of Ross Ruadh, king of Leinster, Mata became also the mother of Cairbre Nia Fer, Finn File—from whom descended the subsequent line of Leinster kings—and Ailill, sometimes styled Ailill Mor, the husband of Medb.

Medb, like Mata, had many husbands in her time,‡ among them being Conor MacNessa, and Tinni MacConrach, over-king of the Olnegmact. When Tinni disappeared she married Ailill, son of Mata and of Ross Ruadh ; and through this union Ailill became joint sovereign with Medb of the Olnegmact Coiced. Such is the account that has been foisted on us by early savants of the Gaels in explanation of the mode whereby Medb and Ailill got established at Cruachan. Century after century the legend has been trustfully rehearsed and accepted, for no Gaelic historian would have troubled to hunt up diverse testimonies for the purpose of detailed comparison, or to analyse the texts at his disposal with a view to testing the credibility of their contents. The Gaelic Doctor of History took the material that he knew, or liked, best—and that, as a rule, was the material most in favour in his own school or learned circle—redacted it by the help of his accumulated store of traditions, and set out the emended product with the tone of finality that becomes an authoritative narration. The same time-honoured method was faithfully copied by Geoffrey Keating ; and it has been adhered to, with but little modification, by Keating's disciples, that is to say, by the great majority of the purveyors of early Gaelic history from his time

* See O'Flaherty and Keating, *locis citatis*.

† *Magach* is the genitive of *Magu*.

‡ Her character will bear exhibition in O'Flaherty's Latin better than in English : " *virago potens, longæva, ac libidinibus imprimis famosa* " (*Ogygia*, p. 267).

to the present day. We persist, therefore, in giving credence to spurious fosterings, dowry-bestowals, eric-impositions, and marriage alliances, as the immediate causes of epoch-marking events—dynastic revolutions, extensive acquisitions of territory, and the like—for the reason that the influence of reiterated indoctrination has made us unsuspecting of the intrinsic hollowness of such fictions.

In the *Cath Boinde* Tale ("Battle of the Boyne")* Mata is introduced as a man, the son of an Ernai chief named Sraibcend MacNiuil, and of Eile, a daughter of Eochaid Feidlech. Medb herself, it will be remembered, was a daughter of the same Eochaid; and, according to the *Cath Boinde*,† Conor MacNessa was Medb's first husband. It is furthermore told that Medb deserted Conor,‡ and that the long-protracted war between Ulster and Connacht was first provoked by this betrayal, not—as the Ulster epics affirm—by the seizure of Donn, the famous Cuailgne bull. When the *Cath Boinde* Tale opens the Olnegmact over-king is "Tindi mac Conrach Cais do Domnandchaib," i.e., Tinne, son of 'Conra (Cas), of the Domnandchaigh. It is well worth while noting that the people whom the *Leabhar Gabhala* and Keating—and, for that matter, all Gaelic chroniclers and historians—style Fir Domnann, retain in this ancient saga the more primitive name of Domnandchaigh. In another old battle-tale of the heroic cycle§ the same appellative appears as Domnandaid (=Domnandaigh); while corroboration of O'Flaherty's census of the major component-states of the Olnegmact is there specifically supplied. In *Cath Airtig* the composite population is styled *Fir Ol nEgmacht*, and the fact is attested that "the three Connachts" (*teora Connachta*) comprehended the Domnandaid, the Fir Craibe and the Tuatha Taidhen.

Before returning to that individual of doubtful sex who lives in legendary history as Mata, or Magu, I may be permitted to register here one or two important conclusions that issue, by no means dubiously, from the data which I have just set down. In the first place, we are enabled to perceive in the combination

* This battle was fought nearly 17 centuries before William of Orange defeated James II at the Boyne. The old tale, like the *Tain Bo Flidais*, is a western saga—one of the very few sagas of the Olnegmact that have survived.

† This Tale has been edited and translated by Joseph O'Neill in *Eriu*, Vol. II. (See p. 175 *et seq.*)

‡ Even a contemporary would have some difficulty in reckoning the number of Conor's wives. Four of them were daughters of the reputed monarch, Eochaid Feidlech.

§ *Cath Airtig* ("The Battle of Airtech"): edited and translated by R. I. Best in *Eriu*, Vol. VIII. (See p. 176). For the consideration of those who take the name "Medb" to be a political symbol (e.g., Prof. O'Maille, *loc. cit.*) I would note that Cartismandua, the contemporary queen of the British Brigantes, was certainly not a *symbol*, and that her portrait, as sketched by the historian Tacitus, presents marked features of resemblance to that of Medb, as depicted in our heroic tales.

Fir Domnann another instance of a practice to which Gaelic professors were immoderately addicted in mediæval, and indeed in earlier, times, that namely of associating an ornamental *Fir* with primitive folk-names. In previous papers I have shown that *Fir Gaileoin* is a later amplification of *Gaileoin*, that *Monach*, the Gaelic equivalent of *Manapii*, was in like manner enlarged to *Fir Monach*,* and that an erudite glossarist at some time or other converted *Erainn* into *Fir Erainn*.

Further examples might have been added in illustration of the garnishing propensity of the Gaels that manifested itself in this particular usage. Thus in a Dinnsenchus poem on Tara, *Feni* is presented as *Fir Fene*.† In the Book of Lismore *Orbraighe* appears as *Fir Orbraighe*. In a Gaelic poem printed in the Introduction to Petrie's *Christian Inscriptions* *Fir Gailenga* does duty for the older *Gailenga*. In all these combinations *Fir*, being obviously redundant, is consequently separable from the name-word without prejudicing its connotation in the slightest degree.

Is there any valid reason why we should exclude *Fir Bolg* from a principle of such general application? The appellative *Bolg*, as has been seen, continued to function as an archaic term in Gaelic prose and poetry even in the fifteenth century; and, considering that the men of *Domnu*, who are commonly styled *Fir Domnann*, retain in more than one extant saga their prior designation, *Domnandaigh*, we are fairly warranted, I think, in presuming that the analogous form *Bolgaigh* (*Bolgae*),‡ though as yet undetected among the recesses of our old-manuscript literature, was in like manner once a current term of early Gaelic speech.§

It is furthermore to be noted that the conjectural identification

* O'Dubhagain's "Da rig for maith leirg Monach" = "Two kings over the good slopes of Monach," *Irish Top. Poems*, (p. 32), shows that the primitive name of Fermanagh was *Monach*, not *Fir Monach*.

† *Todd Lectures*, VIII, p. 14.

‡ Putting x for the undiscovered primitive form, and applying the rule of three method,

Fir Domnann : *Domnandaigh* :: *Fir Bolg* : x.

by linguistic analogy x should = *Bolgaigh* (i.e., *Bolgae* or *Belgæ*).

§ The phrase *co rig m-Builg*, found in the Book of Leinster copy of the *Tain Bo Cuaigne*, (see Windisch's *Tain*, p. 687) shows *Bolg* as a genitive, whose nominative (*Bolg*) must stand either for a place-name, or for a folk-name taken in the singular number. This form is the only exception I have so far seen to the principle stated by me in a previous paper, viz., that *Bolg* has resisted inflection; and yet it may be only a seeming exception, for a little farther on in the text we come on *co hOengus m-Bolg* ("to Oengus of the *Fir Bolg*") where *Bolg* clearly functions as a genitive. It is evident that in neither case could *Bolg* mean a sack, or any object of the kind; while the curious form *Builg* recalls the *Builc* of Nennius's "*Builc cum suis*." The freakish genitives *m-Bolca* and *molg* (Windisch, pp. 687, 688) seem to be verbal sports. In *Geinealach Chorca Laidhe* I find the folk-name *Ui-Builc* ("descendants of *Bolg*"), while the *Bolg* of Aenghus *Bolg* appears in the genitive as *Builcc*, *Bhuilc* and *Builcæ*. (*Miscellany of Celtic Society*, pp. 16 and 22.)

of the two peoples which is implied in O'Flaherty's Latinising of Fir Domnann as Damnonii receives quite a sufficiency of corroborative support from the more primitive name, Domnandaigh, borne by the Fir Domnann in Gaelic. The Fir Domnann are thus shown to have been, by race, cognates both of the Dumnonii and of the Damnonii, whom Ptolemy locates respectively in the south-western corner of Britain, and in North Britain, around the river Clyde.* In South Britain the county name Devon serves as a permanent memorial of the area occupied by the ancient Dumnonii.

Seeing that all three names point back to an eponymous Dumno(s), or Domno(s), the scattered populations which they denote must necessarily have been of Celtic origin; though, ere settling in Ireland or in Britain, they may possibly have absorbed and assimilated some admixture of non-Celtic breeds. The primary *Dumno* supplies the ground-form of many personal names, such as Dumno-rix.† and Dumno-bellaunus,‡ that are known to have been in use in Gaul and Britain, and appears just as conspicuously in Domhna(l), one of the most familiar of Gaelic family names. It would seem that in Ireland the *mh* of Domhna(l) was often labialised;§ and, curiously enough, in Gallic inscriptions *Dumno* is generally lettered *Dubno*.

Again, from the *Cath Airtig* we can learn that the generic name of the *teora Connachta*, viz., Fir Ol nEgmacht, or Ol nEgmacht, was a compound word. This would indicate that the element Ol was detachable; and, being so, that element would doubtless have often been suppressed in popular speech. The truncated form n-Egmacht would thus have become a more or less usual designation of the people concerned.|| Ptolemy, as we have seen, places the Érdini in Breifne, and peoples the adjoining region to the south of them with Nagnatæ.¶ It can hardly be an accident that the substitution of n for m in n-Egmacht^o will render the word phonetically an almost exact duplicate of *Nagnatæ*. This means that, in Ptolemy's ethnography of Ireland, the propinquity of the Ernai—or occupiers of the basin of the Erne—and of the Olnegmact is duly confirmed.

* On this identity see also Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, p. 597, and W. Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, XII, p. 129.

† See Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.*, I, Chaps. 2, 4, etc.

‡ A British king mentioned in *Monumentum Ancyranum*. (A translation of this remarkable document is printed as an Appendix to Shuckburgh's *Life and Times of Augustus*, see p. 300).

§ Domnald Mor O'Brien and Domnald Mac Giolla Phadrug of Ossory are each styled Duvenaldus by Cambrensis, who, of course, wrote the name phonetically.

|| Analogical instances are producible even from present-day usage. Thus one might have frequently heard "The Black and Tans" of recent notoriety spoken of as "The Tans."

¶ See *Journal*, Vol. II (1923), p. 77.

^oThe interchange of liquid sounds (l, m, n, r) is frequent in Wiro languages. For instances in our own toponomy see Joyce's *Place Names*, I, p. 48, etc.

Phonology apart, there can be no doubt whatever that the Ernai whom the Dinnsenchus of Loch n-Erne allocates to Breifne dwelt in close contiguity to the Gamanraide branch of the Olneg-mact. The seat of the Gamanraide chiefry is everywhere stated to have been Irros Domhnann, or Irros of the Donnandaigh. Keating writes *Irros*, or *Irrus*, in the form *Iorros* ;* and if he had warrant for doing so the word may by origin have been a compound of *iar* and *ros*, that is, a compound which would mean *western peninsula*. Irros Domhnann is often taken to stand for the barony of Erris in Mayo ; but this barony, though it preserves the old name, is only a comparatively small part of ancient Irros Domhnann. The primitive territory reached from Galway Bay to Sligo Bay, and had within it the present Carra (Ceara) barony in Mayo. The original territory, therefore, comprehended most, if not all, of County Mayo, and in addition the maritime baronies of County Sligo. Thus extended Irros Domhnann was none the less a peninsula ; and, while remaining a peninsula, it could not have included Breifne. But whether the *ros* of Irros does, or does not, stand for a peninsula, Breifne and Irros Domhnann never appear in our literature otherwise than as two distinct and mutually exclusive regions. Politically united, even before the rise of the Ui-Briuin, they seemingly did become ; but at no time were they fused into a single governmental area.

Reverting to Ailill Mac Mata, we have seen that the *Cath Boinde* saga makes him a grandson of Sraibcend Mac Niuil of the Ernai, through Sraibcend's son Mata. Ailill's grandmother, therefore, would have been a sister of Medb, that is to say, Ailill's consort at Cruachan would have been his own grand-aunt. This part of the story overstrains our credulity ; but the allegation that Ailill was of Ernai extraction is by no means destitute of probability. The three *Ruadchoin* (" Red Wolf-Dogs ") of the Ernai who slew Conall Cearnach at Ballyconnell were members of Ailill's household, being there maintained as his life-guards, and as tools for his vengeful designs. It is unlikely, to say the least, that Ailill would have employed, and kept in his mansion, professional assassins hired from among a people to whom he was wholly unrelated by blood. That ties of friendship and of hospitality united closely the courts of Cruachan and of Temair Luachra may be inferred from several of the heroic tales. Ailill and Medb, for example, were feasting at Temair Luachra on the very occasion when Conor and the Ulaid, having rushed south from Dun da Bend in a riotous, drunken fit, set fire to Cu Roi's renowned fortress. †

It would seem, moreover, that Ailill's grand expedition to Ulster for the capture of the Cuailgne bull has been regarded by some redactor, or redactors, of the *Tain* as if it were mainly

* See e.g., Vol. I, 118 ; Vol II, 184.

† *Mesca Ulad* (Todd Lectures, Vol. I).

a hosting of the Ernai. When, the night before the battle of Gairech, the two armies encamped face to face, the Morrigan, daughter of Ernmas,* appeared between, and in pursuance of her evil rôle proceeded to embitter and intensify the strife in which they were engaged. Conor and his warriors she addressed thus :

“ Hail to the Ulaid ;
To the Erna woe.”

Then, turning round, she spoke to the ears of Conor’s adversaries :

“ To the Ulaid woe ;
But hail to the Erna.”†

Sraibcend and his son Mata—relates the *Cath Boinde*—were slain at the battle of the Boyne, and the survivors of their family—including Ailill, who was then a mere child—were accorded protection at Cruachan. Ailill grew up a comely and a valorous youth ; and his grand-aunt Medb, though at the time she had a Gamanraide husband in the person of Eochaid Dala, fell violently in love with him. Ailill slew Eochaid Dala in a duel, and replaced him at Cruachan as Medb’s partner in matrimony and in sovereignty. The aggrieved Fir Domhnann conspired “ to banish Ailill, and all the Ernai who were with him, out of Connacht ” ; but they were foiled in the execution of the plot.

Notwithstanding the confusion created by the invention of such ludicrous “ marriage ” legends ‡ the historic gist of the communication may possibly, by observant care, be segregated from the adventitious ingredients, and tolerably visualised in its main features. The three sections of the *Olnegmact*, it seems clear, were chronically at feud over the question of the conflicting claims of their respective kings to the primatial status in Connacht ; and, while the triangular contention raged, a clever outsider managed by playing them one against another to usurp the coveted dignity. This outsider was Ailill MacMata ; and, all things considered, there is no real ground for rejecting as worthless the testimony that he was an Ernai adventurer.

The sovereignty of Ailill and Medb in Connacht rested for its base on the Tuatha Taidhen. It is unlikely, indeed, that Ailill possessed any effective authority outside the bounds of the Tuatha Taidhen, though, so far as is known, the Fir Craibe did not openly resent his pretension to pose as nominal overlord. The Gamanraide chief Ailill Finn, on the other hand, not alone behaved as an independent king, but defied on occasions the

* A war fury, or goddess, whose husband was a battle deity of the ancient Irish. See *Leabhar Gabhala*, p. 157.

† See Joseph Dunn’s translation of the *Tain Bo Cualgne*, p. 345.

‡ The Death-Tale of Conall Cearnach (*Zeitschrift für Celt. Phil.*, I, p. 106) further complicates the tangle of Mata, Magu, and the two Ailills, by making Magu and Mata of Muirese both women, and the mothers respectively of (1) Ailill MacMagach, and (2) Ailill MacMata Muirsci. This would identify No. (1) with Ailill Finn, and No. (2) with Medb’s husband.

massed might of Cruachan. When Fergus MacRoigh came to reside in Cruachan he set the two Ailills at deadly enmity by indulging in a wanton intrigue with Flidais, the faithless wife of Ailill Finn. Ailill of Cruachan, desiring to avoid relentless warfare, sought a conference with Ailill Finn at the gate of his own stronghold in Irros Domnann. But Ailill Finn spurned the invitation. "I will not go," he said, "the pride and arrogance of that man outside is great."* The complete version of the Tale, as edited by Professor Mackinnon in the *Celtic Review*, tells that, in the war which ensued, Ailill and Medb overcame Ailill Finn only by the help of three other Great-Coicedes of Ireland. In this warfare the men of Breifne fought on the side of the Gamanraidhe; and, according to the Glennasan text, "the seven Breslenns of Breifne," in the heat of one fierce encounter, "challenged the men of Ireland"—i.e., the men of the four Coicedes arrayed against them—"to a duel." †

The Breslenns of Breifne must have been a formidable fighting body in those days. Shortly before the outbreak of hostilities in the west the forces of the two Munsters ‡ and of Leinster had assembled at Cruachan, to be in readiness for Medb's mobilisation against Ulster, in the memorable expedition provoked by the unpurchasable bull of Cuailgne. Enraged by Ailill Finn's insolence Medb set out, at the head of the four united armaments, to chastise him. Ailill Finn, seeing his citadel threatened with destruction, despatched envoys to summon to its defence the full strength of his dependents and allies; and prominent among the warriors who received, and responded to, the call were "the seven Breslenns of Breifne with their 300 champions of like name, between mountain and sea." § We may, I think, hazard the surmise that the three hundred Breslenns of Breifne who then marched to Ailill Finn's aid, under the leadership of seven Breslenn-Captains (*Secht Breisleannaigh*), constituted a fighting guild, or knighthood, of somewhat the same pattern as the Craobh Ruadh of Emain Macha. If the distinctive epic-tales of Breifne's heroic age had reached us—and Breifne bards of those momentous times, as well as of the generations thereafter supervening, must surely have commemorated in song and tale the excelling feats of their own stock of supermen—we should most likely see the Breslenns of Breifne figuring among their *dramatis personæ* as first-rate impersonators of Erin's olden championship and chivalry.

After many unsuccessful assaults the besiegers captured the Gamanraide citadel, and cut down Ailill Finn, together with seven hundred of his stoutest warriors. Among the slain were

* *Ir. Texte*, II (2) p. 211. Leahy's *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, II, p. 114.

† *Celtic Review*, III, 297.

‡ The formula *da Coiced Mumhan* ("two Fifths of Munster," or "two Munsters") is a familiar expression of Gaelic writings. *Vide infra*, p. 13.

§ *Celtic Review*, III, 126.

the seven Breslenns, and another notability of the same stalwart breed, namely, Ailill of Breifne.* The stronghold thus effectually stormed was situated in Ai, or Ciarraighe Ai, a district roughly corresponding to Costello barony of Co. Mayo;† and it was for that reason, no doubt, the Breslenns and Ailill have been described in some redactions of the Tales as “of Ai,” instead of “of Breifne.” Being leagued with Ailill Finn they would, not unnaturally, have got mixed up in legend with the roll of his regular military establishment.

After an interval of several years another Ailill of Breifne fell at the battle of Airtech,‡ fighting for Medb and Ailill Mor against the Ulaid. Conor MacNessa and Cuchulainn were then dead. The Donn himself, whose matchless beauty had brought countless woes on Erin, and defiled her plains with heaps of the slain, had expired in a fit of madness. But though the contests of the Tain had come to an end the inextinguishable animosity of Coiced Ulad and Coiced Olnegmact was but too ready to burst again into flame the moment any fresh misunderstanding arose that might serve as a plausible *casus belli*. Conall Cearnach, the last of the Red Branch paladins, led the Ulaid at Airtech, and had for one of his principal lieutenants, “Fiachu, son of Laidgen, king of the Fir Bolg.”§ Medb’s commanders-in-chief were Cet MacMagach, and MacCecht, *alias* Monodar Mor, brother of the deceased Tinni—Medb’s previous husband—the same MacCecht whose fratricidal sword had slain Tinni at the battle of the Boyne; || while around them were ranged, at the head of their respective companies, “Ailill of Breifne,” “Aengus king of the Fir Bolg,” and other doughty chiefs.¶

Ailill of Breifne fell at Airtech, by the sword of Conall Cearnach; and there, too, was slain Aengus, king of the Fir Bolg, by Cuscraid, son of Conor MacNessa. Cet MacMagach brought down Fiachu, king of the northern Fir Bolg; and at both sides numbers of stalwart war-lords were stricken to death. But “the battle went against the Fir Ol nEgmacht”; “and,” adds the Ulster Tale, “it was in this battle of Airtech the Fir Domnann were finally destroyed.”° “Though they”—the Fir Domnann and associated sept of the Olnegmact—“were three tribes through division.” says the other saga from which I am at present citing,

* Leahy’s *Heroic Romances*, II, 118.

† H. T. Knox (*History of Mayo*, p. 8) identifies the site with the rath of Castlemore (Ailech Mor), near Ballaghaderreen. The Ciarraighe—a people of later date—were reputed descendants of Ciar, a son of Fergus and Medb.

‡ The battle fought at Airtech, a district corresponding to the parish of Tibohine, near Castlereagh, was the last of the long series of encounters between the Ulaid and the Olnegmact that are recorded in the Tales.

§ *Cath Airtig*, p. 182.

|| See *Cath Boinde*, p. 180; and Coir Anmann, p. 358.

¶ *Cath Airtig*, pp. 182-3.

° *Eriu*, VIII, 184.

“they were one tribe by origin, namely, the children of Genand, son of Dela, son of Loch, and they were Fir Bolg by race.”*

Here, in the era of Medb and Ailill, we come face to face with the genuine Fir Bolg, Fir Domnann and Gaileoin—the actual living people in whose veins flowed the hottest of militant blood, and not the fleshless phantoms whom the O’Clerys and Keating project back nearly two thousand years into the recesses of pre-Christian antiquity. When we grasp this fact, and reflect on its ethnological import, we shall begin to understand the ground-plan of early Irish history, and to perceive the nature of its relationship to the artificial ground-plan that has been crudely drafted for us by Gaelic historians. Once the true ground-plan is apprehended old legends that heretofore must have seemed utterly fabulous, or meaningless, to many will frequently assume a sober, matter-of-fact aspect, and recommend themselves to our notice as serviceable and sound material for the uses of historical construction.†

Thus the Dinnsenchus of Carn Chonaill relates that the *muintir Umoir* (“Umor’s people”) came from Britain, in Cairbre Niafer’s time, to Meath, “centre of the Gaels,” and got extensive tracts of land from Cairbre; and the Book of Ballymote version of the legend explains that the immigrant suppliants were descendants of the exiled Fir Bolg who had taken refuge in Man, Rathlinn, and the Western Isles of Scotland after the battle of Mag Tured. The battle of *Mag Tured na-Fhomorach* was fought, according to the reckoning of the Four Masters, some 1800 years before the time of Cairbre Niafer; but the cautious O’Flaherty reduces the number of years to about 1200. Estates Commissioners charged with the administration of recent Land Acts have often been at a loss to identify, and even to discover, the true heirs of colonies of evicted tenants who were turned adrift during the Plan of Campaign period, a social crisis that has not yet receded into the past by more than a generation and a half. The fact, therefore, that the exiled Fir Bolg should have preserved their racial individuality and homogeneity for more than a millennium may well excite our amazement. The strong probability is that the expatriation of the Fir Bolg was still tolerably fresh in living memory at the date when those returned exiles appeared before

* *Eriu*, II, pp. 181-3.

†The Fir-Bolg “invasion” of the *Leabhar Gabhala* is simply an artificial *anticipation*, devised at long range, of the actual Belge-Germani colonisations of the centuries immediately preceding and following the reign of Augustus Cæsar. When divested of its false chronology the story will stand the test of history, and thereby make good its claim to embody a genuine tradition. The invaders are traced from Nemedh, through Starn, Loch and Dela—the Tuatha De Danann being traced from the same Nemedh, through Iarboneil, the Prophet—and, as it happens, the Celtic deity Nemetos was specially venerated in the continental cradle-land with which these Papers have associated the race.

Cairbre Niafer, and presented their petition for restorations of territory.

Cairbre, we are informed, located the Clann Umoir in certain districts of Meath; but he imposed heavy rents on them, and subjected them to the conditions of an oppressive vassal-tenure. For the rents and the services which the restored Fir Bolg bound themselves to render to Tara Cairbre demanded, and was given, the pledged guarantees of four of the most prominent battle-champions then plying their noble craft in Erin.

“ Cairpre took four sureties as well,
in respect of the service of his great stronghold.

Cet mac Magach from Mag Maein
Ross mac Dedad from Druimm Cain,
Conall Cernach, hard of thews,
and the man of feats, Cuchulaind.”*

It seems perfectly obvious that, in going security for the Fir Bolg Clann-Umoir, Cet MacMagach of the Gamanraide, Ross MacDedad of the Munster Ernai, Conall Cernach and Cuchulainn of the Ulaid, each and all acknowledged the existence of a bond of consanguinity, as between the returned exiles and themselves.

Another lesson of profound importance may be learned from the same saga. The Clann Umoir—it is told—being unable to endure the burdens imposed on them by Cairbre Niafer, betook themselves to the protection of Medb and Ailill. The irate Cairbre summoned at once the four guarantors to his presence, and ordered them peremptorily either to deliver to him the absconding Fir Bolg, or to bring the heads of their four chiefs to Tara. Obedient to his mandate the four stoutest war-veterans of Erin duly complied with the second of Cairbre’s orders. Would this prompt compliance have been forthcoming if Cairbre Niafer were nothing more than a *ri-Coicid*, or king of a Fifth? In Ulster Tales Cairbre is styled *ri Temrach* (“king of Tara”), and assigned regency over the *Luaigni Temrach*, or Luaigni of Tara.† If Cairbre had been merely king of a Fifth—even though the particular Fifth embraced all Leinster—or nothing more than king of the Luaigni of Temair, his edict would have been contemptuously flouted by Cet MacMagach and by Ross MacDedad, just

* Todd Lectures, Vol. X, p. 443.

† Professor MacNeill (*Phases of Irish History*, Chap. IV) makes Cairbre “king of North Leinster,” and claims two of the five coiceds for Leinster, thus setting at naught the oft recurring expression *da Coiced Mumhan* (“two Fifths of Munster”) of our historic literature. See e.g. *Mesca Ulad*, p. 43; *Caitheirim Conghail Clairinghaigh* (Ir. Text Society’s Publications, Vol. V), p. 2; *Caitheirim Cellachain Caisil*, p. 2; *Forbhuis Droma Damhghaive* (in *Revue Celtique*, Vol. 43); Tigernach (in *Rev. Celt.* XVIII), p. 384; *Silva Gadetica* I, p. 331; Keating, Vol. II, pp. 158, 184, 318; etc., etc.

as well as by the haughty Cuchulainn and Conall Cearnach ; for each and all of them would have resented the *fiat* as being utterly preposterous and *ultra vires*.

The tenth century poet, Cinaeth Ua hArtacáin, "Head of the learned of Leath Chuinn" * styles Cairbre Niafer "Ardri na n-Gaideal," or High-King of the Gaels. † Cairbre was succeeded at Tara by his son Erc ; and of him Dubthach Ua Lugair, Chief Poet of King Laegaire, sang in the fifth century, "Erc Mac Cairpre, famed king of Erin." ‡ Ulster sagas belittle the imperial status of Tara for the reason that the Ulaid, whom they chiefly celebrate, failed to capture Tara's throne ; and the spirit which manifested itself in the *suppressio veri* of the romancers led Ulster's early chroniclers to indulge pertinaciously in the *suggestio falsi* habit until the last fragment of their own Fifth had been shattered politically. In the tenth and eleventh centuries they still registered the shrunken *Crich Ulad*, east of the Bann and Glenn Ríge rivers, as *an Coiced*, that is, The Fifth *par excellence*, § and sometimes even distinguished it as *Coiced Erenn*, or "The (paramount) Fifth of Ireland." ||

Cairbre Niafer was one of "the five illustrious kings" who carved Ireland into Fifths ; and in our literature his own Fifth of Leinster always bears some one or other of three several and synonymous designations, viz., Coiced Cairpri, Coiced Laigen, and Coiced n-Gaileoin. ¶ At the date of the battle of Rosnaree Cairbre ruled from Tara ; ** but he did not rule from Tara in the capacity of *ri coicid Laigen*. At that date Finn MacRossa, Cairbre's brother, was king of the Laigin, or of Leinster. †† Moreover, the "Leinster" (i.e. the territory of the Laigin) of those days did not include Tara. When Cairbre was slain by Cuchulainn at the battle of Rosnaree Finn MacRossa led off his Laigin, or Gaileoin, troops ; and, as he marched south, Iriel Glunmhar, Conall Cearnach's son, hotly pursued him with a detachment of the Ulaid. On reaching the frontier ford of Leinster Fidach Fergach (the Wrathful) executed a right-about movement with the retreating army, and gave Iriel battle, The Saga relates : " 'Long is the

* See Tigernach's *Annals*, 975 A.D. By "Tigernach" I mean, in the present paper, the Chronicler—whoever he was—by whom these early records were digested. Eoin MacNeill's convincing argument in *Eriu*, Vol. VII (pp. 30—110), effectually disproves his identity with the assumed "Tigernach of Clonmacnoise."

† O'Curry's *Man. Materials*, p. 515. —

‡ *Ibidem*, p. 483.

§ See e.g. *Annals of Ulster* for years 923, 932.

|| *Ibidem*, 933, 1062, 1096. In 1101 the little kingdom is set down as *Coiced Ulad*, though it was then geographically but a fraction of Conar MacNessa's Coiced Ulad.

¶ See Hogan's *Onomasticon*, pp. 279, 280.

** See *Cath Ruis na Ríg*, Ed. by Rev. E. Hogan (Todd Lectures, IV), p. 49.

†† "Find mac Rosa ri coicid lamdeirg Laigen" (king of the Fifth of the red-handed Laigin). *Ibid.*, p. 27.

reach that the Ulaid are making towards us,' said Coiced Laigen. And it is from this that Rige Laigen is the name of that river."* *Rige Laigen* is now the Rye Water, a stream that flows east by Kilcock and Maynooth, to join the Liffey at Leixlip. Coiced Laigen, as here personified, did not speak until Coiced Laigen was *reached*; and as to where that happened no doubt can possibly arise, for the water spanned by the ford in question received its name, Rige Laigen, from the length of the *reach* (*rigi*) made by the pursuing Ulaid.

Tara, therefore, lay well north of Leinster in the era of the Ulster Tales; and, that being so, a king of Tara would not then necessarily have been, as such, king of any part of Leinster. For some undefinable time after the formation of the Coiced Cairbre held the kingship of *all* Leinster, not merely of a moiety of Leinster. When Cairbre assumed the kingship of Tara his brother Finn File succeeded him as *ri Coicid Laigen*, and ruled as Leinster's king until he was cut down at the battle of Finnchoradh.† After the battle of Rosnaree Erc—Cairbre Niafer's son—according to the boastful narrative of the Ulster epic "placed his head on the breast of his grandfather,‡ and asked his father's land from him. And he obtained that thing from Conchobar." § The land in question could not have been Leinster, for the Ulaid did not seize, or even invade, Leinster. In song, tale and chronicle Erc invariably appears as king of Tara, or king of Erin, never as king of Leinster. Erc's patrimonial land,—the land which Conor deigned to leave in his undisturbed possession—was the domain of the Luaigni of Temair; and it was the same Luaigni domain that constituted the nucleus of the later kingdom of Meath.

The Ulaid in Conor MacNessa's time, it would appear, seriously weakened the hereditary position of the Laigin at Tara. But neither Erc nor Cairbre Niafer can have been more prostrated by reverses than was Charles VII of France at the crisis when Joan of Arc unfurled her standard before the walls of Orleans. In history, notwithstanding, Charles the VII has not forfeited, even for a day, his rightful place among the recognised kings of France. Conor MacNessa aspired to the sovereignty of Tara, and his obsequious retinue sometimes flattered his vanity by addressing him as *ri fene*,|| or king of the free-born men of Erin. So, too, did every English monarch, from the feeble Henry VI

* *Ibidem*, pp. 53, 55.

† See the Tale *Bristech Mor Muirtheimne* in Gaelic Journal, Vol. II (at p. 146). A copy of the old tale *Cath Findchoradh*—which was long believed to have been lost—has been discovered by Miss M. E. Dobbs, and published in *Zeit. für Celtische Philologie*, Vol. XIV, pp. 398—420.

‡ Erc's mother was a daughter of Conor MacNessa.

§ *Cath Ruis na Rig*, p. 55.

|| See Windisch's *Tain Bo Cualgne*, p. 133.

down to the mentally deranged George III, arrogate to themselves, in default of the crown of France which the Maid of Orleans had set securely on Charles's head at Rheims, the empty title of King of France. The formulæ of the Ulster Tales, when they appertain to a people with whom the Ulaid were in conflict, cannot always be taken at their face value. In Ireland, as elsewhere, the existence of hostility, or of rivalry, between two communities inevitably betrayed both into the practice of speaking of one another in derogatory terms.

The Luaigni Temrach complete the list of the 46 ignoble tribes whom Conn's grandfather, Tuathal Techtmar, is said to have enslaved. Yet the Luaigni were still the recognised *fian*-force of Erin when their swords destroyed the Leinster dynasty at Tara, and raised Conn to the vacant throne. Uirgriu, son of Lugaid Corr, was Chief of the Luaigni, or, in other words, was general-in-command of Tara's prætorian guard, when the aspiring Cumhall sought to wrest from him at Cnucha his hereditary office of Grand-Marshal of Ireland. Cumhall fell in the battle, struck down by Goll, son of Morna, who had come from Connacht, at Conn's behest, to uphold the Luaigni,

“ For to them had belonged the Fianship
of the men of Fal,
By the side of every valorous king.” *

“ Luaigni Temrach, sil na righ (Luaigni of Temair, seed of kings) ” those noted warriors are styled in the Book of Leinster.† In ancient Ireland there were numerous bodies of *fiana*, but in popular tradition the *fiana*, or *fianna*,‡ of Finn MacCumhaill so overshadowed the others that they became from an early date the *fianna par excellence* (*Fianna h-Erend*), and eventually the only *fianna* remembered in the folk legends. Yet of all the *fiana* communities of ancient Erin the Luaigni of Temair were undoubtedly the most renowned and the most powerful. It was by them the mighty Finn himself, son of Cumhall, was slain at Ath Brea on the Boyne.§ Just as Finn's *fianna* were the military arm of that able consolidator of Gaelic sovereignty, Cormac

* See *Macgnimmartha Finn* (in *Eriu*, I, p. 180, etc.). The Luaigni were the first *Fiana Fail* of our history, their most celebrated successors being the *Fiana* of Cumhall's son, Finn.

† Facsimile, 386 (b).

‡ The declension is:—

Nom. and Accus. *fian*; gen. *feine*; dat. *fein*. Plural—Nom. and Accus. *fiana*; gen. *fian*; dat. *fianaib*. The single “n” of early manuscripts was doubled by later scribes.

§ “ Aided Finn oc Ath Brea for Boind la fein Luaigne ” (Bk. of Leinster, *ibid.*). (See Tigernach, in *Rev. Celt.*, XVIII, p. 838. Finn's slayers were the sons of Uirgriu. See Kuno Meyer's *Fianaigecht*, p. 99).

MacAirt, so in pre-Gaelic Ireland the pontiff-kings* of Temair were maintained in authority by the formidable spears of the Luaigni. As mercenaries they were rewarded, not by a regular scale of pay measured out by the day or by the month, but by a princely gift of sword-land.

The division of Ireland into Fifths marks the culminating point of the island's conquest by La Tène bands of invaders. They came in detached parties, reaching our shores in a series of waves that flowed hither intermittently from the continent during the centuries immediately preceding and following the Roman advance into transalpine Celtica. In Ireland the major bodies inevitably contended, one with another, for possession of the soil, and from time to time entered into compacts for the settlement of its relative distribution. The doctrine that the whole country was conquered in a single pitched battle by an individual, homogeneous "race," and thereupon subjected in its entirety to the sway of the conquerors, conflicts with all the analogies presented by the early history of nations of which we have definite record. It was not thus the Anglo-Saxons established themselves in Britain; nor was this the mode whereby the co-called Teutons built themselves dominions all over western Europe.

Moreover, the incursive hordes did not postpone the partitioning of the land among themselves until every unsubmissive tribe of natives was subdued. When the Celts had gained a footing in Asia they divided Asia Minor among the three constituent stocks of their confederacy.† Politically the operation meant no more than an agreed determination of the areas from which they were individually to have the right of exacting tribute and revenue. Henry II did not *conquer* Ireland; yet he parcelled Ireland's surface among a chosen few of his barons, enfeoffing them with lordships as spacious as those over which the Coiced kings had erstwhile ruled. We may feel assured that, in their own councils, the rapacious aliens who first flocked hither with an equipment of iron war-weapons similarly endowed themselves by anticipation with sovereignty over our island long ere they had secured its effective ownership. As a land-grabbing federation of prospectors they divided *prospectively* the country which they were

* *Vide infra*, p. 32. The rebirth of the title *Fianna Fail* at the present time is of particular interest here as illustrating the nature of the sentiment which led to the revival, in the 13th and subsequent centuries, of the name *Teuton*, and to its adoption, through pride in the achievements of the Teutonic Knights—yet without a vestige of ethnological warrant—by the non-Slavic and un-Latinised populations of northern Europe, as a most expressive symbol of hostility to the dominance of Italian influences and traditions in the politics of the Holy Roman Empire. Just as the Fiana of Finn MacCumhaill were annihilated at the battle of Gabhra by Cairbre Lifechair (284 A.D.), so did the actual Teutons of Marius, whose name has been thus restored, perish almost root and branch in the carnage of the memorable battle of Aquæ Sextiæ (102 B.C.). This should be remembered when we read of the "Teuton Race."

† Livy xxxviii, 16.

bent on appropriating ; but, in the circumstances, the allocations of territory made at the outset must have been of a temporary nature, for the ordinances of co-partners in spoliation are necessarily too unstable to last.

In all likelihood several futile endeavours to apportion the country were tentatively made at successive intervals of time before the conclusion of the permanent pact that produced the five Coiced of our proto-history. The list of original toparchs associated by Keating with the Coiced includes men who, while of the same royal houses as the five regents already enumerated, belonged to the preceding generation.* In Tigernach's record, too, rulers are ascribed to the two Munster Fifths who stand, in the chronological order, before CuRoi Mac Daire.† The explanation of these discrepancies doubtless is that the business of Coiced shaping was protracted by quarrels among the parties concerned in its settlement, and that some provisional agreements were made and broken during the contentious stages of its progress.

It was the traditions descending from the period now under review that supplied the inspiration of those imposing chapters of the *Leabhar Gabhala* which narrate, with such an abundance of circumstantial detail, the specious story of Ireland's early colonisations. The Fifths therein assigned to the mythical Slainghe and his four commandant-brothers are separated by precisely the same boundary marks as those which part the Coiced of the "five illustrious kings."‡ The guileless Keating writes down, as indubitable data of history : "Gann takes the province of Eochaidh Abhradhruaidh, from Cumar-na-dtri-n-uisge to Bealach Chonglais ; Seangann takes the province of Curaoi, son of Daire, from Bealach Chonglais to Luimneach."§ This can be understood literally only on the assumption that Gann and Sengann were endowed with a prophetic insight which enabled them to peer into the far-distant future. If absurdity is to be avoided in the rendering of Keating's communications the time factor must be suppressed, and the older personal names must be construed as symbolical. The true purport of the revelations will then come to light, the message disclosing itself modestly as a reflexed duplicate of known facts.

Of the fabled Slainghe, similarly, we can make no use except as an ethnic symbol. He stands for the pioneer Gaileoin, or Laigin—that is, for the oldest of our Hibernian Germani—and for nought besides. But, as thus interpreted, he will sometimes repay with timely help the inquirer who cultivates his acquaintance. Slainghe, as a pentarch, is assigned Coiced Gaileoin, or Coiced Laigen ; while Gann is given Coiced Ecdhach Mac Luchta, or the Munster

* Keating, II, p. 158.

† *Rev. Hibernic Scriptores*, II, p. 12.

‡ See *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 76.

§ Keating, Vol. I, p. 106.

Fifth whose sea-front lay between Cork harbour and the junction of the Suir, Nore and Barrow.* How does this apportionment of territories harmonise with the Ulster Tales and other ancient documents of our literature? When Lugaid, son of Curoi Mac Daire, slew Cuchulainn at Muirtheimne the obligation of revenging the deed devolved on Cuchulainn's foster-brother, Conall Cearnach. Conall flew south after the home-faring Lugaid, and overtook him at the Liffey. Curoi's son demanded, as his right under the laws of championship, that the life-and-death combat should be fought in Munster; and, Conall assenting, Lugaid appointed the plain of Airget-Ros as the battle-ground. And in Magh Airget-Ross, beside the bridges of Ossory (*in droictib Osraige*),† Conall, unable to vanquish Lugaid in fair and honourable fight, compassed his death by means the most perfidious.‡ But too deservedly has Conall's unscrupulous behaviour on the occasion been stigmatised by an old Glossator as "murder and disgrace and treachery." §

Ossory is thus proved to have belonged to Munster in the era of Curoi and Cuchulainn; and Ossory, though in after years a refractory and rebellious appanage of Munster, failed to break loose from Munster's grip until a comparatively late date. In St. Patrick's time Ossory, though then apparently affecting an independent status, was external to Leinster. The Tripartite Life records: "He left a blessing with Hui-Censelaig and with *all Leinster*, and after this he ordained Fiacc the Fair in Slebte, into the bishopric of the Fifth (in choicid). He then went by Belach-Gabrain into the land of Ossory (*hi tir n-Osraigi*) and founded churches and cloisters there." ¶ The old distinction between *Crich Laigen* and *Tir n-Osraighi* had certainly not become obsolete when St. Fiacc was ordained bishop of *Coiced Laigen*. Again, the Deisi having been harboured in Leinster for about two centuries after their expulsion from Tara by Cormac MacAirt, were ejected, on the death of Crimthann, king of Leinster, by Crimthann's sons. The old Tale relates: ¶ "and in a rout they (Crimthann's sons) drove them out into the land of Ossory" (*ocus doscartsat im-maidm as hi tir n-Osairge*). The Leinster princes desisted from pursuit once the Deisi had entered Ossory, and took no further heed when the Deisi set up their huts at Miledach, on the Ossory side of the Barrow, near *Cumar-natri-n-Usce*. The Leinster princes thus demonstrated that, in their and king Crimthann's time, that is to say, in the fifth century, Ossory lay outside the bounds of Leinster.

* See Journal, Vol. II, p. 76.

† See *Book of Leinster*, Facsimile, folio 122.

‡ See *Aided Conchulainn*, as abridged and edited from the Book of Leinster by W. Stokes, in *Revue Celtique*, Vol. III.

§ See O'Curry's *Manuscript Materials*, p. 479.

¶ *Tripartite Life*, Vol. I, p. 195.

¶ Published by Kuno Meyer in *Y Cymmrodor*, Vol. XIV, pp. 104—135. (See at p. 114.)

Slainghe, according to Keating's quaint narrative, took "Cuigeadh Laighean," Gann took "Cuigeadh Eachach Abhradh-ruaidh," Sengann took "Cuigeadh Chonraoi mic Daire," Genann took "Cuigeadh Chonnacht," and Rughraide took "Cuigeadh Uladh." In real fact Slainghe and his invented brothers took possession of no land in Ireland, for the entities so styled in the Leabhar Gabhala's symbolic notation never existed here in human flesh and good. It was the makers of the Leabhar Gabhala who "took" the several Fifths—the genuine Fifths of history—and labelled each of them anew, using for the purpose a factitious set of names, presumably derived from the mythic ancestry of the invaders. By means of this happy device they were enabled to duplicate the iron-age conquest of the country, and thus to invest Gaelic royalty with a specious hue of hoary antiquity. Verification of the boundaries assigned by Keating to the Fifths which were carved out by "the five illustrious kings"—the Fifths, namely, of Leinster, Ulster, Olnegmact, and the Two Munsters—is forthcoming at many points from the pages of our ancient tales and documents.(*).

"Thirty kings of the Laigin," says Tigernach, "ruled over Erinn, from the time of Labraid Loingsech to that of Cathair Mor."† Cathair Mor comes within the penumbra of our annalistic history, and he is there commemorated as the last sovereign of the Leinster line who reigned in Tara. The Leinster dynasty of high-kings was extinguished when Conn Ced-Cathach slew Cathair Mor at the battle of Tailtiu, in the second century of our era; and the Connacht—or usurping—dynasty, which owed its inception to Conn, and its consolidation to Conn's able grandson, Cormac MacAirt, lasted, despite some sinister interruptions, for eight proud centuries. Reckoning from Labraid Loingsech to Cathair Mor, inclusive, the sum total of generations that make up the connecting pedigree amounts but to 26; and the orthodox

* The theory formulated by Professor MacNeill, (*Phases of Irish History*, Chap. IV), that the Fifths included two Leinsters and only one Munster, is becoming the accepted dogma of our present generation of historians. Curiously enough, the speculative arguments used by the Professor in support of this theory rely mainly on statements of *Cath Ruis na Rig* and of the Deisi saga, the two texts which, as I have shown, prove that, along the Tara meridian, Leinster's frontier reached north only to the Rye Water, and that at the south-west Leinster did not transcend the *Cumar na tri n Uisce* limit. The really pertinent and decisive sentences of those texts seem to have been overlooked by the learned Professor. Furthermore, on the basis of a misidentification of the place-name *Grian* Dr. MacNeill extends Ossory west to Pallasgrean in Co. Limerick. The *Grian* of the phrase "O Gabrán co Grein" (See Keating, II, 231) was *Grian Airbh*, now Grean, or Grane hill, a few miles south of Urlingford (Consult O'Donovan, *F. Masters*, 891 A.D.; Father Hogan, *Onomasticon*, p. 461; Dr. Carrigan, *Hist. of Ossory*, p. 13; Father Dinneen, Keating, IV, 326). But, seeing that Ossory was demonstrably an integral part of Munster in the heroic age, the question of Ossory's range in the western direction is immaterial to the issue here under consideration.

† *Rev. Hibern. Scriptores*, II, p. 6. *Rev. Celt.* XVI, p. 402.

roll of high-kings includes only seven of the names appearing among all those generations of Labraid's royal progeny. Tigernach's enumeration of 30 high-kings of Labraid's blood, for the tract of time between the coming of the Laigin and the death of Cathair Mor, thus glaringly conflicts with the teaching of our later historiographers. Tigernach's personal predilections, though doubtless kept well under control, would naturally have attached him by sentiment to the side of Leath Chuinn, and would have disposed him rather to disparage than to exalt the Laigin.

When Tigernach, therefore, dishonoured in advance the Gaelic register of high-kingship which, as embodied in the *Reim Rioghraidhe*, has long been esteemed a primary source for the materials of our ancient history, he was constrained to do so, we may feel perfectly assured, by some document of coercive authority. Knowing full well that that document would not have been found among the one-sided archives of Emain Macha, the archives on which Tigernach had to rely for most of his information about the eras preceding the subversal of Erin's Fifths, we may furthermore feel confident that Tigernach had access equally to records that conserved some fragments of the traditions of Leinster and Leath-Mogha.

On this point the early literature lends remarkable confirmation to Tigernach's testimony. When Tara is unveiled by the narrator of *Cath Ruis na rig*, we see enthroned there, not any of the potentates paraded by the *Reim Rioghraidhe*, but a Leinster sovereign named Cairbre Niafer. In flat contradiction to the story of the *Coir Anmann* and of the *Leabhar Gabhala*, that Eremon designed Temair, and built there a palace (Tea-Mur) for his cousin-consort, Tea, is the statement of the early Ossianic poet, Caoilte MacRonain, "Slainghe of the Fir Bolg of fame (was he) by whom Tara was raised." * The reconstructors of Gaelic history allocated Slainghe to Dinnrigh on the Barrow, though they refrained from denying him the honour of being Erin's earliest over-king. If we take Slainghe to stand for the Germani vanguard of the La Tène hosts, the whole scheme of events becomes clearly intelligible. The Germani naturally selected the richest champaign land in Ireland for the seat of their oppidum, and having established themselves there they retained, in constitutional theory at least, if not always in actual fact, the premier status among the new colonies of invaders until Tara's sceptre passed to Conn Ced-Chatach.

In Labraid Loingsech, the reputed importer of the Laigin—twenty-two hundred lance-men, armed with green-blue spears of iron †—we encounter another symbolic individual, whose special office it is to impersonate a second influx of Germani. The period of 1400 years which the Four Masters interpose between Slainghe

* See Petrie's *Essay on Tara Hill*, p. 28.

† Keating, II, 167.

and Labraid Loingsech is reduced by O'Flaherty to 1025 years. But, as O'Flaherty doubtless knew, the belief was once prevalent among Gaelic antiquaries that, if the men were not actually contemporaries, the invasions which they symbolise cannot have been separated by more than a generation or two. In fact, a Dinnsenchus poem to which Dr. Charles O'Connor makes allusion introduces Labraid Loingsech in the capacity of Slainghe's *dux*, or captain-general.*

The origin of the strife for the possession of Tara is referred to the rivalry of Laegaire Lorc and Cobhtach Cael Breagh, two sons of the legendary Ugaine Mor. The Book of Leinster assigns to the year 207 B.C. the assassination of Laegaire Lorc by his Cain-hearted brother; and Tigernach relates that, in revenge for the crime, the fratricide Cobhtach was subsequently burnt to death at the hostel of Tuaim Tenbath, in Magh Ailbe, by Labraid Loingsech, grandson of the murdered Laegaire. Our manuals of history, built up from the depositions of Keating and his school, inform us that Cobhtach perished amidst the flames of his palace at Dinnrigh. Yet Tigernach avers that the consumed building was a *hostel*, not a royal palace. Moreover the Book of Ballymote copy of the Coir Anmann locates Labraid Loingsech's feat of incendiarism not at Dinnrigh, but "at Cobhtach Cael of Brega's house in Magh Trega."† Indeed the man's very name, Cobhtach Cael Breg (Cobhtach the Slender of Brega), associates him residentially with Magh Breg, the opulent plain that encompasses Temair Breg, rather than with Dinnrigh.‡

The *Senchas na Relec* ("History of the Cemeteries"),§ in specifying the burial-places of Erinn's royal stocks, records: "Oenach Cruachan, it was there kings of Tara were used to bury until the time of Crimthann (*inter alios*) Cobhtach Coel Breg and Labhraidh Loingsech, and Eocho Fedhlech with his three sons, and Ailill MacMada with his seven brothers." And again, "the two coicedes which the Clann h-Eremoin possessed were *Coiced n-Galeoin* (i.e. Coiced Laigen) and *Coiced Olnecmacht* (i.e. *Coiced Connacht*). Coiced n-Galeoin in the first place was taken by the race of Labraid Loingsech; the descendants of Cobhtach Coel Breg, however—their *flesc lama* (hand-measure, or proper endowment) was *Coiced Connacht*." Furthermore, "whenever, therefore, the kingship of Erin was held by any of the offspring of Cobhtach Coel Breg

* "*Lageniæ* nomen deducit (poema) a *Laighin* hasta, quia Galengii, hastis armati, ad prælium ducebantur a Duce *Labhradio-Loingseach*, Slangii cœvo. Extat et hoc ipsum poema in Codice Stowense *Dinseanchus*." (O'Connor's *Rerum Scriptores Hibernicarum*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 58, note).

† See *Irische Texte*, III, p. 364.

‡ "To his son Cowhagh Kylebry was allotted the countrey of Brey, where the lordship of Taragh stood" (*Annals of Clonmacnoise*, 42).

§ This very ancient tract, preserved in our oldest manuscript compilation, the *Lebor na h Uidri*, has been published by Petrië in his *Essay on the Round Towers*, pp. 97—101.

Coiced Connacht was his *ruidless* (patrimonial estate); and for this reason they were interred at Oenach na Cruachna." *

Putting aside, for the present, the conventional, or reconstructed history, † and piecing together the testimonies that have here been extracted from the oldest literature, we come in sight of a people who, on being overthrown by the Laigin in Magh Breg, held on to Cruachan, a fortress that from the first had served them as the fundamental base whence the more aspiring of their rulers sought to achieve imperial sway in Erin. In telling that Cobhtach Cael Breagh was burnt to death in Magh Trega the saga does not say, or suggest, that Cobhtach's people were extirpated from Magh Breg. While the folk-masses whom Cobhtach's apocryphal figure represents had to relinquish Tara, and to content themselves thenceforth with Cruachan as their principal metropolis, there is no reason to presume that they were expelled from their seats beyond the Shannon. The Tale-Redactors, whose primary business was the portrayal of epic incident and character, are often unconscious witnesses to the unity of our early history, and to the true lines of its development. At the point now reached the various saga dramatisations fit into one another with a closeness of correspondence that can hardly be regarded as fortuitous.

The Olnegmact confederacy of the heroic period, as has been seen, included among its major component-states the Tuatha Taiden, a people who, as the owners and sustainers of Cruachan, must have ranked with the aristocracies of their time; and the lands of the same Tuatha Taiden stretched out beyond the Shannon as far as Temair-Broganiadh. ‡ A line drawn due east from Cruachan cuts the Shannon near Newtownforbes, and enters the County Longford through the very district, Magh Trega, where, according to the Ballymote version of the saga, Cobhtach Cael Breg was slain. §

Cobthach Cael Breg, therefore, was identified in the original

* *Ibidem* p. 100. The Ulaid kings buried at Tailtiu, and the Laigin kings at Oenach Ailbe (Carman).

† The reconstructors ignored likewise, or perhaps knew not of, the Cruit-nigh kings, eight in number, who ruled Erin, alternately with the Laigin, before the elevation of Conn. (See *Rerum Hibernic, Script.* II, 33: *Revue Celtique*, XVII, 8). This remarkable record of Tigernach merits close examination; but it is pertinent here only as evidencing that the Laigin hegemony was not uniformly continuous. All Irish regnal lists have been swollen by the inclusion, in addition to *de facto* kings, of candidate-claimants who were held by their own calendarists to be *de jure* kings of the particular realm, or realms, in dispute.

‡ Supposed by Fr. Hogan to have been at Tara townland, in Durrow parish, King's Co. Tara in Meath was styled Temair Breg, and sometimes Temair Fail. The old Tale *Suidigid Tellaich Temra* ("Settling of the Manor of Tara") mentions Temair Broga Niadh and Temair Breg as two distinct places in early Meath. (See *Erriu*, Vol. IV, p. 150.)

§ The same district is called Moytra in an Inquisition of the 10th year of James I.

traditions both with Tara and Cruachan, but not with Dinnrigh or Leinster. He stands for a separate invasion wave of the period that witnessed the coming of the Laigin in their most formidable strength; and the contents of his legend would imply that the followers of Cobthach were established here, in possession of Magh Breg, before the arrival of the men of Labraid. The genealogies of all the "Eremonian" families of Ireland converge in Ugaine (or Augaine) Mor, the reputed father of Lægaire Lorc—Labraid Loingsech's grandfather—and of Cobthach Cael Breg. The 23 generations of mythical ancestors that precede Ugaine in the ascending line to Eremon serve, therefore, no further use in the gorgeous tapestry of the genealogists than that of an ornamental fringe. From Labraid issued the Leinster "Eremonians." From Cobthach sprang all the other "Eremonian" stocks of Ireland; and from Cobthach's alleged descendant, Conn Ced-Chathach, came the imperial breeds of Connacht, Meath, and Ailech, who held the sovereignty of Ireland in Christian times. When the genealogists constructed their schemes the expressions "race of Conn" and "race of Cobthach Cael Breg" meant virtually one and the same thing.*

The *Senchas na Relec* tells us that Coiced Olnegmact was the *flesc lama* (patrimonial land) of *Clann Cobthaig Coil Breg* ("The Race of Cobthach Coel Breg"). Among the Coiced Olnegmact populations of the heroic narratives the "race of Cobthach Coel Breg," *eo nomine*, never comes into view.

"Of the race of Conn Mor, son of Fedhlim,
Are the hosts of Cruachan of the smooth plain,"†

wrote Giolla Iosa Mor MacFirbis, about the beginning of the fifteenth century. Cruachan thus belonged, at three successive points of time, (1) to Cobthach Coel-Breg's race, (2) to the Tuatha Taiden, and (3) to Conn's race. But Conn's race are avowedly one and the same breed as the race of Cobthach Coel Breg. Should it not follow then that, if the Olnegmact Tuatha Taiden were not identical with both one and the other, the Tuatha Taiden must, in the first place, have expelled Cobthach's race from Cruachan, and afterwards have been themselves ejected, in turn, by the previously dispossessed people?

This conclusion could not be gainsaid were it not that, from the beginning, the Gamanraide and the Fir Craibe shared with the Tuatha Taiden the sovereignty of Cruachan, and at an early date ousted the Tuatha Taiden from the Olnegmact overlordship.

* In the standardised genealogies the Ernai of Munster and the Dal-Fiatach of Ulster affiliate with the many-forked *Clann Chuinn* ("race of Conn"), the common stem of the pedigrees dividing into two main branches at Aengus Tuirmech, six generations below Cobthach Coel Breg; but older antiquaries, as I have already shown, held other views as to the relationships of the Ernai.

† See *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, Ed. by O'Donovan, p. 179.

The argument, therefore, must be shaped on broader lines ; but if we substitute Olnegmact for Tuatha Taiden in its wording the resultant conclusion should be able to withstand all legitimate tests. In a former paper I affirmed that the lordly Gaels, who are brought to Ireland by their historians under the ostentatious leadership of the sons of "Mil of Spain," would seem, on investigation, to have been a home-grown order of men, bred among the Belgæ-Germani colonies that, after transplantation, bore the modified appellations Fir Bolg and Gaileoin in their new homeland. Here at hand, in the genesis of the great Conn Ced-Chatach himself, the justice of that inference is seen to be exemplified and vindicated.

Of all the Gaels the proudest in rank, and for long centuries the most potent in authority, were the prosperous off-shoots of Conn's family. Several other ruling houses were admitted into the patrician register of Gaelic nobility ; but above them all in dignity towered the blood-royal descendants of Conn and of Eoghan Mor. For these, in fact, was specially invented the genealogical birth-badge, emblematic of class privilege and of political prerogative, which displays among its adornments the pseudo-ancestral figures of Mil and Gaedhel Glas. Yet, do what we may, we can connect the race of Conn with the race of Cobthach Coel of Brega only through the medium of the Olnegmact. To the Tuatha Taiden, as distinct from their co-partner septs in Connacht, Conn's origin cannot be traced ; but from the indignity of an Olnegmact parentage the evidence before us will not permit Conn to escape.

Cruachan was in the territory of the Tuatha Taiden. But it was the Gamanraide of Irros Domnann that built the fortress of Cruachan ; * and Duaid MacFirbis informs us that the name of the architect was "Bolc, son of Blar." † The Gamanraide, moreover, regained more than once supremacy at Cruachan ; and to their junior branch, the Clann-Morna, belonged Aedh, son of Garad, the last king of undisguised Olnegmact extraction who swayed from Cruachan. ‡ The Clann-Morna were descended from Sanb, son of Cet Mac Magach, the Gamanraide chief after whom the Tuatha Taiden domain was named Magh Sanb.§ This Sanb was sufficiently powerful in his time to rescue the Cruachan sceptre from the posterity of Medb and Ailill, and to hold it until his death at an advanced age.||

After Sanb a great-grandson of Medb and Ailill called Eochaid—the last of his family—ruled at Cruachan ; and from him the Olnegmact kingship passed to the Fir-Craibe, who in five genera-

* Keating, II, 186.

† See O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, p. 222.

‡ *Ogygia*, III, Chap. 70.

§ The *Annals of Clonmacnoise* (p. 42) make Magh Sanb extend to Meath.

|| *Ogygia*, III, Chap. 55.

tions produced seven provincial sovereigns,* the central figure in the sequence being Conall Cruachna, the alleged fosterer or tutor of Conn Ced-Chatach.† A new family of competitors, bearing the name Corcu-Firtri, then sprang into prominence, and usurped the Connacht headship. The Corcu-Firtri, whose title the genealogists derive from Lugaid Firtrea, a descendant of Fiacha Suighde, were simply Gailenga or Luigni of North Mayo and South Sligo under a more typically Gaelic designation. The Gailenga are proved by their name, which differs but inappreciably from Gaileoin, to have been a settlement of Germani, or, in other words, to have been kinsmen of the people of Slainghe and of the people of Labraid Loingsech. The Gailenga or Luigni formed, seemingly, the rearguard of the series of Germani invasions that, commencing with Slainghe, waxed stronger under Labraid Loingsech, and perhaps attained their maximum momentum under Eoghan Mor. The Gailenga, most likely, reached Ireland in the wake of the Eburones, or Eoghanacta; for their reputed progenitor—the supposed originator of their racial patronymic—was Cormac Gaileng, son of Tadg, son of Cian, son of Oilill Olum, who was the son of Eoghan Mor.

A daughter of Cormac Gaileng, named Trea, wed, it is told, a descendant of Fiacha Suighde called Lugaid, who was thenceforth styled Lugaid Firtrea; ‡ and the progeny of Lugaid—that is, in effect, a substantial section of the progeny of Cormac Galeng—became in consequence the race of Firtrea, or the Corcu Firtri. Seeing that Fiacha Suighde was Conn Ced-Chathach's brother, and that Trea was Cormac MacAirt's mother, the Corcu-Firtri must be reckoned a comparatively late-born stock; and as such they are, *ipso facto*, inadmissible to the register of Olnegmact tribes. But, while the date and circumstances of their first appearance exclude these intrusive folk-groups of Corann from the census of the Olnegmact, the marriage alliances that have been woven into the story need not be taken too seriously. *Gaileng* is the genitive case of the plural noun *gailenga*; and Cormac Gaileng, therefore, means simply Cormac of the Gailenga. The Gailenga did not derive their patronymic from this Cormac, but Cormac took his surname from them.

We may safely interpret the alleged matrimonial connections as meaning no more, and no less, than a close military and political alliance between the family of Conn and the widely-diffused Gailenga or Luigni. Two sons of "Lugaid Firtrea"—that is two brother chiefs of the Corcu-Firtri—attained, or were advanced in succession, to the Cruachan throne after Aedh, the last of its Fir Craibe occupiers; and then Aedh, son of Garad, of the

* O'Flaherty gives, in detailed pieces, an inventory of the early Connacht kings. Keating also supplies the names of some.

† See *Cath Muighe Leana*, p. 14.

‡ See *Ogygia*, p. 334; and *Journal*, Vol. II, pp. 367-8.

Gamanraide recovered the dignity for his house. After this Aedh came a Corcu-Firtri prince whom O'Flaherty names Condeus; and to him as overlord of Cruachan succeeded Muiredach Tirech, the grandfather of Brian, from whom have sprung the Ui-Briuin. We may infer from the scrappy particulars of the relation that the Olnegmact maintained their territorial consequence in Connacht until the fourth century, and that the last stock of them to be submerged politically were the Gamanraide.

Of the race of Conn few, if any, have achieved a higher renown than Dathi, the ard-righ grandson of Niall Naoi n-Ghiallach who was slain beyond seas in 428. In the literary sphere no family has shed a brighter halo on Conn's race, or has done more to illumine the history of the Gaels, than the MacFirbisigh of Lecan, a household preeminent for long centuries in its reputation for hereditary scholarship. In 1417 Giolla Iosa Mor MacFirbis, the doyen of Gaelic historians in his day, and perhaps the most distinguished of all the generations of his learned family, compiled the Book of Lecan, and enriched it with a poem of 231 quatrains, which he composed in commemoration of the numerous branches of Conn's race.* Among the noble stocks there enumerated are:

"The Hy-Amhalgaidh, host of lances,

Of the great Milesian Gamanraidhe." †

The MacFirbisigh themselves belonged to the Ui-Amhalgaidh group of Ui-Fiachrach; and these Ui-Amhalgaidh were descended from King Dathi through his son—or grandson ‡—Amhalgaidh. In tracing the Ui-Amhalgaidh from "the Gamanraide of great Mil" § Giolla Iosa Mor MacFirbis not alone derives the Clann-Firbisigh, and their great progenitor Dathi, from the Gamanraide, but he deepens our astonishment by connecting the Gamanraide racially with "Mil of Spain."

Somebody may urge that Giolla Iosa Mor's exploitation of the Gamanraide in the couplet cited is only meant for a poetic *cheville*. The Gamanraide were the dynastic *gens* of the Fir Domnann, that is of a plebeian folk whom the Clann-Miled are said to have enslaved. The Fir Domnann, avers the *Leabhar Gabhala*, came to Ireland, as associates in invasion of the Fir Bolg, several centuries before the arrival of "the sons of Mil," the destined lords of the country. Would a poet-historian, of the first rank, who put faith in the fables of the *Leabhar Gabhala*, have adulterated the aristocratic veins of the Ui-Amalghaid

* This poem, commencing "Imda gablán do chloind Chuind" ("Many an offshoot of the race of Conn") is printed in O'Donovan's *Hy Fiachrach*, pp. 176—299.

† *Ibidem*, p. 291. I give the lines as translated by O'Donovan.

‡ Duaid MacFirbis, who compiled the pedigree in 1666, could not decide whether the Amhalgaidh in question was a son of Dathi or of Fiachra Elgach (one of Dathi's sons). *Ibidem*, p. 101. *Vide infra*, p. 44, note †.

§ "h-I Amalgaid, Sloig na sleg, do'n Gamanraid moir Milead". This couplet may throw light on the *apologia* which I have already cited from a MacFirbis chronicler (*Journal*, Vol. II, p. 361).

with the blood of the Gamanraide for the mere purpose of a rhetorical flourish? Giolla Iosa Mor MacFirbis, I suspect, had probed more deeply into the original sources of Conn's parentage than any, or all, of his learned contemporaries and successors among the literati of the Gael; and I opine further that, in colligating Dathi's offspring with the Gamanraide, Giolla Iosa was guilty rather of letting slip a tradition that had come to him from the much-misrepresented past than of an aberration in the use of poetic licence.

It was not the Gaels who kept alive the names of the old Olnegmact kings by whom Cruachan had been swayed down to the time of Cairbre Lifechair, Cormac MacAirt's son and successor at Tara. The purpose and *motif* of our orthodox Gaelic history would have been much better served by obliterating the Olnegmact and the extant list of Olnegmact kings, for the postulated race of Cobthach Coel Breg and Conn Ced-Chatach might then be set out in proud, unbroken continuity. Just as these particulars, by some chance or other, trickled through the nets of Gaelic artificialisers of history, so too might fugitive scraps of pre-Gaelic record that are no longer in existence have descended to the fifteenth century among the copious archives of the MacFirbisigh. Putting the phantasmal Mil aside for the present, and fixing our eyes on the realities, we see before us two genuine stocks of our ancient history, the Gamanraide and the Ui-Amalghaid; and the testimony of a great MacFirbis Ollamh is that these stocks were racially identical, the Gamanraide being the progenitors of the Ui-Amalghaid. The Ui-Amalghaid were offspring of Dathi, and, through Dathi, of his ancestor Conn Ced-Chatach. The obvious conclusion is that the forefathers of Conn belonged to the Gamanraidhe.

Curiously enough our history as standardised by the O'Clerys and Keating lends definite confirmation to this inference. That history tells that the seed of Eremon was preserved from extinction by Tuathal Techtmar who, born in Alba—whither his mother had escaped from the massacre of Magh Cro in Breifne—came thence to Ireland, conquered and subjugated his enemies from end to end of the land, revived through his children the breed of Eremon, and restored the sunken fortunes of his house. Tuathal, says Keating, set out from Alba for Ireland, at the head of a large host; "and they put into port at Iorrus Domhnann, where they met Fiachaid Casan with his brother."* Fiacha and his brother were two guerilla desperadoes who had rallied the outlawed adherents of Tuathal's cause, and who, in anticipation of Tuathal's arrival, were ravaging the country on his behalf. Even O'Flaherty scouts the story of the pregnant queen's flight to Alba;† but the

* Vol. II, p. 245.

† "Ut iis placet, qui fabulam de Tuathalio filio in utero matris servato cuderunt" *Ogygia*, p. 302.

landing in Irros Domhnann, and the phenomenal victories subsequently achieved by Tuathal in a century of hard-fought battles, O'Flaherty duly narrates.

In the epic of Clann-Miled there is, perhaps, no more spectral personage than the Tuathal Techtmar of our historians; but the designers of the epic, I feel convinced, knew well what they were doing when they made Irros Domhnann the pivot and fulcrum of Tuathal's operations in Ireland. Tuathal stands in the family pedigree as the grandfather of Conn Ced-Chathach; and Tuathal's legend in itself would suffice to create the suspicion that Conn was cradled in Irros Domhnann.

The rôle accorded to Tuathal Techtmar in Irish history would furthermore suggest that a period of stress and strife, fomented by some earlier attempts of Conn's people to capture Tara, preceded the fall of Cathair Mor and his dynasty. Tuathal Techtmar figures as the foremost actor in the dramas arising out of the Magh Cro tragedy; and as the ruthless avenger of the massacre alleged to have been perpetrated by the Aithech Tuatha he plays in those dramas his most resplendent part. Among the so-called Aithech Tuatha are numbered many populations who were, for a certainty, not Aithech Tuatha in the time of Tuathal's grandson, the usurper Conn, or even in the time of Brian's grandfather, Muiredach Tirech. The Luaigni, for example, appear in the Aithech Tuatha register; but if the Luaigni had been enslaved by Tuathal Techtmar they could not have elevated Conn to the throne of Tara.

The much-reviled Cairbre Cinn Cait was, like Uirgriu, chief of the Luaigni,* and in virtue of being the holder of that proud office he ranked at court amongst the noblest in the land. Just as the prætorian guard of Rome shielded the throne of the Cæsars so did the Luaigni garrison Tara; and Cairbre, as their prefect, was consequently Warden of the hieratic stone, Fal, and of its royal officiators.† Finn MacCumhaill was military custodian of Tara under Cormac MacAirt, and Finn's social standing may be inferred from the fact that, twice in succession, the Ardri, Cormac, gave him a daughter in wedlock. Cairbre Cinn Cait himself, we have no reason to doubt, mounted the Tara throne; but, in all probability, he did so at a crisis when Tara's security was imperilled by insidious attempts at usurpation, and when, through failure of martial leadership among the dynastic family of the Laigin, a strong hand was needed at the State's helm. Cairbre gave convincing proof of being, in vigour and capacity for government, a born ruler of men; for he presided at Tara, untroubled by revolt or molestation, to the end of his days, and died peacefully in his bed.

* See *Coir Anmann (Irische Texte, III)*, p. 387.

† In this connection, it may be worth while to observe that the name Cairbre Cinn Cait appears among the notabilities of the Tuatha De Danann.

Though the Leinster stock are set down as Eremonians, and though we are told that the royal race of Eremon perished at Magh Cro, or Magh Bolg, in Breifne, with the exception of three unborn babes, no Leinster queen becomes visible among the fugitives from the scene of slaughter, nor have the Laigin nobles ever been brought into the nefarious plot, either as abettors or victims. In overlooking this important detail the fabricators of the story have betrayed the secret that Cairbre Cinn Cait—assuming that he did, in fact, resort to sanguinary and unscrupulous measures against Tara's assailants—was acting primarily on behalf of the Laigin. The discrepant allusions to the episode that are extant in our chronicles and sensational tales would indicate that more than one memorable feat of slaughter on a gigantic scale marked the closing stages of Laigin dominance at Tara. The fiction of a national banquet, dispensed by Erinn's serfs or vassal tribes, which Keating's disciples still set out as a reputable tenet of our proto-history, is of interest mainly as illustrating the incompetence of its constructors to forge an artistic or plausible substitute for the suppressed record of events. But there is no sufficient ground for depriving Magh Bolg in Breifne of participation in the fame, or infamy, which was left behind as a legacy by the copious bloodshed of that period, though the memory of the whole series of transactions is kept alive only by a vague and falsified report.

As general-in-chief of the Luaigni Cairbre Cinn Cait may be presumed to have had camps, or military residences, at various stations. And one of his principal outposts would, doubtless, have been planted at Magh Bolg; for, because of its distance from the Laigin territory, that region would have been more likely than any other to be used as an attacking base by conspirators who had designs on Tara. It was at the same side, apparently, Conn Ced Chathach entered Tara's demesne lands when he contended for the crown with Cathair Mor. An ancient tale informs us that, while Conn was *riġ-damhna*, or heir-apparent, he resided at Cenannas, or Kells.* Conn could not have fixed his quarters at Kells except by the favour, or with the consent, of the Luaigni chief, who was then, if not Uirgriu, probably Uirgriu's father. But, having sapped the loyalty of the Luaigni, Conn might have rested a while at Kells before he advanced to Magh Agha, or Tailtiu, for the final contest with Cathair Mor.† At all events, his appearance at Kells warrants the presumption that, when march-

* See *Fotha Catha Cnucha*, printed in Windisch's Irish Grammar, p. 136, and translated in Gaelic Journal, Vol. II. Sir James Ware says that Kells was known as "the key (or gate) of that side of Meath" (*Bishops*, p. 138).

† The institution of *riġ damhna* would seem not to have existed before the ninth century. See MacNeill's *Celtic Ireland*, p. 117. The so-called "battle of Tailtiu," in which the Clann Miled are said to have overthrown the Tuatha De, is, I believe, in its origin an anticipatory copy of this capture of Tailtiu by Conn. See *Journal*, Vol II, p. 359.

ing from Connacht, he came round by Breifne, and reached Meath *via* Magh Bolg.

Why should even Giolla Iosa MacFirbis have been loth to proclaim the descent of his people from the Gamanraide, albeit those people were a branch of Conn's family-tree? "This," vouches the *Tain Bo Flidais*, "was the third race of heroes in Ireland, viz., the Clann Gamanrad of Irros Domnann, and the other two were the Clann Dedad of Temair Luachra and the Clann Rudraige of Emain Macha."* The Gamanraide once on a time, supported by the champions of Breifne, held the forces of all Ireland at bay for seven murderous days, around Ailill Finn's palace in Irros Domnann. The great Conn himself, I doubt not, would have felt rather proud than ashamed of having sprung from the Gamanraide. But Conn cannot have belonged to the senior line of the Gamanraide, for he is unmentioned in the roll of Cruachan kings. In all likelihood Conn was a dashing young chief of the royal stock of Gamanraide, who, having gathered around him a strong company of free lances, made Tara, rather than Cruachan, the goal of his ambition. Possibly he, or his, had attempted rebellious ventures in the west before he planned the brilliant *coup* that gave him possession of Tara. Tuathal Techtmar, it is told, launched his triumphant campaigns by defeating and slaying Sanb Mac Cet Mic Magach at Dumha-Sealga in Magh-Ai. It is told further that he followed up this achievement by vanquishing the four sons of Trithem at Magh Slecht in Breifne, and by many other crushing defeats inflicted on his foes in Breifne, Umhall, Ceara, Aidhne, Badhgna, and Magh Luirg.† The part assigned to Sanb, son of Cet MacMagach, in this drama will not stand a chronological test, for Sanb must have died of old age—if not otherwise sent to his grave—years before the uprise of Tuathal Techtmar, as dated by O'Flaherty.

Having succeeded by some means or other to win the Luaigni to his side, Conn encountered and slew Cathair Mor, the last Laigin king of Tara, and founded on the famous citadel of Magh Breg a new dynasty, the stateliest and most durable that Tara has known. For some time past the doctrine has been gaining ground that Tara was a place of no political consequence before the establishment of the so called Milesian hegemony: that, in fact, the fabled supremacy of Tara is a myth of Gaelic invention which, in the words of Josef Baudis, was "intended to invest the seat of the parvenu conquerors with some of the splendour of antiquity." ‡

The nature of Tara's early kingship is undoubtedly obscure; but the position of Tara—a commanding natural mound standing

* See Leahy's *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, p. 120.

† *Ogygia*, p. 302; and MacFirbis, pp. 49, 50. O'Flaherty's Trithem is called Trichim by MacFirbis.

‡ *Eriu*, VIII, p. 102.

centrally within a spacious expanse of the richest champaign land in the British Islands—must surely have marked it out from our remotest beginnings as one of the most eligible sites in the country for a national centre of government. Monsieur Baudis, in the same paper, arrives at the conclusions, “(a) that before the coming of the Milesian race, Tara was anciently a place of importance, and (b) that the importance of the king of Tara was due to his priestly nature” ;* and he does so on the strength of certain statements contained in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* and in *De Shil Chonairi Moir*, two Heroic Tales of more ancient date than the Ulster *Tain Bo Cuailgne*. The second of these Tales tells of a stone called *Fal* which stood at the head of the chariot-course in Tara, and relates that “when a man should have the kingship of Tara, it (*Fal*) screeched against his chariot axle, so that all heard it.” This bit of information is accompanied by others of like import ; and the Tale wherein they are preserved belongs, not to the Ulster cycle, but to the still older Conaire, or Erainn, cycle.

The existence at Tara of a stone which was believed to manifest supernatural properties on occasions when the fitness of candidates for the office of kingship had to be determined may, therefore, be legitimately regarded as a genuine tradition of pre-Gaelic Ireland. Mons. Baudis holds, on the evidence, that the pre-Gaelic kingship of Tara was “in its origin a priestly kingship.” The “priest-kings” of M. Baudis would correspond quite well with the superior, semi-divine order of men who were known to Gaelic historians as the *Tuatha De Danann* ; and, for that reason, a certain passage contained in the oldest extant version of the *Leabhar Gabhala* would seem to have a particular relevancy at the present stage of our inquiry. The passage reads :—

“It was the *Tuatha De Danann* brought with them the Great *Fal*, i.e., the Stone of Knowledge which was in Tara, from which Ireland is called the Plain of *Fal*. He under whom it would cry out was the king of Ireland. *Cuchulinn* cleft it and it did not call out under him or under his fosterling, i.e., *Lugaid*, son of the three Fins of *Emain* ; not did the stone call out from that day to this, save under *Conn* alone. Its heart then burst out of it from Tara unto *Tailtiu*, so that is the heart of *Fal*.”†

The *Leabhar Gabhala* is the official charter of the Gaels—a composition having for *motif* the vindication of Gaelic dominance by endowing the dominators with an indisputable seniority in the decisive qualifications of age and racial distinction. The *modus operandi* of its construction consisted in utilising old fragments of tradition that were suited to the purpose in view, and in clothing them with a richly-wrought integument of fiction. It was not by the use of wholesale invention the lettered

* *Loc cit.*, p. 107.

† *Eriu*, VIII, p. 106.

Gaels constructed their national epics. They did not build these fabrics *in vacuo*, or evolve them solely from unreal products of the creative imagination. Had they attempted to do so they would have strained the credulity even of the new oligarchy whom they were seeking racially to exalt. Gathering up the tangled strands of existing tradition the fabricators readjusted and re-pleated them, interwove them with material of their own spinning, and decorated the web with an artificial embroidery which, by pandering to the family pride of their patrons, ensured in due time for the counterfeit tissue a lasting place in public credit and favour.

The methods of forgery used are well illustrated by the old fiction known as *Baile an Scail*, that is the Ecstasy (or Prophecy) of the Spectre.* The Heroic Tale *De Shil Chonaire Moir* relates that the two magical flagstones of Tara, Blocc and Bluigne, drew apart when they accepted a candidate for the high-kingship, so as to allow his chariot to go through, and that Fal, at the end of the drive, screeched against the chariot's axle. In *Baile an Scail* Blocc and Bluigne become the druids Bloc and Bluicne. Accompanied by three druids, of whom Bloc and Bluicne were two, Conn Ced-Chathach, it is told, ascended the hill of Temair at sunrise, and stood on a stone at its top. To his surprise "The stone screamed under his feet so as that it was heard all over Temair." † One of the druids in due course explained: "Fal is the name of the stone. It was out of the Island of Foal it was brought. It was in Temair of the Land of Fal it was set up. In the land of Tailltiu it shall abide for ever; and it is that land that shall be the sporting fair-green as long as there shall be sovereignty in Temair." Then appeared Scal (the Spectre) who revealed to Conn his coming sovereignty at Temair, and the sovereignty of each and all of Conn's descendants. They entered the house in Tara, and saw a young woman there with a diadem of gold upon her head. "And the maiden who was in the house before them was the sovereignty of Erinn for ever."

The *Bruiden Da Derga* is admittedly as old as—and in matter older than—any tale of the Ulster cycle; yet it has much to say of Tara, telling us among other things that a bull-feast was held there on the occasions when kings of Tara were elected. "Go to Tara to-night," said the seer Nemglan to Conaire, "tis fittest for thee. A bull-feast is there, and through it thou shalt be king." ‡

* This curious fragment is printed, with a translation, in O'Curry's *MS. Materials*, pp. 618—622; and by Kuno Meyer (without a translation) in *Zeitschrift f. Celt. Phil.* III, pp. 458 *et seq.*

† O'Curry's *Manuscript Materials*, p. 620. In his *Essay on Temair Breg* Prot. Macalister propounds the theory that "the 'Voice of Fal' was the sound made with the instrument well known to anthropologists as the bull-roarer." (*Proc. of R. I. Academy*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 344).

‡ The bull-feast ceremony at Tara is also mentioned in *Serglige Conchulaind*, one of the very oldest of the Ulster Tales,

Tara, no doubt, is assigned but a subordinate place in the Ulster sagas ; but, as Monsieur Josef Baudis points out, in these sagas " everything is regarded from a distinctly Ulster point of view." " Consequently," he adds, " they may have deliberately ignored the position of pre-historic Tara, because of the unacceptable claims of contemporary Tara."* The *Baile an Scail*, in telling us that " the stone screamed under his (Conn's) feet," conveys in poetic language a cardinal fact of the teaching of early Gaelic story-tellers, the fact, namely, that the sceptre of Tara, which the house of Labraidh Loingsech had long held, and which the house of Rudhraige Mor had violently coveted, then passed in perpetuity to Conn and his race.

Conn Ced-Chatach † was evidently as wily as he was brave. In him were blended the natural gifts of an Odysseus with those of an Achilles ; and policy had probably not less to do with establishing him at Tara than the achievements of his much be-lauded valour. But it behoves us to discount considerably the glowing tales which trumpet Conn's commanding potency in Erin. In all likelihood Conn's power at Tara was, constitutionally at all events, as restricted as the authority which Cairbre Niafer had there wielded during his troubled reign. While Conn sat at Tara another adventurous chief, Eoghan Mor by name, sprang up in the South, and by force of arms made himself for a period a co-partner of Conn in sovereignty over Erin. ‡

Conn and Eoghan, we are assured, divided Ireland between them ; and the assurance is well deserving of credit. But if by Ireland be meant in this connection effective ownership of Ireland's soil, and governmental control of Ireland's people, Conn and Eoghan assumed joint rights of appropriation which did not belong to them—rights, in fact, which they were never able to acquire. The Clann-Dedad, the Laigin, the Ulaid, and the Olneg-mact, still ruled in their respective Coiced, unshaken each and all by the designs and the pretensions of Eoghan and Conn. Eoghan's son, Oilill Olum, succeeded in attaining the head-regency of Munster, and the sway of the Clann-Dedad concurrently came to an end. But more than a century had to elapse, and four generations had to go by, before a prince of Conn's line took possession of Cruachan as king of Conn's native Coiced.

Though Conn must have been of royal blood, he was nevertheless essentially an upstart ; but when an upstart gets on top his social disabilities—the very audacity of his projects in the struggle for self-advancement—only add to his *eclat*, and heighten the pride of his family connections. The Clann Morna of the West, responding to Conn's summons, helped Uirgriu of the Luaigni Temrach to destroy Cumhall, father of Finn, at the battle

* *Erin*, VIII, p. 103.

† This epithet means, not " of the hundred fights," but " fighter of a hundred."

‡ See *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 179.

of Cnucha;* and, again, the Fir-Craibe king, Conall Cruachna, and his sons, as well as the Clann Morna, fought for Conn at Magh Leana on the day when his great rival, Eoghan Mor, was slain.† On receipt of Eoghan's demands at Conn's camp, "Conn," says the old Tale, "summoned his councillors about him to speak to him, namely, Conall and Goll, and the men of Cruachain, and the heroes of Magh Aoi."‡ The negotiations proved abortive, notwithstanding Conn's willingness to make most humiliating concessions to his adversary; and the dispute had eventually to be committed to the arbitrament of the sword. "It is certain," said Conall Cruachna, when heartening Conn before the decisive battle, "you shall have the generous protective hosts of Connacht with all their might on this occasion; for it is certain that every one of their nobles who is your senior, is a tutor to you; and every one who is younger than your age, of their children, are all foster-children to you; and all their champions who are of the same age with you, are all your fellow companions."§ But, still apprehensive of defeat, Conn, notwithstanding Conall's encouragement, offered to surrender Leath Chuinn to Eoghan, if left in possession of Tara and Connacht. "Let him leave me," he instructed the envoys who conveyed his peace proposals, "the province of Connacht unshared; and the territory of Teffia; and Tara with its profits; for by those I was fed since my birth."|| Eoghan Mor rejected these terms, and fell in consequence by the blows of Conn's foster-brothers from Connacht.

As the generations passed by the old tribes of the west ceased to be styled Olnegmact and became universally known as Connachta, or Conn's people. Under Conn's descendants the chiefs of these old tribes were subsequently shorn of their regal status, while the nobles and freemen were disfranchised and reduced to vassalage. But they had not to endure the ignominy of wholesale eviction or displacement. In the fifth century, when Maine Mor, great-great-grandson of Colla da Crich, usurped a vast principality west of the Shannon, Connacht was still in the hands of the Fir Bolg.¶

In mediæval times Fir Bolg communities abode around Sliabh Badgna and Sliabh Echtge, as vassal servitors of the O'Kelly overlord of Ui-Maine.** The *Cath Boinde* names the three chief divisions of the Olnegmact, Gamanraide, Dal n-Druithni and Fir-

* See *Macgnimartha Finn* in Ossianic Society's Transactions, V, p. 291.

† *Cath Muighe Leana*, p. 100 et seq.

‡ *Cath Muighe Leana*, p. 67. All the other "Councillors" mentioned belonged to Meath and Teffia.

§ *Ibidem*, p. 101.

|| *Ibidem*, p. 105.

¶ See Extract from the old-Irish Life of St. Grellan, printed by O'Donovan in the Introduction to his *Tribes and Customs of Hy Many*. The same Life (*Beatha Ghreallain*) has now been published in full by the Bollandists, in the fourth November volume of their *Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 488—495.

** See *Journal*, II, 170.

Craibe, and in so doing shows that the Dal n-Druithni were most probably the leading sept of the Tuatha Taidhen. In course of time the Dal n-Druithni sank to be the conveyers and custodians of the O'Kelly's wine.* It was Cormac MacAirt who initiated the displacements of the Olnegmact when he gave Corann to the Gailenga, or Luigni.† That large area, co-extensive with the present diocese of Achonry, had previously been peopled by the Fir Domhnann and the Gaileoin.‡

Though Conn Ced-Chathach doubtless secularised Tara the Fal Mor and the stones Blocc and Bluigne would nevertheless have remained objects of superstitious awe and reverence until St. Patrick preached before King Laegaire. Conn, like Henry of Navarre—Henri Quatre of France—raised himself by daring deeds to the monarchic summit of his ambition. And, just as Henry the Fourth's lustre pales in contrast with that of his grandson, Louis XIV, the most eminent of the Bourbons, so is Conn's fame eclipsed by the loftier and more sterling distinction of his able grandson, Cormac MacAirt, the real architect of Gaelic supremacy in Ireland. Skilled in the arts of handling his fellow-countrymen, Cormac dazzled their imaginations by the profuseness of his liberality, and conciliated their wayward tempers by an equally lavish hospitality. "Cormac," says the Preface to an ancient poem on Tara,§ "gave presents to one thousand persons each day, besides poets and musicians, in gold and silver, and chariots and horses and garments." ||

The magnificence of the banquets and ceremonial assemblies over which Cormac presided invested Tara with a splendour which was never rivalled either in its previous or its subsequent history. Unfortunately for Tara, economic laws were as stringently operative in ancient Ireland, though perhaps not so well understood or so closely studied, as they are to-day; and economic principles will not sanction indefinitely the expenditure needed for festivities of frequent recurrence, when enlarged to a national scale.¶ The sumptuary prestige of Tara naturally declined after the reign of Cormac, for Cormac's successors were evidently

* "The Dal Druithni have the carrying of the wine from the harbours of the west of Connaught to the seats of the arch-chief." (*Tribes and Customs of Hy Many*, p. 91).

† These were an entirely different people from the Luaigni, one being—"People of Loch" (father of Dela), and the other—"People of Lugh."

‡ "Has regiones et Corannæ partem, a Camnoniis et Galeniis catenus inessas legimus." *Ogygia*, p. 334. O'Flaherty latinises Gaileoin as Galenii, while the C of Camnonii is here obviously a misprint for D.

§ Printed in Petrie's Essay on Tara Hill (*Transactions of R. I. Academy*, Vol. XVIII).

|| *Ibidem*, p. 199.

¶ *Teste* Keating, who writes: "About this time Cormac, son of Art, king of Ireland, felt a scarcity of meat, having spent the rents of the Provinces because of the extent of his household staff" (Vol. II, p. 319). Keating's source was *Forbuis Droma Damhghaire*, now published in *Revue Celtique* for 1926. (See pp. 12—14.)

unable to maintain the costly standard of the precedents which he had set in the entertainment of his guests at state functions. Hence we read that the banqueting hall of King Laegaire at Tara was but one-third of the extent of the celebrated hall of Cormac.* Niall Naoi-Ghiallach, the same document tells us, visited Tara thrice, and thrice in succession took there the hostages of Ireland. Niall, it is to be feared, neglected the affairs of Ireland, and concentrated his activities on foreign expeditions, whence he generally returned with rich cargoes of gold, silver, and other valuables, as well as with shiploads of captives to be sold far and wide into slavery. He was probably seen at Tara only on the occasions when he went there in regal state to hold the *Feis*,

Though the poets repaid Cormac's munificence by enshrining his name in eulogistic verse, and abstained from censuring his extravagance, it is far from unlikely, nevertheless, that the bounteous and much-applauded monarch overstrained the resources of Tara's treasury. Yet we should not on that account credit him with wilful or reckless improvidence, for in the moulding of Cormac's measures and designs a far-seeing statesmanship invariably cooperated. As representing the primitive type of kingship that endured under the Gaelic constitution Cormac would compare much less suitably with a Bourbon or a Tudor sovereign than with the early French kings of the house of Hugh Capet—sceptred figure-heads who looked up to, rather than down upon, the more powerful dukes and counts of their own ill-compacted realm. In Connacht, Ulster, Leinster and Munster he enjoyed no administrative rights of government. In actual fact Fiachu Muillethan, king of Munster,† both defied Cormac, and signally defeated him in a battle which, after full preparation at both sides, was fought as a deliberate trial of strength. On another occasion the Ulaid rose out in strong force against Cormac, exacted hostages from him, and made him fly for protection to the Connachta.‡

Distrusting the Luaigni Cormac chose for his military arm the Fianna of Finn MacCumhaill; and as a counterpoise to the schemes of the turbulent Luaigni he surrounded Tara with settlements of his own kinsfolk, the western Gailenga and Luigni.§ The baronies of Lune (Luigni) and Morgallion (Gailenga Mor) in Meath retain the names of two of those transplanted colonies. The endowment lands of the Gailenga Mor, there is much reason to surmise, were selected with the view of warding off assaults on Tara from the Breifne side, by barricading the gateway through which Conn Ced-Chathach would seem to have effected entrance

* Petrie's *Tara Hill*, p. 197.

† There was then but one Munster kingdom, the two Munster crowns having been united by Fiachu's grandfather, Oilill Olum.

‡ Keating, III, 363. Tigernach, in *Rev. Celt.* XVII, p. 16.

§ See *Ogygia*, III, Chap. 69.

when he marched round from Connacht to measure swords with Cathair Mor. Those Gailenga lands stretched north beyond the present limits of Meath, and extended through the barony of Clankee to Sliabh Guaire, near Cavan town.* As thus placed, the Gailenga owned the ill-famed Magh Bolg, a danger spot that was long and bitterly execrated by Conn's race.

The Gailenga wing of County Cavan overlapped the descendants of the old Ernai, from whom the Breslenn champions of Breifne may be presumed to have sprung. These Ernai, without a doubt, had an oppidum at, or near, Cavan; and the particular seat, most likely, was their headquarters east of the Erne. The old gloss of the *Felire* of Oengus names the same oppidum Ernaide, and describes it as being in "Sliabh Guaire of Gailenga." † *Ernaide*, it should be noted, had become a long-established place-name of Sliabh Guaire before the district got absorbed into Gailenga; but chronological inversions of the kind exemplified in this note, though calculated to mislead unwary students of our early topography, are sometimes difficult to avoid.

The same name-word, Ernaide, adhered with equal tenacity to a fertile district between the rivers Finn and Derg, where Ernai chiefs once held sway, ruling from a dun situated near the northern frontier of their territory. The Annals of Ulster record (496 A.D.): "The rest (death) of Cormac, bishop of Armagh, successor of Patrick." A scribal annotator explained, in the margin of the manuscript: "Epscop Cormac Crich-in-Ernaidhe." The Four Masters style the same comharb-bishop "Corbmac a Chrich in Ernaidhe"; and O'Donovan, who correctly renders the epithet, "Cormac of Criche-an-Earnaide," elucidates thus—"i.e., the territory of the Oratory or little Church."

The Crich-an-Earnaide in question corresponds, in so far as it is traceable, to the parish of Urney, near Ardstraw, lying west of the river Mourne in the County Tyrone and stretching into the barony of Raphoe in Donegal—a parish which comprises upwards of 14,500 acres. ‡ *Prima facie* the explanation that would derive the title of such an extensive land-area from an "oratory or little church" is clearly undeserving of credit. The Irish word Urnaidhe, or Ornaidhe, meaning *oratorium*, survives all over

* See Stokes's *Calendar of Oengus*, p. 156. Sliabh Guaire was a pretty extensive district, including apparently the hilly core of the barony of Upper Loughtee.

† "ocus ernaide nomen civitatis ejus hisleib guaire hingailengaib" (*loco citato*). In describing Goiraidh Ua Raghallaigh, king of East Breifne in the 12th century, as "king of Machaire Gaileng," and Donuchadh, son of Art an Cailleac (Art the Cock) Ua Ruairc, king of Breifne in the 11th century, as "king of Connacht and Gaileng," the monastic conveyancers who drew the Irish Charters of the Book of Kells seemingly regarded Gailenga of Co. Cavan as politically synonymous with East Breifne. (See *Irish Archaeological Miscellany*, Vol. I, pp. 128—131.)

‡ This Urney parish has nearly double the extent of the Urney parish in Cavan. (See Lewis's *Topog. Dictionary*).

Ireland, in the dual forms *Urney* and *Nurney*, used as place-names denoting localities associated with the sites of early oratories.* But the localities so denoted, though some of them have in modern times been formed into parishes for purely ecclesiastical purposes, are invariably of limited or inconsiderable extent. Of the ancient, or *civil*, parishes enumerated in Irish diocesan records two, and two only, bear the name *Urney*. One of these comprehends the present town of Cavan, and the other lies in Tyrone and Donegal, around an axial line running from Strabane to Castlederg.

Just as obscurity has been cast on folk-names by the practice of prefixing *Fir* to primary appellatives, so in like manner has the use of *Crich* as a topical *prænomen* tended, not infrequently, to embarrass the proper understanding of our topographical nomenclature. As thus employed the symbol *crich* may help us in determining the age of a document, for its introduction did not begin before the early mediæval period of our literature. The term *Mughdornai*, for example, served in early writings to denote, primarily, the descendants of Colla da Menn as well as, secondarily, the territory occupied by the sum total of their family branches.† The Annalists convert the territorial designation into *Crich Mughdorna*: and the compound word survives as the name (Cremorne) of a barony in Co. Monaghan. But the Cremorne barony is only a fraction of the original kingdom of the Mughdornai. Similarly, the *Crich in Ernaidhe* of the Four Masters, spacious though its extent is shown to have been by the extant, yet doubtless much diminished, area of the corresponding parish of Urney, was but an insignificant fragment of the patrimony of the long-submerged Ernai of Breifne.

Tignach lifts this reasoning well above the level of mere speculation, and bases it on firm testamentary ground, by his record of the *obit* of Bishop Cormac to wit: "Epscop Cormac in Ernide; comarba Patric, pausavit."‡ Would the staunchest confider in O'Donovan have the temerity to plead that a successor of St. Patrick in the primatial see of Armagh might have been known to his contemporaries as "Cormac of the Oratory," even could it be shown that a little shrine did actually exist in the border district near the Foyle, which is acknowledged to have been Bishop Cormac's birth-place? Father John Colgan hits the mark unerringly in this instance, by describing Bishop Cormac

* See Joyce's *Place Names*, I, 321.

† See Genealogical Table, *sub finem*. So, too, *Laigin* and *Ulaid* stood, respectively, for Leinster and Ulster (as well as for the ruling nations of those Coicedes) ere the new-tangled designations *Crich Laigen* and *Crich Ulad* were invented.

‡ O'Conor's *Rerum Hib. Script.*, II, 125. *Revue Celtique*, XVII, 123. Dr. O'Conor, evidently taking the *in* of *Ernide* to be an *m*, and said *m* to be an abbreviated *mac*, latinises the name, "Cormacus filius Ernide" i.e., "Cormac, son of Ernid." The Bk. of Leinster describes this Comharb as "primus abbas de Chlaind Chernaig."

as "de regione Ernaidhe." * Ernaidhe was a *region*, or—like the Ernaidhe of Gailenga in Cavan—a *civitas*, that is to say, a little territory owned by a separate civic community. Two patches of the dominion of Ptolemy's Erdini, it is thus seen, retained unmistakably in the fifth and sixth centuries the native designation of that long-forgotten people who, in olden times, colonised the basin of the Erne, maintaining contact at one side with the Voluntii (Ulaid) of Emain Macha, at another with the Nagnatae (Ol n-Egmact) of Cruachan and Irros Domnann, and at a third with the Vennicnii of the Donegal highlands and coast †—a people who, if I do not mistake in my diagnosis of their identity, played a notable part in the early history of our country. ‡

Seeing that the Ernai who dwelt north of the Erne had a royal station near Strabane they must have occupied a considerable part of the present County Tyrone, as well as a marginal tract of Donegal. These Ernai would seem to have got politically fused with the Ulaid some centuries before the Collas drove the two populations together east of the Bann and Glenn Righe rivers; § for in *Cath Airtig* it is told that, when Cuscraid, son of Conor MacNessa, was dividing his lands he gave the country near Loch Erne to his brother Maine. ||

Cormac MacAirt and his house, as has been seen, relied mainly on Connacht in their seasons of peril, and, when in distress, turned always to Connacht as their safest refuge. Eventually Cormac's great-grandson, Muiredach Tirech (Muiredach the Land-grabber) assumed the kingship of Connacht, and transmitted that dignity to his son, Eochaid Muighmeadhon. This usurpation it was, and not the vindictive measures attributed to the surreptitious Tuathal Techtmar, that inaugurated the depression of the Olnegmact populations to the status of Aitech Tuatha. In Connacht the prolific progeny of Eochaid Muighmeadhon had to be accommodated with lands in their own right; and for the princelings of every generation new confiscations had consequently to be enforced until the lordships thus carved out practically covered the whole of Coiced Olnegmact.

Eochaid Muighmeadhon's spouse was Mongfinn, a princess of the house of Eoghan Mor; and by her Eochaid begot four sons,

* *Acta Sanct. Hib.*, I, 359. Canon O'Hanlon (*Lives of the Saints*, II, p. 601) suggests, not too sapiently, that *Crich an Ernidhe* "may be a corruption of *Crioch Leoghaire*." This inept suggestion seems to have been prompted by the hagiologists who make Cormac a son of Prince Enda, and, therefore, a nephew of King Lægair. Enda's usurped lordship was the present barony of Raphoe, a corner of which is included in the parish of Urney.

† See *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 77.

‡ I mean the Fomoragh. I have worked out this thesis in a Paper contributed to the forthcoming issue of the *Galway Historical Journal*.

§ Fiatach Finn, progenitor of the Dal Fiatach, was presumably a hereditary chief of the same (Northern) Ernai. See *Journal*, Vol. II, pp. 185-6.

|| *Eriu*, VIII, p. 174.

Brian, Fiachra, Ailill and Fergus. From Brian, the eldest of the family, descended the various stocks of Ui-Briuin. But to Eochaid another, and a still younger, son was borne by Cairenn Casdubh, a bondmaid of royal parentage, whom he had brought home as a captive from one of his raids to Britain.* Of Cairenn's boy the king-poet Cuan Ua Lothchain relates: "Yellow as standard gold refined was the splendour of the noble locks of Nial Mac-Echdach."† As Niall Naoi n-Ghiallach that golden-haired youth subsequently surpassed all his forefathers in renown; and at Tara he received hostages not alone from the five subordinate kings of Erin, but likewise from four tributary kings of Alba. Brian, being the first-born of the family, should have inherited the crown of Tara; but Niall's dashing qualities and commanding personality so captivated his father and the nobles of Erin that, overlooking both his baseness of birth and his immaturity in years, they chose him for crown-prince.

Magnanimous by nature Niall, on attaining the sovereignty, made Brian his chief legate in war and delegated to him the kingship of Connacht.‡ But Fiachra, and his son Nathi, or Dathi, being smitten with jealousy because of his preferment, rose out against Brian; and he fell in a battle fought near Headford in County Galway.§ Of Brian's twenty-four sons the youngest, Dui Galach,|| was his especial favourite; and this Dui held the sceptre of Connacht for nineteen years¶ until he was slain in battle under the Curliu mountains. Dui Galach was a contemporary and a convert of St. Patrick; and he it was who gave land, near Ballinasloe, to the Apostle's disciple, St. Grellan.° for the monastery which became the ecclesiastical capital of Ui-Maine. With one exception the sons of Brian, it is said, received baptism from St. Patrick;∴ and aided his evangelising labours in the west. To Dui Galach belongs the distinction of having been Connacht's first Christian king,** though his predecessor, Amal-

* See *Ectra mac Echdach Mugmedoin* (in *Eriu*, Vol. IV), p. 93.

† *Ibid.*, p. 95. This evidence shows that Niall was, anthropologically, of the true Wiro type.

‡ See *Aided Crimhainn Meic Fidaig*, translated by S. H. O'Grady in *Silva Gadelica*, II, p. 375.

§ The battle of Damhcluain. See O'Donovan's *Hy-Fiachrach*, p. 95; and, for fuller particulars, *Silva Gadelica*, I, 333, and *Zeit f. Celt. Phil.* XIV, 253.

|| Commonly styled Duach Galach. *Duach* is the genitive of *Dui*.

¶ See Bk. of Leinster list of Connacht kings, at p. 41 of facsimile copy.

° See *Beathach Ghrallain*, in *AA.SS. Bollandiana* (1925), at p. 490; and extract from Irish Life of St. Grellan in O'Donovan's *Hy Many*, p. 8.

∴ See *S. Benigni Vita Gadelica*, in *AA.SS. Bollandiana* (1925), pp. 175, 176; and Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*, p. 207 (*Vita Benigni*).

** Keating amplifies the hagiologist by relating that St. Patrick with twelve bishops attended at Dui's inauguration as king of Connacht.

gaidh—the great Dathi's brother—is sometimes credited with the honour*.

Amalgaid died in 440, "the first king of Connacht *after the faith*" † and it may be taken as certain that Dui did not succeed him immediately; for Ailill Molt, Dathi's son, is invariably numbered among the kings of Connacht. But Dui, at all events, was the first king whom the Clann Briain, or Ui-Briuin, gave to Connacht; and had he not been both *galach* (valorous) and *garg* (fierce), as the Book of Ballymote ‡ attests, his chances of snatching the kingship from Fiachra's line would have been slight indeed. The prestige of Dathi and of Ailill Molt, both of whom attained the monarchic dignity §, ensured for the Clann Fiachrach, as against the Clann Briain, a decided advantage at the start in the struggle for supremacy in Connacht. For upwards of three centuries the Clann-Fiachrach, though sometimes displaced or hard pressed, succeeded in maintaining the lead; and then again, in the eighth century, they pushed to the front for a brief period, before finally succumbing to the Ui-Briuin. But from about the year 790 onwards the descendants of Brian enjoyed unchallenged hegemony in Connacht.

The offspring of every son of Brian had the right to be accounted members of the Ui-Briuin *gens*. But of Brian's twenty-four sons some passed away childless, while the posterity transmitted by many more disappeared in a few generations. From his son Conall Orisen sprang the Ui-Briuin Umhaill, whose chiefs were the O'Malleys. From Conall Glu came the Ui-Briuin na Sinna (of the Shannon), who had the O'Monahans and the O'Beirnes for reguli. The Ui-Briuin Ratha, who issued from another son of Brian, occupied seats near Clare-Galway, under O'Dalaigh and O'Callanan lordlings. But these were only side rills as compared with the great central stream of Ui-Briuin, that flowed from Dui Galach as its originating source. Dui's son, Eoghan Sremh, figures in the Book of Ballymote among the kings of Connacht; ||

* See e.g. O'Donovan's Note to F. Masters, *sub. anno* 449. The authorities cited by O'Donovan at p. 310 of his *Hy Fiachrach* would only prove that Amalgaid's seven sons were converted by St. Patrick; while the *Tripartite Life* would imply that Amalgaid himself was not then living. MacFirbis (*ibidem*) says, somewhat ambiguously, that Amalgaid "believed on St. Patrick" ("do chred do Naomh Padraig"). † *Chronicon Scotorum*.

‡ See, at p. 58, a poem on the Christian Kings of Connacht.

§ Clann Fiachrach poets also reckoned Dathi's brothers, Erc Culbuidhe and Amalgaid, among Erin's high-kings. (See *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 93.) The inconsistencies which all our regnal lists, both major and minor, present are the natural result of rivalries for headship among the leading families, from top to bottom of the political order, for the lists were composed by poets and chroniclers steeped in the prejudices of the particular families to whom they were severally attached.

|| He is not in the Bk. of Leinster list, the explanation being, no doubt, that he was unacknowledged by the Clann Fiachrach. Ui-Briuin inspiration is still more patently betrayed by the fragmentary codex of "Tigernach," which, while ignoring Niall, instals Brian as high-king for nine years. (See *Revue Celtique* XVII, p. 389.)

but neither Eoghan's son Muiredhach Mal, nor his grandson Fergus, attained the provincial suzerainty. Fergus, however, begot three sons, Dui Tengumha, Eochaid Tirmcharna, and Fergna, who were all men of uncommon note and, as events proved, served as pillar-props whereon to rest the fabric of Ui-Briuin dominance in Connacht that subsequently rose to towering height. Notwithstanding the opposition of Clann Fiachrach, Dui Tengumha and Eochaid Tirmcharna acquired in turn the headship of Connacht; while Fergna extended the family's influence by seizing a new lordship in Breifne.

Fergna was the progenitor of the Ui-Briuin of Breifne; and from him that branch of the Ui-Briuin took the appellation Clann-Fergna.* As alternatively entitled after Fergna's son, Aedh Finn, the same people were known by the name Sil Aedha Finn.† Aed Finn makes some appearances in the records of his time. Thus, in the Life of St. Berach of Tarmonbarry, he is seen acting, at the instance of Aedh, king of Connacht (son of Eochaid Tirmcharna), and in association with Aedh, king of Teffia, as arbitrator in an important suit brought by the saint; ‡ and again, in the *Imtheacht na Tromdhaimhe* ("Proceedings of the Great Assembly") Aedh Finn comes prominently to view as the patron of Dallan Forgaill, and the jealous rival of Aedh Dubh, king of Airghialla.§ No dates can be assigned for Aedh's regnal term in Breifne; but he apparently enjoyed a long reign, and we may infer from the data here given that he survived until late in the sixth century.

Through Fergus's sons the infant stream of Ui-Briuin nobility branched into three vigorous currents that speedily overflowed and submerged many of the decaying Olnegmact populations. The multiplying Clann Fergna divided and sub-divided into numerous septs, of which the chief were the O'Ruaircs and the O'Raghallaighs. The descendants of Dui Tengumha settled in Magh Seola, east of Lough Corrib, in two major family-groups, under the chieftaincy of the O'Flahertys. But it was from Eochaid Tirmcharna issued the premier stock of Ui-Briuin, namely, the Sil-Muiredhaigh O'Conors, and their offshoots, the Clann Cathail O'Flanagans, the Clann-Maolruanaidh Mac-Dermots and MacDonoghs, as well as various other families of the Gaelic aristocracy of the west. Having beaten down the Ui-Fiachrach, north and south, before the end of the eighth century the breed of Dui Galach held universal sway in Connacht as its paramount lords from that date until the advent of the Anglo-Norman De Burghs.

* *Book of Fenagh*, p. 281. Giolla Iosa Mor MacFirbis (*Hy Fiachrach*, p. 178) calls them "Sil Fheargna, na fir a tuaid," i.e., "Seed of Fergna, the men of the north."

† *Ibidem*, p. 82.

‡ See *Vita Sancti Berachi* in Plummer's *Vitæ Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, II, pp. 81-3.

§ Ossianic Society's Publications, Vol. V.

When were the Ui-Briuin first introduced to Breifne? Some are apt to assume that the racial seed was planted there by the ancestral Brian himself;* but this assumption is unwarranted and untenable. If Brian had migrated to Breifne, and there settled down, his offspring could never have competed with the powerful house of Dathi for the sovereignty of Connacht. The brothers Dui Tengumha and Eochaid Tirmcharna could not possibly have wrested the headship of Connacht from the martial progeny of Ailill Molt, nurtured from boyhood on expectations of the ardriship, had distant Breifne been their birth-place and domicile. The residential seat of Fergus and of his three worthy sons was evidently in the west; and their patrimony, as might easily be shown, was the territory of the ancient Tuatha Taidhen in Galway and Roscommon. It was there consequently Fergna, the junior member of the family, must have grown to man's estate.

Both the historical and the saga literature testify that, after Brian's death, predominance in Connacht passed to the family of his brother, Fiachra Foltsnathach.† The rebellious Fiachra, it is told, appropriated all north-west Connacht, even during Brian's life-time, leaving to Brian and his 24 sons only the south-eastern half of the Coiced.‡ When St. Patrick preached in the west he found Brian's children dwelling, not in Breifne—not even in Mayo or Sligo—but in Roscommon and Galway.§ While the ascendancy of Fiachra's line lasted no dream of expansion in northern directions would have been realisable by the progeny of Brian; and all extant evidence negatives the supposition that they effected any push of the kind.

During the fifth century Tara's sceptre was shared between the families of Fiachra, Niall's brother, and of Laegaire, Niall's son. The order of succession was: 1, Niall; 2, Dathi, son of Fiachra; 3, Laegaire, son of Niall; 4, Oilill Molt, son of Dathi; 5, Lugaid, son of Laegaire. Closely watching events, the household of Eoghan meanwhile gathered strength in the north; and then, when the hour for action arrived, Eoghan's grandson, Muircertach Mac Erca, "Hector of the Ui-Neill,"¶ stepped to the front, and seized the sovereignty of Erin. The vacancy was created in 508 by the death of Lugaid who, like his unredeemed father, was killed by a thunderbolt, "after he had renounced the Tailchenn," that is, St. Patrick.¶¶ The seed of Laegaire thenceforth generated only Meath princelings. But the race of Dathi and

* *Phases of Irish History* (MacNeill), p. 129; *History of the Irish State* (A. S. Green), pp. 53-4.

† In these genealogies two Fiachras are to be distinguished, one from another, viz., Fiachra Foltsnathach, Dathi's father—i.e., Brian's brother—and Fiachra Elgach, Dathi's son, from whom came the MacFirbisigh.

‡ See, e.g. the Tale *Eachtra Chonaill Gulbain* in *Zeit fur Celt. Phil.*, XIV (at p. 225).

§ See *Trip. Life* I, 107; II, p. 319; and *AA. SS. Bolland*, loc. cit.

¶ See O'Donovan's Note to *Four Masters*, sub anno 504.

¶¶ Tigernach,

Oilill Molt still maintained a station in the west whose power was a restraining curb on the Ui-Briuin, and a standing menace to Ui-Neill dominance in Tara. To the overthrow of that race Ailech's war-lords resolutely bent their energies, and eventually the cherished purpose was accomplished by the brothers Fergus and Domnall, two invincible sons of Murcertach MacErcá. It was these young lions of battle who defeated and slew, first, Oilill Molt's grandson, Eoghan Bel, near Sligo in 546, and, secondly, Eoghan Bel's son, Oilill Inbanda, at Cuil Chonaire in 549. Fergus and Domnall, in the sequel, reigned jointly over Erin; and to them and their father the distinction belongs of having founded the splendid dynasty of Cinel Eoghain high-kings.

Crushed down by the two overwhelming disasters the descendants of Dathi had to cede overlordship in Connacht to the descendants of Brian, and Dui Teuguma, son of Fergus, mounted the Connacht throne. The colonising ambitions of the Ui-Briuin, being no longer held under check, were thus free to operate; and it was at this auspicious juncture Dui's brother, Fergna, migrated to Breifne. The transformation of Breifne into Ui-Briuin Breifne dates from the northward migration of Fergna and his attendant retinue of prospectors; and that migration may safely be referred to the middle of the sixth century.

If we set side by side the political maps of Connacht as sketched, respectively, for the second or third century, and for the seventh century of our era, we shall be able to perceive at a glance the true meaning of the suppressions and the enslavements of old population-groups which the orthodox historians of the Gaels have ascribed to Tuathal Techtmar. The Tract on the Aithech Tuatha, for example, relates that Tuathal, when he had vanquished the pre-Gaelic inhabitants in every quarter of Ireland, imposed the yoke of servitude on them, and distributed them throughout the country as rent-payers, in forty-six penal colonies. Among the number is scheduled: "Tuath Fer Domnann in the country of Ceara, and in Ui Amalgad, and in Ui Fiachrach north, from the river Rodb to the river Congnach, in Carpri of Drom Cliabh."§ An uninstructed reader would naturally gather from this circumstantial statement that the Fir Domnann were transported, some to the Ui-Amalgaid country, some to that of the northern Ui-Fiachrach, some to the Ui Cairpri lands around Drumcliff. Every reasonably informed student of our history knows that the Ui-Cairpri of Drumcliff were brought into being by Cairpre, a son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, that the Ui-Fiachrach were non-existent before the time of Fiachra, Brian's brother; and that the Ui-Amalgaid owed their genesis to Amalgaid, a brother of Dathi.

In the same document we read, "Tuath Masraighe on Magh

§ O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*, I, p. 29.

Sleacht in Ui-Briuin Breifne” ; and from it we learn, *inter alia*, that tuaths of the Mic Umor (Children of Umor) were planted among the Ui Briuin of Magh Seola and among the Ui-Briuin of Umhall. Conditions of slavery cannot be enforced on a convict settlement unless slave-masters are set over it in sufficient number to repress every symptom of mutiny and of insurgence. The Gaels did not police, or regimentalise, subject states according to the methods devised by Roman consuls, and ever since universally applied by European governments. Having overcome a victim community the encroaching party of Gaels appropriated the territory, compelled the dispossessed population to yield them rent and service, and beat down sporadic outbreaks of resistance with a strong hand. In the nature of things a *tuath* of serfs could not have subsisted, as such, if not subordinated to an executive of territorial superiors. Where, throughout the whole length and breadth of Ireland, is any trace discoverable of a ruling aristocracy descended from Tuathal Techtmar, other than the flourishing family-groups that were comprehended in the race of Conn ?

The Masraighe were autonomous in Magh Sleacht in 464, when they raided Meath and slew Conall Gulban ;* nor did their hereditary franchises suffer impairment until the Ui-Briuin Clann-Fergna entered their lands. The Gamanraide similarly remained lords of Iros Domnann until they were dispossessed in Tíreragh (Tír Fhiachrach) by Fiachra, brother of Niall,† in Tirawley (Tír-Amhalghaidh) by Amalgaid, brother of Dathi, in Carbury of Drumcliff (Cairpre Droma Cliabh) by Cairbre, son of Niall, in Tirerrill (Tír Ailello) by Ailill, another brother of Niall and of Brian. So, too, were the offspring of Umor undisturbed in Magh Seola, and in Umhall, until two sons of Brian captured their patrimonies and converted them into two Ui-Briuin estates. Thus were the ancient Olnegmact and the folk-groups of Breifne brought piecemeal under the sway of the Ui-Briuin, the Ui-Fiachrach, and the Clann Neill.

Throughout the greater part of Leath-Chuinn (Conn's Half) the same process of proprietorial replacement was repeated ; while in Munster the Clann Degaid, or Ernai, sank in like manner under the descendants of Eoghan Mor. It was not the so-called Aithech-Tuatha who were “distributed” in the course of this revolution. The dispersal appertained only to the Connachta and the Eoghanacta, who spread themselves as dynasts over the existing population-groups, shattered the old orders of nobility, and by means of close-knit family federations acquired an enduring ascendancy in the commonwealth. Conn and Eoghan were the founders of Gaelic Ireland, the progenitors of the stocks who, in a transcendent degree, constituted “the noble Gael.” Eoghan

* See *Book of Fenagh*, pp. 89 and 139.

† Ceara (Carra barony in Mayo) was part of this kingdom before the decline of the Ui-Fiachrach.

and Conn were the realities by the imaging of whom our epic romancers evolved the *simulacra*, Eber and Eremon, "sons of Mil of Spain."

Tuathal Techtmar, just as distinctly as Mil or Eremon, is a figment of bardic history.* The forgers of Tuathal's saga betray themselves irremediably by overlooking a detail of cardinal importance. While allocating the serfs to their several habitats, they leave the deported colonies to their own resources for three centuries, until task-masters are bred for them in the era of Ireland's emancipation from the bonds of paganism. Among the folk-appellations of these taskmasters the name of Tuathal Techtmar is nowhere to be seen. Indeed the fabulist who first conceived the spurious Tuathal, and assigned him his rôle in history, wantonly, yet foolishly, libelled the repute of the Olnegmact warriors from whom the Clann-Chuinn themselves sprang, as well as the character of all the hero-breeds of ancient Ireland; for who would believe for one moment that the sturdy fighting-men of Erin's five Coicedes, among whom still flourished the races of Cet Mac Magach and of Curoi MacDaire, could have been hammered into servitude from end to end of the land by a single horde of volunteer filibusters from Alba, led by a prince who was barely grown to manhood?

During the century or two when the Clann-Chuinn—i.e., the Clann Colla, the Clann-Neill and the Ui-Briuin—were expanding most rapidly Leath Chuinn must inevitably have been convulsed with many outbreaks of insurrectionary strife. It is not to be supposed that the Gamanraide of Irros Domnann all at once subsided meekly under the heels of the usurping Ui-Fiachrach and Ui-Amalgaidh, or that the sturdy Fir Craibe of Aidne submitted without a blow to the southern Ui-Fiachrach, or that the *Sen-tuatha* of Breifne—the Masraighe, the Catraighe, the Glasraighe, and their less-known associates in occupation—timidly surrendered, or vacated, their strongholds and fastnesses at the approach of the Ui-Briuin. Being utterly destitute of cohesion, and too witless to band themselves together in a combined effort of resistance, the old populations were crushed to impotence, one by one, during the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries; but there can be no doubt whatever that the era of racial aggrandisement which witnessed their subjugation was ensanguined by much bloodshed, the concomitant of armed exertions, widespread and obstinate, which the petty states made, first, to defend themselves against aggression, and afterwards to shake off the yoke of thralldom.

Numbers of the local conflicts which then disrupted the national concord were, doubtless, well remembered in after years; and,

* I do not mean to deny the possible *existence*, among Conn's forefathers, of a chief so named. My contention is that no forefather of Conn had act or part in the wholesale enslavement of the "Aithech Tuatha."

when viewed in retrospect, the fights and disorders of the entire period would naturally have clumped themselves in the recollection of the victors into one lurid set of experiences that imperilled the initial stages of their development. Herein, I suspect, lies the explanation of the long catalogue of "battles," said to have been fought and won by Tuathal Techtmar. O'Flaherty credits Tuathal with the slaying, single-handed, of the four sons of Trithem, a Breifne magnate, at Magh Sleacht, and also with the bringing down of many other Olnegmact chieftains in contests fought in Umhall, Breifne, Ceara, and Cruachan-Aigle.* Trithem, or Trichim,† and his sons were, no doubt, representatives by blood of the long defunct Breslenn knighthood of Breifne. We are under no obligation to reject the tradition that Trichim's sons were slain while defending Breifne at Magh Sleacht; but the occurrence, when its historic bearings are considered, will correlate, in point of time, rather with the epoch of Fergna's incursion than with the century to which the apocryphal Tuathal has been assigned.‡

It is not improbable that the engagement which Keating § calls "the battle of Cluain Muirisc in the north of Breifne," wherein the prehistoric Tighernmas is given the victory, was fought at, or about, the same period; but Keating, I fear, is mistaken in the location to which he refers this particular battle-site. Muireisc was a well-known region in Coiced Olnegmact, and a region which the Gamanraide had good reason to cherish. Mata of Muireisc, Cet's mother, is shown by her name to have been a native of that old Domnandaigh seat, lying centrally along the sea-coast in the territory which, when lost to the Gamanraide, became known as Tir Fhiachrach, or Tíreragh.|| But it must be acknowledged that the best Gaelic antiquaries, misled perhaps by traditions descending from the time of Ailill Finn, when the Gamanraide and the men of Breifne were knit together by closest ties of chivalry and championship, sometimes erred, like Keating, on points of Fir Domnann topography. Thus Duaid MacFírbis registers, among the exploits of "Tuathal Techtmar," a crushing defeat said to have been inflicted on Breifne at the battle of Badhna.¶ Badhna, a mountainous tract in the present County Roscommon, belonged to the sub-kingdom of the Tuatha Taiden, and the men of Breifne would not have encountered "Tuathal" there except in the capacity of auxiliaries or allies of the native chiefs.

* "Quatuor filii Trithemii e Damnoniis ad Moysleucht in Breifnia præter plures alios in proeliis in Umallia, Breifnia, Keara, et ad Cruachan-aigle." *Ogygia*, p. 302.

† Thus MacFírbis, p. 50.

‡ O'Conor's "Tigernach" dates his reign from 130 to 160 A.D.

§ Vol. II, p. 121.

|| There was another Muireisc in Umhall, right under Cruachan-Aigle, or Croaghpatrick.

¶ "Cath Badhna iri Breifne," MacFírbis, p. 50.

Among the many blunders which Keating has perpetrated in his *Foras Feasa ar Eirinn* perhaps the most egregious of all is one which relates to Breifne history. Giving, from some old manuscript in his collection, a list of the sovereigns and toparchs who attended the Convention of Druim Ceta, he includes the following: "Raghallach, son of Uadaidh, who was king of Tuatha Taidhion and of Breithfne Ui Ruairc as far as Cliabhan Modhairn; Ceallach, son of Cearnach, son of Dubh Dothra, king of Breithfne Ui Raghallaigh"*. Raghallach, son of Uada, was slain in 650,† after he had reigned over Connacht for about a quarter of a century. The celebrated convention of Druim Ceta was convoked in 575 by the high-king then in power, Aedh MacAinmire, a near kinsman of St. Columcille. It is evident, therefore, that Raghallach could not possibly have taken part in the deliberations at Druim Ceta; for, at that date, if Uada's son was not still unborn, he must have been of tender age, or at most a beardless youth. Raghallach's father, Uada, was king of Connacht; and so was Uada's father, Aedh, son of Eochaid Tirmcharna, cousin and contemporary of his namesake Aedh Finn of Breifne. Connacht's king at the date of the convention was Aedh Mac Echdhach Tirmcharna; and that Aedh lived until 577, when he was slain by his own people, the Ui-Briuin.‡

Whether the same Aedh sat with Aedh MacAinmire and St. Colum-Cille at the northern synod history does not relate; but in all probability he did, for his family affairs had much to do with shaping Colum-Cille's destiny. Besides Uada, Raghallach's father, Aedh had another son named Curnan; and it was the slaying of this Curnan by the monarch Diarmaid MacCearbhaill, while the young man was under Colum-Cille's protection, that provoked the sanguinary battle of Cul-Dreimhne, near Drumcliff, in County Sligo.§ The slaughter of Cul Dreimhne took place in 561;§ and Raghallach's grandfather, Aedh, fighting there in person, shared in the memorable triumph which the northern Clanna Neill then achieved over Erinn's high-king.

Raghallach, son of Uada, is therefore misplaced when he is made to participate in the proceedings at Druim Ceta. But this is a mere trifle in comparison to the anachronisms and incongruities of Keating's further statement. Keating's "Ceallach, son of Cearnach, son of Dubh Dothra," appears in the Ui Briuin Breifne genealogies as Ceallachan, *alias* Seallachan, son of Cearnachan. Keating, in fact—or rather the authority from whom

* Vol. III, p. 82.

† *Annals of Ulster*.

‡ *Annals of Ulster*.

§ Four Masters, 555 A.D. According to Keating Curnan had committed a homicide at the Feis of Tara—a crime then punishable by death.

|| *Chron. Scotorum*.—In saying that the battle "was gained over Diarmaid and over the Connachta," Keating again transgresses (see Reeves's Adamnan, p. 248). The victors were Fergus and Domnall.

he copied—divested the names Ceallachan and Cearnachan of the diminutive termination (*an*) that generally adheres to them in the pedigrees. The Four Masters record, under date 888, "Tighernan, son of Seallachan, lord of Breifne, died"; and again, under date 893, they enter the *obit* of Ruarc, son of Tighernan, lord of Breifne." * In a note to the latter entry, which deserves to be cited here, O'Donovan defines, with scrupulous exactness, the position of this Ruarc in the family sequence of his line, writing thus: "He is the ancestor after whom the family of O'Ruairc, or O'Rourke, have derived their hereditary surname. According to the Books of Lecan and Ballymote, Tighernan, the father of this Ruarc, was the son of Seallachan, who was the son of Cearnach, or Cearnachan, who was son of Dubhdothra, son of Dunchadh, son of Baeithin, son of Blathmhac, son of Feidhlimidh, son of Creamhthann, son of Scannlan, son of Aedh Finn, son of Feargna, son of Fearghus, son of Muireadhach Mal, son of Eoghan Sriabh, son of Duach Galach, son of Brian, son of Eochaidh Muighmheadhoín, monarch of Ireland in the fourth century."

Seallachan, or Ceallach, † son of Cearnachan and grandson of Dubhdothra, is thus shown to have flourished in the ninth century, that is, three centuries after the eventful synod of Drúim Ceta. Moreover, Ceallach (i.e., Seallachan), whom the Annals describe as lord of Breifne, would not, in the event of a division having then been made of the territory, have had East Breifne for his particular chiefdom. Cearnach, or Cearnachan, son of Dubhdothra, had another son named Maelmordha, and from this younger brother of Seallachan descended the O'Reilly lords of East Breifne, as well as the various Muintir Maelmordha septes who were subsequently associated with them in occupation thereof. ‡

If Keating had been treating of Munster his deeper knowledge would have saved him from sinning against chronology and genealogy in the flagrant manner here exemplified; but he seems, metaphorically speaking, to have been at sea when he launched into Breifne's history, having evidently devoted little study to the origins of that remote kingdom. The place-name *Tuatha Taidhen* had presumably become obsolete before the sixth century; while Breifne O'Ruairc, as a regional designation, could not have come into use before the tenth century. Keating, therefore, annihilates a long tract of time when he co-ordinates the areas that were thus denoted, linking them together as constituent segments of a composite realm. But for assigning to

* The correct dates are 892 and 898 respectively.

† MacFirbis writes the alternative name in the form Ceileachan.

‡ The Raghallach from whom the O'Reillys (Ui-Raghallaigh) derived their family name was a great-grandson of this Maelmordha. He should not be confounded, therefore, with Raghallach, king of Connacht in the seventh century.

Raghallach the territory of the ancient Tuatha Taidhen as his home kingdom Keating, I am willing to believe, had trustworthy warrant; for the available evidence now extant would point to that old Third of Connacht in particular as the division most likely to have been the regal portion and the residential seat of the house of Eochaid Tirmcharna.

Though Keating's deliverances will not invariably bear microscopic analysis the charm of his narrative must always endear him to our affections. His love of the old *Seanchus Eirinn* forbade him to doubt, or to tamper with, the contents of a Gaelic manuscript; and his occasional lapses only prove him to have been immutably faithful to his texts. In the art of pictorial grouping Keating takes the lead of all his nation's story-tellers; and from him, therefore, more pleasantly than from any other rehearsers of the complex tale, may the history of the Gaels be learned, as the Gaels themselves would have wished it to be known. His summing up of the composition of Conn's race will admirably serve the purpose of bringing this present inquiry to a close.

In strictness all Conn's people come under the one comprehensive denomination of Connachta; but in ordinary usage the designation Connachta, or Fir Connacht, got restricted to the ruling stocks of Conn's native Fifth, that is Coiced Olnegmact. Keeping this fact in mind Keating divides the Clann Chuinn broadly into three chief branches, viz., the Oirghialla, the Clanna Neill, and the Connachta, or Fir Connacht.* In the same limited application the Connachta included only the Ui-Briuin, the Ui-Fiachrach, the Ui-Amalgaid and the Ui-Aillelo.† The Oirghialla were the first *stirps* of the Clann Chuinn that branched from the parent stem, being the descendants of the three Colla brothers, sons of Cairbre Lifechair—and therefore cousins of Muiredach Tirech—who, having recruited an army of seven battalions among the Olnegmact, shattered Coiced Ulad at the battle of Achad leth Feirg in 332, and appropriated from the vanquished Fifth territories which would approximately correspond in extent with the two episcopal areas of Armagh and Clogher.‡ The Clanna Neill, ruling from Meath and Ailech, held for many centuries the premier position among all the Clanna Chuinn; but at length in the eleventh century, when Turlough O'Conor captured the high-sovereignty, the Ui-Briuin gained the precedence to which, as the offspring of Brian, they had been entitled from the first.

While the protracted struggles between the race of Conn and the old populations, for territorial and political suzerainty in Leath Chuinn, issued generally in favour of the confiscating

* Vol. II, p. 356.

† The Ui-Aillelo wore out at an early date, leaving no permanent trace save the name of their land, Tirerrill; while the Ui-Amalgaidh were absorbed into the kingdom of Ui Fiachrach Muaidhe.

‡ *Ibidem*, p. 364.

usurpers there can be little doubt that some few of the assailed folk-groups maintained, more or less successfully, the integrity of their petty states, and won from their opponents either an acknowledged independence or, at all events, conditions of subordination that were neither degrading nor harsh. In after years these resolute communities had, of necessity, to be admitted by the genealogists to the select order of Gaels; for their exclusion would, in effect, have nullified the dogma that endowed the imperial polity of the race with an indefectible sanction. The doctrine that Eriu was predestined from remotest times to be the patrimony of the superlatively noble stock begotten by "the sons of Mil" postulated, for its ratification, that none but members of Mil's great family should share in the possession of Eriu's soil. Among the constituent groups of Mil's offspring the Clann Chuinn transcended all others in power, and in the extent of its royal ramifications. But though the branches, large and small, of that giant tree widen out from one central trunk we should not conclude too readily that they derived their origin from a single fundamental root. Intermingled with them, assuredly, are parasitic growths and adventitious appendages which, having been transmuted into the semblance of sprouting grafts by genealogists of long past times, acquired in consequence an envious, albeit an artificial, exaltation among the grades of Milesian nobility.

The Ui-Briuin Umhaill, for example, who flourished around the shores of Clew Bay under O'Malley toparchs, are registered as a tributary people in the Book of Rights.* The amount of their assessment is, no doubt, comparatively light; but though honoured in the Ui-Briuin genealogies as descendants of Conall Orisen, or Orbsen—Brian's son—the fact that they appear in an authoritative Gaelic record as rent-payers of Cruachan gravely prejudices their title to be accounted genuine Ui-Briuin. The probability is that the Umhall folk warded off repeated attacks of Ui-Briuin confiscators, and defended the integrity of their little state so obstinately that the aggressors had to purchase their obedience by admitting them on easy terms into the dominant federation. The task of rooting out the occupiers of Umhall, or of holding them in subjection, would have been exceptionally difficult; for, being expert sailors, they could, at need, have taken to their ships and, at a favourable moment, have landed again unexpectedly at some advantageous point of the coast. As late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth the O'Malleys were noted for the skill and daring of their seamanship. Indeed, the naval reputation of Umhall never stood higher than in those final years of conflict when its fleet often put to sea under the admiralship of the chieftainess Grainne ni Mhaille (Grania, or Grace, O'Malley), the redoubtable Granuaile of western fame.

* pp. 97—99.

How would the Ui-Briuin Breifne stand if similarly challenged on the question of their racial legitimacy? They claimed descent from Aedh Finn, a prince who was sprung from Dui Galach, son of the ancestral Brian; but the Book of Fenagh tells us that Aedh Finn was an Aedh Dubh who had sought "the chieftainship of the Glasraighe," and whom St. Caillin whitened when administering to him the sacrament of baptism.* The legend at first sight would certainly suggest that the Aedh progenitor of Breifne's mediæval aristocracy was a native king or chief of Breifne, and that the Siol Aedha Find owed their affiliation with the Connacht Ui-Briuin rather to some weighty consideration of political expediency than to community of blood or to ties of family relationship. But the evidence of the Book of Rights invalidates such a supposition. There we are informed: "The Ui-Briuin and the Siol Muireadhaigh and the Ui Fiachrach and the Cineal Aedha are free tribes, and they are equally noble as the king, and they do not go upon an expedition or hosting except for pay; and they do not go into battle with the king but for reward; and if they be killed, and upon their being killed, the king is bound to give eric to their king." †

The Ui-Briuin Breifne were exempt from all imposts of tax or tribute; and, being so, they must have been one of the Ui-Briuin breeds who constituted Connacht's *saer tuatha*, or free states. Furthermore, the Ui-Briuin Breifne had for overlords a family that, by right of birth, enjoyed a *rioghraidhe*, or dynastic, status in Connacht; ‡ and O'Ruairc heirs of Aedh Finn did, in fact, supply four suzerains to Connacht during the Christian period. In the catalogue of Connacht's kings from the fourth century downwards only two royal stocks are represented, the stocks, namely, that issued from the brothers Brian and Fiachra, both sons of Eochaid Muighmedhon. The Clann Fiachrach divided into two branches, the Ui-Fiachrach Muaidhe§ (of the Moy), and the Ui-Fiachrach Aidhne (of Aidhne)||; and both these branches bred kings of Connacht. Of the Ui-Briuin kings of Connacht the great majority came from the Siol Muireadhaigh, or descendants of Muireadhach Muillethan (grandson or Raghallach), whose ruling family were the O'Conors.

The house of Dui Tengumha produced only two provincial kings altogether, one in the seventh century, and one who, at the close of the eleventh century, raised himself to the sover-

* *Opus cit.*, pp. 82 and 118.

† pp. 97—99.

‡ "in tres rigraide Connacht co brath" ("the third regal line of Connacht for ever") Bk. Fenagh, p. 120.

§ The O'Dowds were the ruling family of this proud people—direct descendants of Dathi.

|| Aidhne corresponded to the present diocese of Kilmacduagh. The toparchs, in later times, were the O'Heynes and the O'Shaughnessys.

eignty for a brief period by means the most barbarous.* The Ui Fiachrach, both of the Moy and of Aidhne, ceased to beget over-kings after the eighth century; and, with the single exception noted, the only rivals of the Siol Muiredhaigh thenceforth for Connacht's sceptre were the Ui-Briuin O'Ruaircs.

Reverting to the extract cited from the Book of Rights we can now perceive that the Ui Briuin mentioned therein were really the Ui-Briuin of Breifne, and one or two kindred folk-groups of minor importance. The Book of Rights enfranchises only the Ui Briuin and the Ui Fiachrach; for the Cinel Aedha were an offshoot of the Ui Fiachrach Aidhne,† while the Siol Muiredhaigh were the leading branch of the Ui-Briuin. The title of the Ui-Briuin Breifne to stand on a level with the Ui-Briuin of Magh Ai—the O'Conors, MacDermots and other princely septs—as genuine offspring of Brian, son of Eochaid Muighmedhon, is thus fully vindicated.

It seems most probable that when Aedh Finn, son of Fergna, sought to advance his sway over East Breifne there was then reigning in those parts an Aedh Dubh,‡ who kept his namesake successfully at bay, at least for some considerable interval. Eventually, of course, the Ui Briuin yoke was imposed on the subjects of Aedh Dubh, with the result that a period of disturbance would naturally have ensued in the annexed territory. The legend of the whitening of Aedh Dubh § would, therefore, appear to me to have been the invention of some ingenious pacificator who, living perhaps a century or two later, may have hoped, by means of the happy device, to reconcile the old populations of Breifne to the rule of their new masters.

If Giolla Iosa Mor MacFirbis was justified in identifying the family of Dathi, and through them the entire corporate body of Clann Chuinn, with the hero race of Gamanraide,|| the Ui Briuin of Breifne must have inherited by direct lineage the blood of the same old Belgæ-Germani colonisers of Irros Domhnann. The validity of the inference cannot be questioned; yet, being totally destructive of the theory which served to charter Gaelic ascendancy, should it not be radically at variance with the tenets promulgated by Breifne's Ollamh poets?

* This was Flaherty O'Flaherty who, in 1092, blinded Ruaidhri na Soighe Buidhe ("of the yellow hound") O'Conor, compelling him thereby to abdicate the kingship of Connacht.

† The junior section of the Ui-Fiachrach Aidhne dwelt around Gort, under the O'Shaughnessys as chiefs.

‡ The Breifne king is first introduced in St. Berach's Life as Black Aedh, but in the *Imtheacht na Tromhaimhe* we meet only a White Aedh, the Aedh Finn of Ui-Briuin genealogies. It, as seems likely, the two Aedhs were different men they should have been contemporaries.

§ In the hagiologies this miracle is variously ascribed to St. Caillin, St. Maedoc of Ferns and St. Berach.

|| *Vide supra*, p. 27.

The Book of St. Caillin is, if not in design, at all events in the material of its structure, very largely an epic of the O'Ruaircs. In that volume we read:—

“In the time of Ferghal, of good repute,
The Foreigners will leave Ireland.
The Gamhanraidh from thenceforth,
Until the judging judgment comes.” *

On these lines the Editor comments: “The meaning of the text is, probably, that Breifne-O'Ruairc (or Leitrim) would thenceforward share the fortunes of Connacht, and be ruled by its rulers.”

Though veiled by the obscurity which too commonly disfigures bardic utterances the language, if not quite unsusceptible of rational interpretation, must necessarily be understood as equating ethnologically the O'Ruaircs and the Gamanraide. The poet, having drawn out in impressive review the chief O'Ruairc notabilities of the thirteenth century, ends his parade with Ferghal, brother of “Donnchadh the Fair,”—apparently the main hope of the family, as being its youngest member when the eulogium was composed—and of Ferghal he predicts that, not alone will the Anglo-Normans be expelled from Ireland during his lifetime, but furthermore that, in his person, the Gamanraide will then resume their hereditary authority in the land, to be retained for evermore without forfeiture or impairment.

Dazzled by the refulgent lustre of the Gael the literati of Leath Chuinn and Leath Mogha constructed a vainglorious, yet a puerile, synthesis of the nation's primal stages of upbuilding. But among them were men of retentive memories who long preserved some genuine fragments of tradition, reminiscent of the period when Erin's colonisers of the La Tène invasion sank, disintegrated and disinherited, under a forceful brood of their own begetting. That lusty brood, looking down from an imperial altitude on Erin's vassal communities, and growing ashamed of an origin which condemned them to kinship with masses of social inferiors, disowned their true parentage, and evolved for themselves a genesis more consonant with the pride of a ruling caste. Yet the fictitious creation did not efface from the deposit of Erin's traditions all remembrance of the antecedent circumstances that had led to the new race's inception. Enough has fortunately survived to identify, with a compelling strength of probability, the founder of the race of Conn as an adventurous youth, of unbounded ambition and vitality, whom the Olnegmact Gamanraide, when lords of Irros Domhnann, had cradled and trained in championship. Mediæval poets of the Ui-Fiachrach and of the Ui Briuin Breifne corroborate the identification; though, in all likelihood, the full significance of their evidence was not appreciated by the attesting poets themselves.

* p. 85.

Lists of Parochial Clergy of the Late Established Church in the Diocese of Kilmore.

By the late Rev. W. A. Reynell, B.D.

Annotated by the REV. HENRY B. SWANZY, M.A., M.R.I.A.,
Canon of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

(Continued from *Journal*, Vol. II., p. 399.)

All statements within square brackets are by Canon Swanzy.
The rest is by Mr. REYNELL.

[Read 20th November, 1926.]

DRUMLANE V.

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| 1622. (in). | NATHANIEL HOLLINGTON.
A preacher.
[No doubt the Nathaniel Hollington who was admitted Sizar at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 7th September, 1602. Perhaps admitted Sizar at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, June, 1602.] |
| 1625. | FAITHFUL TEATE. |
| 1625. | THOMAS GROVES. |
| 1634. | THOMAS PRICE.
Ord. deacon 20 Dec., 1629, priest 23 Sept., 1632. Archdeacon 1638, Bishop of Kildare 1660-1. |
| 1661. | — ? |
| 1664, 24 June. | JAMES SPENS.
With Tomregan. |
| 1665, 2 Nov. | JOHN BIRD.
With Tomregan. |
| 1669, 2 Oct. | ROBERT ROBISON.
R. Annagh and Tomregan. |
| 1685 in. | CHARLES ROSSELL.
[Died 1754, aged 102.] |
| 1740, 3 April. | JOSEPH CADDY.
[Son of William, gentleman, born at Raven- |

glass, Cumberland, educated at Ravensglass, by Mr. Burrow, entered T.C.D. 7 June, 1712, aged 18, as Sizar, B.A., 1716, M.A. 1719. His Prerogative will was proved 1767. Towards the end of his life the following advertisement appeared in Faulkner's Dublin Journal, June 24-27, 1766: "Whereas the Rev. Joseph Caddy, of Tunnyarachill in the County of Cavan, after a short Indisposition was, in the Month of February last, struck with a Palsy or Paralytic Disorder, which hath ever since deprived him of the Use of his Limbs and Speech; and the said Joseph Caddy having no Family, other than Servants about him, soon afterwards became a Prey to certain designing Persons, who, under Colour of a distant Relationship, made Use of Means to get at and possess themselves of all the said Joseph Caddy's ready Money, Bills, Bonds, Mortgages, and other Securities for Money, then locked up in his Desk and Escritaires, to the Amount of 4000*l.* and upwards; together with a will duly made by him in favour of John Lyndon, Jane his Wife, Patrick Sheridan, Elizabeth his wife, and others, the said Joseph's nearest Relations, who were always the immediate Objects of his Contemplation. Now this is to caution every Person, as well the Tenants of the said Joseph Caddy as all others, who are indebted to him in any Sum or Sums of Money, not to pay the same, or any Part thereof, to any Person or Persons whatsoever, until a fit Guardian of the Person and Fortune of the said Joseph Caddy shall be duly appointed, for which and other Purposes, a Bill will be preferred, and an application forthwith made to the High Court of Chancery, on behalf of the said John Lyndon, Jane his Wife, Patrick Sheridan, Elizabeth his Wife, and others. Dated this 27th Day of June, 1766. John Lyndon, Jane Lyndon, Patrick Sheridan, Elizabeth Sheridan." In the paper of July 8-12 following, John Caddy, grand-nephew of the said Joseph, published a long counter-advertisement, dated 5 July, 1766. He says he lived and was educated

in the said Joseph's house and family since his childhood, and when about nine months ago he married his present wife Esther Connell, Joseph made a settlement on him of a considerable part of his fortune. He also before his illness made a will, then in John's keeping, making John his executor and trustee and leaving him 100*l.* besides the settled funds. Only 150*l.* was in it bequeathed to the Lyndons and Sheridans. The monies stolen were taken by the servants, and "the said Lyndon entertained one of the said Servants at his House for several Days after they had so taken away the said Securities and Will."

1769 (in).

1773, 30 Aug.

PETER LOMBARD.

WILLIAM WADE.

[Entered T.C.D. 10 Oct., 1755, educated by Dr. Dunkin, B.A., 1760. No parentage given in Matriculation Book, but almost certainly son of the Rev. Nicholas Wade, Vicar of Outragh, diocese of Kilmore, 1745-57. The Rev. William Wade was Vicar of Kildrumfertan 30th Dec., 1773-1783, J.P. Co. Cavan 21 July, 1787, married Anne, daughter of Thomas Burrowes, of Stradone, High Sheriff Co. Cavan 1743, and had issue (1) Rev. Nicholas, (2) William; (1) Mary, married Arthur Fleming, of Belville, Co. Cavan; (2) Anne, married 1804, Thomas Burrowes, of Cavan; (3) Jane, married George Leslie (Exchequer Bill, 15 Feb., 1800, Stewart v. Fleming.)]

1773, 30 Dec.

RICHARD BURGH.

[V. Innismagrath 1792-96.]

1792, 1 Sept.

JOHN CREERY.

Held Ballybay (Clogher) with Drumlane, by faculty, dated 24th May, 1797.

1810, 13 Sept.

WILLIAM MAGENIS.

Inducted 20 Sept., by Thomas Hyde Villiers, Curate of Kildallon.

[Magenis was afterwards Dean.]

1821, 13 Oct.

JOHN ISAAC BERESFORD.

1835, 18 May.

JOHN CLAUDIUS BERESFORD.

1837, 10 Aug.

GUY PERCIVAL L'ESTRANGE.

Married at Raheny 18 July, 1839, Marianne Austin, of parish of St. Peter's, Dublin.

1842, 1 Nov.

GEORGE BEATTY MOFFATT.

Died 27 Feb., 1874.

DRUMLEASE V.

- 1612 (in). JOHN BOSTOCK.
[Very probably the John Bostock who matriculated at Cambridge as Sizar from Pembroke College, Easter, 1585, B.A., about 1589-90, ordained deacon (London) 20 December, 1589, priest 29 March, 1591, Vicar of Southill, Bedfordshire 1598 1610.]
- 1622 (in.) WILLIAM ANDREWS.
1633 (in). JOHN JOHNSON.
Was witness to will of Robert Morgan of Dromahaire, 31 May, 1637.
1661. JOHN LONG.
With Clonlogher, Killargue, and Killen-
umurry, (Ardagh).
- 1675, 18 Nov. ROBERT WILSON.
1678, 21 June. JOHN KING.
With Killargue.
- 1681, 20 Jan. RALPH RULE.
With Killargue and Kildallon.
[Son of Ralph Rule, born in London, educated by Mr. Price, entered T.C.D. as Sizar 17 April, 1669, aged 17, B.A. 1672, Scholar 1672, M.A. 1682, B.D. and D.D. 1702, Rector of Kildallon 1678-84, Rector of Delgany, Vicar of Newcastle, Kilcoole, Kilmacknoge and Arklow (Dublin), 28 July, 1682, Prebendary of Kilmactalway in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, 1685-90, Prebendary of Wicklow in St. Patrick's Cathedral 1691-1723. He married, first, Griseld, second daughter of the Right Hon. Sir James Cuffe, P.C., M.P., and, secondly, Jane —, whose will, dated 21 Dec., 1743, was proved in the Prerogative Court 23 June, 1744. He died 1723.]
- 1684, 12 Nov. JAMES ECHLIN.
With Killargue.
- 1686, 10 April. ROBERT WHITELAW.
With Killargue.
[Son of William Whitelaw, born in Co. Fermanagh, educated by Mr. Dunbar, entered T.C.D. as Sizar 16 April, 1670, aged about 19, Scholar 1673, B.A. 1674.]
- 1699, 27 []. WILLIAM HANSARD.
With Killargue.
- 1737, 3 March. CHARLES DODD.
In the room of William Hansard, removed.
[Son of John Dodd, of Cams, Co. Sligo,

who was son of Charles Dod, 2nd son of Charles Dod, of Cloverley, Shropshire, and Lea Hall, Worcestershire. He was born in Co. Sligo, educated by Mr. Griffin, Elphin, and entered T.C.D. as Sizar 26 May, 1714, aged 18, scholar 1716, B.A. 1718, M.A. 1721, Vicar of Killenumurry and Killery, diocese of Ardagh; he married, post-nuptial settlement dated 15 Feb., 1727, Helen, eldest daughter of the Rev. Roger Ford, D.D., Archdeacon of Derry, and died 1774 or 5; buried at St. Anne's Dublin. His widow died 12 July, 1777, aged 80, and was buried at Drumlease, having had seven children :—(*Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 1868, Vol. I., p. 173.]

1774, 10 Sept.

ROGER DODD.

[Third son of his predecessor, the Rev. Charles Dodd, born in Longford, educated by Dr. Ford, entered T.C.D. 28 March, 1749-50, aged 18, Scholar 1752. B.A. 1754, Curate of Churchhill, Co. Fermanagh 1755, Curate of Drumlease 8 June, 1763, J.P. Co. Leitrim, married, first, 1760, Sarah King, who died without issue 1786, and secondly, at the Chapel of Ease, half-parish of Killery, 28 March, 1792, Margaret, daughter of Matthew Phipps, of Spurtown, Co. Sligo, and died 8 Oct., 1808, buried at Drumlease. By her he had a son Charles Roger Dod, who reverted to the original spelling of his name, and was the author of *Dod's Peerage* (*Misc. Gen. et Herald*, I., 173, and *Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1855).]

1808, 26 Dec.

CRINUS IRWIN,

Inducted 18 March, 1809, by John Leahy, Vicar of Innismagrath.

[Younger son of Lewis Francis Irwin, of Tanragoe, Co. Sligo. He was M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, and became Vicar-choral of St. Patrick's Dublin, 1797, Prebendary of Tasagart in St. Patrick's Cathedral 1799-1859, and Archdeacon of Ossory 1822-59. He married, 1807, Amy, eldest daughter of Mr. Justice Chamberlain, Judge of the King's Bench, Ireland, and having held his

- Prebend for the extraordinary period of sixty years, died 18th December, 1859, in his 90th year.]
- 1811, 16th July. NICHOLAS HERBERT,
Resigned 1824 for Knockgraffan, Cashel.
- 1824, 1 Nov. HONBLE, JAMES BUTLER.
- 1834, 4th Oct. WILLIAM WILLOUGHBY WYNNE.
Died 26th September, 1860.
- 1860, 18th Dec. HENRY PERCEVAL.
Died 16th May, 1880.
[NOTE.—Mr. Reynell has inserted “ 1835, 11 April, William Walker.” There is some mistake here, as Wynne was Vicar in 1849. Perhaps Walker preceded him.]

DRUNG V. and LARAH V.

- 15— DAVID MCCOMYN died.
- 1594, 2 Aug. THOMAS BRADY.
Date from fiant.
- 1622 (in). ROBERT TAYLOR.
- 1626, 31 March. FAITHFUL TEATE.
Ordained deacon by Thomas Ferns and Leighlin, 5 Feb, 1619, Priest by same 10th May, 1621, R. Vis. 1633.
- 1635, 25 March. HUGH MCSWINEY.
- 1635[6], 28 Jan. FAITHFUL TEATE.
Also R. Castle Terra, *Lib. Mun.*
- 1645, 20 Sept. DENIS SHERIDAN.
- 1661, 1 Oct. JOHN TURBRIDGE.
- 1662, 27 June. WILLIAM SHERIDAN.
- 1663, 3 June. AMBROSE BARCROFT.
With Archdeaconry and Castle Terra.
- 1682, 28th April. ROBERT LLOYD.
M.A., Cantab, also Rector of Clondevaddock, Raphoe, faculty 17th Sept., 1691.
[Son of Robert Lloyd, linen merchant, born in London, admitted pensioner at Pembroke College, Cambridge, 11th May, 1664, aged 17, matriculated 1664, B.A., 1667-8, M.A. 1671, signed for deacon's and priest's orders (London), 10 Dec., 1672, title, chaplaincy in the East Indies —Venn's *Alumn. Cant.*, III., 96.]
- 1700, 4th Feb. PETER PEZ DE GALLINEER,
Died 1721 (Diocesan Register).
- 1721, 2 Nov. OLIVER KING.
[Second son of Gilbert King, of Charles-

town, Co. Roscommon, M.P. for Jamestown, by Mary, daughter of Dominick French, of French Park, Co. Roscommon; born at Charlestown, educated by Mr. Cugh, Strokestown, entered T.C.D. 5 Aug., 1697, aged 14, B.A. 1701, M.A. 1705, Rector and Vicar of Annaduff (Ardagh), 1 Feb., 1714, J.P. Co., Cavan, 13 Feb. 1723-4, died June 1740, age given, erroneously, as 47 on tombstone at Drung really 57.)]

1740, 27 Oct.

DANIEL HEARN.

[Educated at T.C.D., entrance not recorded, B.A. 1713, M.A. 1718, Prebendary of Doon (Emly) 1727-66, Precentor of Cashel 1727, Archdeacon of Cashel 1728-66, married, 1st, 17 August, 1728, Anne Maxwell, of Tynan, Co. Armagh, who died without issue; and, 2nd, Dublin marriage licence 24 May, 1732, Anne, daughter of Marcus Dowley, of Dublin, by Abigail Wolfenden, his wife, by her he had a family. He was buried at St. Anne's, Dublin, 18th Aug., 1766.]

1767, 7 April.

THOMAS CRADOCK.

Instituted to Drung 7 April, 1767, inducted by Joseph Story, Archdeacon, 7th April, read assent 12 April; inducted to Larah by Archdeacon Story, 28 April; read assent there 3rd May, 1767; ordained deacon at St. Bride's, Dublin, by Charles, Bishop of Ossory, 7th Dec., 1762. [Is this date correct? If so, he must have obtained a dispensation, as he was much under the canonical age.] Priest at St. Thomas', Dublin, by James, Bishop of Limerick, 21 Dec., following.

[Nephew of John Cradock, Bishop of Kilmore 1757-72 and Archbishop of Dublin 1772-79, and son of the Rev. Thomas Cradock, M.A., Queens' College, Cambridge, Preb. of the Collegiate Church, of Wolverhampton, and Vicar of Penn, Staffordshire; born at Wolverhampton, educated at Shrewsbury School by Mr. Newling, admitted pensioner at St. John's College, Cambridge, 28 June, 1760, April 17, LL.B. 1766; M.A. Trinity

- College, Dublin (ad eund Cantab.), 1776, Curate of Kilmore 3 April, 1767, Prebendary of Rathmichael in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, 1774-76, Prebendary of St. Audoen's in St. Patrick's Cathedral 1776-1827, died Nov., 1827.]
- 1828, 8 May. MARCUS GERVAIS BERESFORD.
[Afterwards Bishop of Kilmore 1854-62, and Archbishop of Armagh 1862-85.]
- 1855, 26 May. CHARLES LESLIE.
Afterwards Bishop of Kilmore 1870.
- 1870, 7th Oct. RALPH JAMES HOPE.
The union between Drung and Larah was dissolved 24 April, 1855.

INNISMAGRATH V.

- 1619, 13 April THOMAS SARCOTT.
1622 (in). JOHN JOHNSON.
1625, 23 Aug. MATTHEW MOORE.
1635, 15 July. THOMAS JONES.
1661, 6 May. ROBERT ROSSE.
1685 (in). — MITCHELL.
1700, 28 Feb. WILLIAM BROOKE.
Held by faculty, 28 Feb., 1700, Mullagh, Moybologue and Innismagrath.
[Eldest son of William Brooke, of Dromavane, Co. Cavan, pharmacopola; born Cavan, educated by Mr. Brooke, Cavan, entered T.C.D. 13 May, 1685, aged 15, Scholar 1687, B.A. 1689, M.A. 1694, Rector of Killinkere (Kilmore) 1700-45, married Lettice, daughter of Simon Digby, Bishop of Elphin, and died 1745. His son Henry was the well-known author of *The Fool of Quality*. In "Brookiana," an account of Henry Brooke, London, 1804, there is the following reference to the Vicar of Innismagrath: "Mr. Brooke's father was descended of an ancient family of that name, in the County of Fermanagh. He was originally intended for the army, but as he grew up his father discovered that his inclination and studies pointed to the Church; he was accordingly educated in Trinity College, Dublin, and ordained by Dr. Wetenhall, Bishop of Kilmore, who was so highly pleased with

- his unaffected piety and literary requirements, that he gave him the livings of Killinkere and Moybologue, about 200*l.* a year, a large income in those days.”]
- 1704, 9 May. PHILIP BRADY (F.F.)
1719, April. JOHN BENNETT.
Resigned 1726, also held Denn, faculty 11 April, 1719.
[Son of George Bennett, gentleman, born Cavan, educated at Westminster School, entered T.C.D. 20 May, 1701, aged 19, Scholar 1703, B.A. 1705.]
- 1726, 14 March. ELIAS HANDCOCK.
He held also Rathcline and Cashel (Ardagh), £90 per ann., faculty 2 Nov., 1727. Resigned Innismagrath 1740.
[Perhaps the *Ezekiel* Handcock who was B.A., T.C.D. 1708, but for whom no matriculation entry remains, in the College records.]
- 1740, 27 Oct. JOHN RICHARDSON, resigned 1745.
1745, 4 Nov. GEORGE KNOX.
Held also Kildallon by faculty, dated 2nd Nov., 1745. He was inducted to Innismagrath by Thos. Cuff, R. Manor Hamilton, on 23rd Nov., 1745, “Vicar of the Walls of the Old Church” (Diocesan Register). Ordained Deacon and Priest at Raphoe, 19 Sept. 1731, by Nichs. Raphoe.
[No doubt George, son of Thomas Knox, Esq., born Co. Sligo, educated by Mr. Ballantine, Strabane, entered T.C.D. 19 May, 1723, aged 18, Scholar 1726, B.A. 1727, M.A. 1730. He was V. Carrigallen 1768-69. He died at Greenville, Co. Cavan, Aug., 1769, being described in the *Freeman's Journal* for Aug. 5-8, 1769, as “the Rev. George Knox, of Moore Street, Vicar of Carrigallen, in the diocese of Kilmore.” His wife had died in Moore Street, in the preceding May.]
- 1768, 22 Aug. MICHAEL LEE.
Resigned 1771.
[Son of Richard Lee, Gentleman, born Co. Tyrone, educated by Mr. Folds at Carrickmacross, entered T.C.D. (as Ley) 23 May, 1722, aged 18, B.A. 1726 (as

Leigh). He married Catherine, daughter of William Moore, of Cootehill, by Margaret, daughter of Edward Davenport, of Edwardstown, Co. Cavan—see Prerogative Will of Wm. Moore, proved 1748. Michael Lee had four sons, Richard, William (his successor), Moore, and James.

- 1771, 6th Aug. WILLIAM LEE.
[Son of the Rev. Michael Lee, see above, born Co. Cavan, educated by Mr. Moore, entered T.C.D. 9 July, 1753, aged 16, Scholar 1756, B.A. 1758.]
- 1792, 1 Sept. RICHARD BURGH.
- 1796, 19 Aug. NESBITT SEELY.
[Son of James Seely, "Colonus," born Co. Leitrim, educated by Mr. Kerr, entered T.C.D. as Sizar 15 June, 1756, aged 14, Scholar 1759, B.A. 1760, Vicar of Killargue 1780-96, married by Prerogative Lic., at St. Thomas', Dublin, 15 Feb., 1786, Margaret Molesworth, widow. He died 10th March, 1806, aged 63, buried at Coolock, Co. Dublin.]
- 1806, 25 Aug. JOHN LEAHEY.
- 1810, 15th Sept. WILLIAM JOHNSTON.
- 1815, 15 June. JAMES SPENCER KNOX.
R Maghera (Derry).
- 1817, 30 May. JOHN RUSSELL KNOX.
Died 1831.
[Son of the Rev. George Knox, born Donegal, educated by Mr. Burgoyne, entered T.C.D. 23 April, 1786, aged 17, B.A. 1790, ordained deacon (as Russell Knox) in St. Kevin's Church, Dublin, by the Bishop of Dromore, 25 May, 1790.]
- 1831, 16 March. CHARLES LYONS-MONTGOMERY.
Inducted 23 March, 1831, by Rev. Wm. Grattan, and read assent 27 March. He had held Killargue. Died 3 Sept., 1859.
[Younger son of Hugh Lyons-Montgomery, of Belhavel, Co. Leitrim, High Sheriff, Co. Leitrim, 1761, by the Hon. Catherine Hamilton, daughter of Richard,

4th Viscount Boyne; educated by Mr. Willis, entered T.C.D. as Fellow Commoner 5th Dec., 1803, aged 16, B.A. 1807, M.A. 1832, V. Killargue 1829-31, J.P. Cos. Cavan and Leitrim; married at Drumlane 26th June, 1815, Emily, youngest daughter of Humphrey Nixon, of Nixon Lodge, Co. Cavan, Lieut. 51st Regt., High Sheriff Co. Cavan 1777, and Co. Fermanagh 1784, by Anne, sister of the Right Hon. Sir John Stewart, Bart.],

1859, 10 Dec.

JOHN RADCLIFF.

Died 13 Jan., 1876.

Church consecrated 1776.

H. B. SWANZY.

(To be continued.)

The Crosserlough Dolmens.

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

The greater number of Ireland's rude stone monuments belong to the *Neolithic*, or Later Stone Age. To this period is usually assigned the first appearance of Man in Ireland. It is now definitely established that the Neolithic (Greek, *neos*, new, and *lithos*, a stone) ended in this country about 2000 years B.C.

Of the Irish Stone Age monuments the dolmen is perhaps the most interesting. It may be described as "a rude stone structure of the tomb type, composed of a certain number of great stone uprights which support a capstone, or capstones, as a roof." The name dolmen is Celtic; it is the Breton *dael maen*, *i.e.*, stone table. Very often these monuments are called "Cromleacs," and also "Druids' Altars," both misleading and inaccurate terms.

Dolmens may be divided into two main types, *primary* and *secondary*. Where one end of the great capstone rests on the ground, or on a low stone base, and the other is supported by the uprights it is of the *primary*, or *earth-fast*, type. In the *secondary* class the capstone rests entirely on the uprights. The uprights are so placed as to enclose a rude oblong chamber closed by large flag stones at both ends. The size of these chambers depends on the dimensions of the structure.

At least three very important dolmens, hitherto unrecorded, exist in the Parish of Crosserlough. One is to be found in the townland of Duffcastle, south-east of the Catholic Church, in a field to the right of the road leading to Ballyjamesduff. It belongs to the *primary* type. The capstone is an immense boulder with one end resting on a flat stone and the other on an upright about five feet in height. The total height of the structure is about eight feet. Treasure-seekers appear to have excavated, and undermined, the hoary megalith, with the result that the capstone has been somewhat displaced. It is not unlikely that the large horizontal stone now supporting the base of the capstone was once upright and, together with the other two, supported the massive capstone (see illustration).

The Carrickacroy dolmen is in the Rectory grounds, near the summit of Carrickacroy hill, and midway between Crosserlough and Kilnaleck. Here also the structure has long since been



THE DUFFCASTLE DOLMEN.

Photo by]

[REV. P. CONWAY, Maghera.



THE CARRICKACROY DOLMEN.

Photo by]

[P. O'CONNELL, M.Sc., Virginia.

“ explored ” by treasure-hunters, and the great capstone, which was displaced, lies alongside. The oblong chamber measures four feet by two, and at the north end are two uprights, each about five feet in height (see illustration). It is evident that, originally, one end of the capstone rested on these supports while the other end was poised on the lower upright at the south end. The capstone is a massive boulder measuring, approximately, six feet by five. This dolmen belongs to the *secondary* type. Evidently the treasure-hunters—some modern *Argonautae* in quest of the *Golden Fleece*—were unwilling to risk the collapse of the capstone while engaged in the excavations so, as a precaution, they levered it out of position. Whether their quest was successful, or whether some sleepless dragon of Colchis surprised them, we are not informed ; but it is quite certain that they drew a blank.

Another dolmen is to be found in the townland of Aghawee, at Drumkilly, and near the highest point of the townland. It is well-preserved, and is a good example of the *secondary* type. This remarkable dolmen consists of two large capstones resting on five uprights. The uprights are slanting in towards each other, just touching near the top, and on these the capstones are poised in equilibrium. There is an internal chamber with an upright flagstone at each end. The height of the structure is about eight feet. A photograph will appear in a later issue of this *Journal*.

The question is often asked : how were these enormous capstones raised into position ? When we consider that the mechanical laws of the inclined plane were known to the ancients, who generally utilised them, we can easily recognise that a plane and system of levers must have been used. The uprights were first placed in position and a mound of earth raised around, the capstone was then levered up the inclined plane and the earth afterwards removed. This is the generally accepted theory. The Greeks and Romans adopted the same principle.

The dolmens are the oldest surviving structures in Ireland—the earliest traces of Stone Age Man. To fully understand their origin and significance it would be necessary to comprehend the mystical and complex psychology which was the basis of pre-Celtic Religion, the data for which is too insufficient and uncertain to enable us now to ascertain the mystery of their origin. This much is certain : that the dolmen was a tomb in a double sense ; it contained the body of the chieftain and, furthermore, was understood to continue as the place of residence of his spirit. According to primitive ideas the spirit was destined to a perpetual existence in the tomb prepared for it. Traces of primitive burials have been found in many cases where dolmens were carefully explored.

Neolithic Man specialised in the construction of dolmens. The dolmen is by no means peculiar to Ireland. Examples are to be found in England, principally in Wales and Cornwall, and in France, chiefly in Brittany. They also occur in Sweden, Holland,

Germany and Denmark, and even as far away as Central India. Borlase, in his great work *The Dolmens of Ireland* (3 vols.), records 786, but his estimate is much too low. For example, the existence of most of the Breiffne dolmens were unknown to him. In the western counties the largest number has been recorded. Sligo with 163 represents one of the outstanding districts for these structures. It has been estimated that of the 786 recorded by Borlase the counties of Donegal, Sligo, Mayo, Galway, Clare, Limerick, Kerry and Cork possess as many as 520.

As a rule the maritime counties of the west coast show the greatest concentration. Some inland counties, e.g., Kildare, Offaly and Westmeath, do not appear to possess any, if we except a dolmen on the Hill of Ushnagh which was supposed to mark the centre of Ireland. Breiffne is rich in dolmens, but as the great majority of them are still unrecorded it is, as yet, impossible to specify their number. For instance, in the townland of Ballaghanea, beside Loch Ramor, in Lurgan Parish, in a field to the right of the main road from Kells to Virginia is a well-known dolmen consisting of four upright pillar-stones—the *secondary* type—with the capstone, now displaced, lying alongside. Another example is to be seen at Raffony, in Mullagh Parish. Many elaborate brochures on the geographical distribution of the dolmen have appeared in recent years with maps indicating the various districts in which they occur. But the East Breiffne dolmens have been ignored, proving that a thorough and systematic survey has yet to be undertaken. In the pages of this *Journal* (Vol. I., p. 353) will be found an illustration of the Loughduff dolmen. It is described by the late Father Meehan in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (March, 1909).

Dolmens are popularly known by various names throughout the country, e.g., "Giants' Graves"; "Druids' Altars," "ΛΕΑΒΑΙΟ ΝΑ ΥΨΙΑΝ" (i.e., beds of the Fenians); ΛΕΑΒΑΙΟ ΘΙΑΡΜΟΥΔΑ ΑΣΥΡ ΞΗΛΙΝΝΕ (referring to the well-known legend of Diarmaid and Grainne). The ΛΕΑΒΑΙΟ indicates the sepulchral character of the monument. Those interesting stone monuments—links with the prehistoric dawn of civilization—have withstood the storms and destructive agencies of four thousand years; most of them are now in a ruinous condition and many others have been destroyed and swept away. That so many of them should have survived, in the circumstances, is remarkable, and it is to be desired that the remaining dolmens of Breiffne will obtain more study and attention in the future than they have received in the past.

PHILIP O'CONNELL.

The Corporation of the Borough of Cavan.

(I.)

By T. S. SMYTH.

[Read 18th March, 1926.]

THE CHARTER OF KING JAMES I.

An important phase of Irish history is that known as the Flight of the Earls, when the chieftains, O'Neill and O'Donnell, left the country. Soon afterwards, King James the First of England appointed a Commission to consider and report how the vast territory—comprising the counties of Tyrone, "Coleraine," Donegal, Fermanagh, Armagh, and Cavan—could best be planted. Among the many recommendations in the report subsequently made was one that Cavan should have three corporate towns. As a result, the town of Cavan in 1611, and Belurbet in 1613, received charters giving them corporations. A third charter, though intended to be granted (to Virginia, as already described*) was never issued.

The charter which King James I granted to the town of Cavan is dated the 15th November, 1611.† It states that Cavan was then the only place of trade and commerce in the county of Cavan, and where the Justices of Assize and Gaol Delivery could alone conveniently hold Sessions. Reference is also made to the services rendered by the town to the forces of Queen Elizabeth in the great rebellion; and it is mentioned that the Commissioners for the planting of the late escheated lands of Ulster had allocated 400 acres lying in and about the said town for the maintenance of a Corporation there to be established.

The charter provides that

the said town and place called the Cavan in the said County of Cavan and all that circuit and extent of land lying within the compass of one mile every way round about the said

* See this *Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 22, *et seq.*

† *Rot. Pat.* 8 Jac. I, p. 2, m. 16.



This map shows the boundary fixed by the Royal Charter of King James I, A.D. 1611. This boundary included an area " . . . within the compass of one mile every way round about the said town to be measured and taken from the stone House or castle wherein Walter Bradee, Gent., now dwelleth, the castle of Cavan, commonly called Reily's Castle, and the two Poles of land called Rossgolgan excepted. . . . "

Inside the (circular) boundary of 1611 is marked (for contrast) the boundary proposed in the *Reports and Plans on Municipal Corporation Boundaries (Ireland)*, 1837.

(Map, from the Ordnance Survey, appears in the aforementioned *Reports and Plans*.)

Enlarged from Ordnance Survey Map of 1 inch = 1 Statute mile.

(Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey map with the permission of the Minister for Finance of the Irish Free State.)

town to be measured and taken from the stone House or castle wherein Walter Bradee, Gent., now dwelleth, the castle of Cavan, commonly called Reily's Castle, and the two Poles of land called Rossgolgan excepted, shall from henceforth be called and be the Borough and town of Cavan.

The charter created a Corporation consisting of one sovereign, two portreeves (or "portriffs"), twelve burgesses, and of so many as are now free and inhabiting in or of the said town or Borough and of so many of the free men as the said Sovereign, Portriffs, and Burgesses for the time being amongst themselves shall hereafter think fit to chuse, according as the multitude of inhabitants increase.

In the charter, Walter Brady was named as the first sovereign, and Farrell M'Eregules and Owen Brogan were constituted portreeves. The following were nominated as burgesses and Common Council of the town:—Hugh Culme, Walter Talbot, Patrick Brady, Thomas Brady, Philip Tuite, Farrell M'Eregules, Owen More Brogan, Owen Beg Brogan, James Murray, Tirlogh Dolly, Patrick Fitzwilliam Brady, and Donagh Brogan (als. Brogan).

Here it should be pointed out that the sites of Walter Bradee's (or Brady's) stone house and Reily's (or O'Reilly's) castle are marked in one of the two maps showing the ancient and the proposed new boundaries of the town, respectively, in the *Reports and Plans on Municipal Corporation Boundaries (Ireland)*, 1837. The site of Walter Brady's stone house is marked as in Upper Main Street, and its exact location there is supposed to be at No. 63, where Mr. Joseph Fitzpatrick's Swan Drapery Stores are now. At the rear of Mr. Fitzpatrick's house is an underground passage or tunnel running to the Fair Green (Gallows Hill), Tullymongan, and thought to have communicated with the castle formerly there. The site of Reily's, or O'Reilly's, castle is marked off Bridge Street, southern side, facing the junction of that street and Abbey Street, and only a short distance to the west of Walter Brady's stone house. O'Reilly's castle, it is generally believed, was on the Gallows Hill, but there was very probably another castle of the same name in Cavan. The evidence afforded by the 1609 Plantation Map would seem to confirm this supposition. Situated between the townlands of "Tullomoan" [Tullymongan] and "Nakadiue" [Keadue], and south-east of the town of Cavan, the latter map has a townland marked "Themore." This is bounded by the townland divisions of "Tullomoan," "Dromanana" [Dromavanagh], "Lisdorran" [Lisdaran], "Nakadiue," and "Dromalaa" [Drumalee]. The greater part of the northern end of the present town of Cavan would be in the older division of "Themore." The derivation of the name is obvious: Τῖς Μόν, i.e., "big house." No castle or building of any kind is indicated in the townland. The castle of the O'Reillys off Bridge Street (shown on the accompanying

map), and nearby Walter Brady's stone house, would have been in "Themore." This was very probably the "big house" from which the townland (now obsolete) derived its name.

The 1609 Map has the town of Cavan together with a castle and church included in "Tullomoan." As far as can be observed from this map, the castle was situated in "Tullomoan" and beside the boundary separating "Tullomoan" from "Tiricony" [Tirquin]. The church was the Abbey of Cavan. Hence, we may assume that the O'Reillys possessed two castles in Cavan—the principal one being in Tullymongan and the other off Bridge Street, as above indicated.

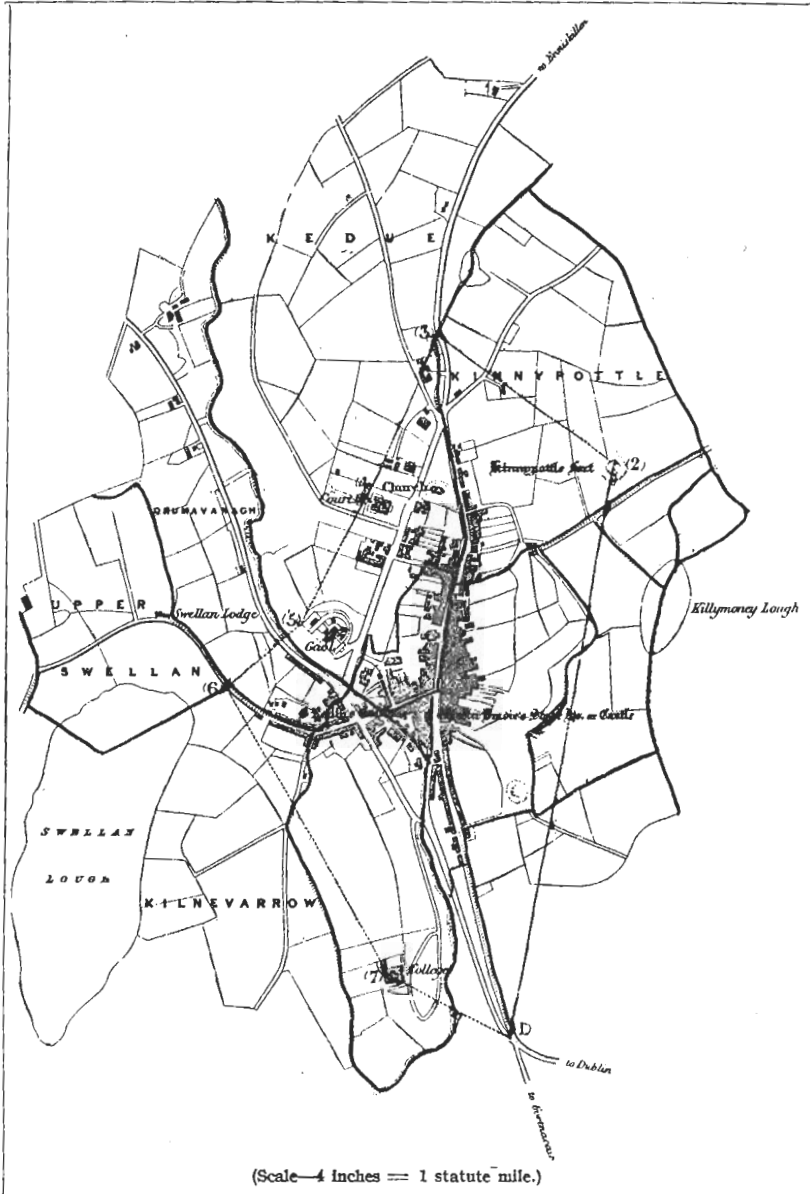
Rossgolgan, above-mentioned, is now called Rosculligan, or Rosscolgan, and on it is Breffni Park, the Athletic grounds of the County Cavan *Gaelic Athletic Association*. The 1609 map has "Rosgullan."

THE CHARTER OF KING JAMES II.

In the fourth year of King James II of England, or in 1687-8, a new charter was granted to the town and the original one annulled.* The second charter recites the seizure of the franchises into the King's hands by *quo warranto* out of the Exchequer, and confers on the Corporation the same privileges as they had formerly enjoyed. The names of the members of the new Corporation thus constituted are:—Luke Reilly, Esq., sovereign; Robert Fenly, Alexander Mac Leland, portreeves; and the following sixteen burgesses: Edward Reilly, Esq.; Philip Reilly, jun., Esq.; Thomas Fleming, Esq.; Philip Reilly, sen., Esq.; Miles Reilly, Esq., John Reilly, Esq.; Francis Bourke, Esq.; Hugh Reilly, Esq.; Richard Brady, Esq.; Miles Reilly, Gent.; Robert Fenly, merchant; Charles Reilly, Gent.; Alexander Mac Leland, merchant; John Sheridan, Gent.; John Price, inn-keeper; and Edmund Lynch, Gent. Daniel Donnelly, Gent., was nominated as recorder and town clerk. After the defeat and deposition of King James II, this second Corporation came to an end. There was a reversion to the former order. The charter of King James I became the law again, and the control of central and municipal government and the ownership of land were restored to those in whose hands they had been immediately before the short-lived reign of his Catholic Majesty. Furthermore, the second charter, like others similarly circumstanced, was rendered inoperative by the decision of the House of Lords in the case of Pippard v. the Mayor of Drogheda.†

* This charter is dated the 23rd February, 4 Jac. II, and enrolled (*Rot. Pat.*, 3rd March, 4 Jac. II, p. 2, m. 39). Reference to the whereabouts of the charters granted by both Kings is made in this *Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 31. See also H. Wood's *Guide to the Public Records of Ireland*.

† 4. *Brown's Parliamentary Cases*. References throughout this paper to "the charter" may be assumed to relate to the charter granted by King James I.



This map shows the boundary (i.e., the straight lines touching the seven points indicated) as proposed in the *Reports and Plans on Municipal Corporation Boundaries (Ireland), 1837*.

(Map, from the Ordnance Survey, appears in the aforementioned *Reports and Plans*).

(Reproduced from the Ordnance Survey map with the permission of the Minister for Finance of the Irish Free State.)

CORPORATION OFFICERS, ETC.

The style of the Cavan Corporation was "The Sovereign, Portreeves, Burgesses and Freemen of the Town and Borough of Cavan."

The Corporation were authorised to elect a Recorder and Town Clerk, one Sergeant of the Mace, and "all other superior officers and ministers which they shall think to be convenient and necessary."

It was provided in the charter that the sovereign should be elected by the sovereign, portreeves, burgesses, and freemen, out of the burgesses, on the Monday next after the feast of St. John the Baptist, and should be sworn in on the Monday next after the ensuing feast of St. Michael the Archangel. He was to hold office for one year, and was required to be sworn in before the sovereign, recorder, and two, at least, of the most ancient burgesses. In the later years of the Corporation it was usual for the sovereign to continue in office until a new one was sworn in.* Mr. Henry John Clements, for instance, was sovereign from the year 1818 until the year 1838. As there was no recorder for many years, the requisite of the charter as to the presence of the recorder at the swearing in ceremony, cannot have been complied with. It appears doubtful, too, whether the Act, 13, 14 Geo. III, c. 42—which provided for the absence of officers required by the charter to be present at elections—also extended to the swearing-in of those already elected. The charter provided that the sovereign should have charge of the free government of the town in the same manner as the sovereign of Kells. He was constituted a justice of the peace, coroner, and clerk of the market within the borough; and he usually exercised these privileges. As coroner, he had the usual fees upon inquests, which were of rare occurrence. The charter empowered him to appoint, during his absence, a vice-sovereign, from out of the burgesses and with their consent, with powers similar to his own. This power was frequently exercised. Mr. William Burrowes, who was vice-sovereign in the year 1818 continued in that office until the Corporation was abolished (in 1840). In a Directory for the year 1824, Wm. Burrowes, Esq., Main Street, Cavan, is mentioned as the deputy sovereign, and Col. H. J. Clements as sovereign. The sovereign was formerly expected to give a dinner upon Michaelmas Day.

It was provided in the charter that the portreeves (or "port-riffs") should be chosen annually by the Corporation from among the burgesses. For many years these officers did not perform any duties. From an entry dated 1680, in the Corporation books, they appear to have acted at that period as sheriffs

* *Reports from the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Ireland, Appendix Parts 1 and 2, 1835.*

to the Town or Borough Law Court. The office of portreeve has long since been a mere honorary office without any emolument. Nevertheless, it is on record that portreeves, as well as sovereigns, etc., were regularly elected between 1696 and 1817 and between 1838 and 1840. Deputy portreeves and vice-sovereigns were also frequently appointed from time to time.

The last town clerk and recorder (Oliver Nugent, Esqr.) was elected on the 30th September, 1839. At the same meeting, Thomas Bligh was appointed deputy recorder and town clerk. Mr. Nugent was dead before the next and last meeting on the 29th June, 1840. Sometimes the office (or offices?) of recorder and town clerk were occupied by two different persons. (Did the charter intend that only one person should hold both offices?) On three occasions two gentlemen were appointed "deputy recorders and town clerks." For some years (in later days particularly), the recorder and the deputy recorder and town clerk—usually one person administered the two last-mentioned offices—were appointed or re-appointed annually. The recordership itself was generally, if not invariably, held by lawyers—Counsellors-at-Law.

The sergeant of the mace acted as constable within the town. In lieu of salary, he was permitted to retain all the toll he could collect upon every day of the week except Tuesday (the charter market day) and fair days.

With a view to showing the relationship of the general body of the inhabitants in regard to the Corporation, some facts must be stated. The Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, furnished, in the year 1674, a letter and report on the Irish Corporations, and he there pointed out that in most of the Corporations of Ireland the freemen were generally Catholics in the year 1641, this continuing until about 1654.* It being a custom in most Corporations that all the sons of freemen were also free of the Corporations of which their fathers were free, many of the Catholic religion were entitled to the freedom of their Corporations about 1674. The Lord Lieutenant also mentioned that since the ending of the rebellion the magistrates in the Corporations had generally been Protestants, and many of that persuasion had been also admitted to their freedoms. During the Cromwellian Commonwealth (1649 to 1660), it would seem that the enjoyment of the benefits of freedom was denied to Catholic freemen. By a letter dated the 22nd May, 1661, the king (Charles II) declared his pleasure that the respective former inhabitants, natives and freemen, and such as had right to be freemen in any of the cities and towns in this kingdom, should be forthwith restored to their accustomed privileges and immunities, and admitted to trade in the said respective cities and towns as freely as heretofore, no

* *An Inquiry into the Ancient Corporate System of Ireland*, by Peter Gale, M.A., 1834.

distinctions to be made on account of religious opinions. Notwithstanding this letter, many of the old freemen that were Catholics were kept out of several of the Corporations.

Referring specifically to Cavan Corporation, it is on record that at the first Parliamentary Election for the Borough, in 1613, Walter Brady and George (Thomas?) Brady were nominated in the Rescusant (Catholic, etc.) interests.* Captain Culme, founder of Virginia, and George Sexton (Secretary to Sir Arthur Chichester), who were the opposing candidates, were declared elected. But as the election had been conducted with irregularity and violence, a petition was presented, and the return of Culme and Sexton annulled. The two Bradys were then returned. In the time of Bishop Bedell (Bishop from 1629 to 1642), the Protestant Chancellor of Kilmore, Dr. Alan Cooke, LL.D., was sovereign of the town. The Corporation book (period, 1680 to 1840) contains a copy of an Act or Declaration of Abjuration, a copy of an Oath of Fidelity to Queen Anne, etc., and a copy of the Quakers' Declaration (a modified form of the second-mentioned oath)—all repugnant to Catholic principles. These oaths and declarations were required to be subscribed by those admitted to the freedom of the Borough, the sovereign, portreeves, burgesses, and other officers and officials. At a Court held on the 31st August, 1704, John Dunkan, one of the sergeants of the Borough, upon being duly sworn, deposed that he had been ordered by the sovereign to summon such of the burgesses as did or would not conform themselves according to the Acts of Parliament directing the taking of the oath of abjuration, to appear at the Town House to proceed to a new election of others in the room of such as did not or would not so qualify themselves. In connection with this, he stated that about three weeks ago, and again on Monday last, he went to the dwelling house of Robt. Sanderson, Esqr., and on each occasion left a summons there.

In the Corporation book above-mentioned there are copies of oaths required to be taken by :—(1) the sovereign, (2) the portreeve, (3) each freeman, (4) an attorney, (5) the sergeants, (6) the constables, and (7) each burgess. Another book (period, 1771 to 1826) contains copies of an oath of the market jury and of appraisers respectively. The oaths and declarations were regularly administered. Pursuant to the provisions of the charter, the sovereign, portreeves, and other officers were sworn-in at a court or meeting held annually at the end of September or early in October.

In Cavan, the burgesses (twelve in number) apparently held office for life. They were generally non-resident, and were uniformly of the Protestant persuasion. No duties were performed by them and there was no salary or other emolument incidental to the office. Neither fees nor stamp duties were paid

* See this *Journal*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 319.

upon their admission to the Corporation. As to the freemen, there was no limit to the number that might be admitted. The power of admitting freemen was made in Cavan, as elsewhere, subservient to political interests.

THE CLEMENTS-NESBITT COMPACT.

In the year 1722, two families, Clements and Nesbitt, obtained paramount influence in the Corporation, and divided its patronage between them by a written compact which appeared in the Corporation books in the following terms :—

Articles agreed on between Theophilus Clements and Thomas Nesbitt, Esqrs., concerning the Corporation of Cavan.

Imprimis. That the said Clements and Nesbitt shall be sovereign, year about, of the said Corporation. Mr. Clements to be sovereign, the next election, Midsummer, 1723, and Mr. Nesbitt the next year, and so successively, each in his turn.

Secondly. That no person shall, on any pretences whatsoever, be admitted to his freedom of the said Corporation, without the joint consent of the said Clements and Nesbitt, either personally present, or under their hands.

Thirdly. That if any vacancy shall happen either by death or resignation of any Burgess, then Mr. Clements shall first name the succeeding burgess and then Mr. Nesbitt successively, as they are to be sovereigns.

Fourthly. That although each has a right to recommend a burgess in his turn in the case of any vacancy, yet that vacancy shall not be filled up, unless both Mr. Clements and Mr. Nesbitt approve of the person so recommended, either personally, or, in the case of absence, under their hands.

Signed this 22d March, 1722.

THEO. CLEMENTS.

THO. NESBITT.

This compact was acted upon from its date until the extinction of the Corporation. On the borough being deprived of its Parliamentary representation by the Act of Union in the year 1800, the Commissioners appointed under the Act, 40 Geo. III, c. 34, awarded £15,000 (as compensation for loss of the political patronage of the borough), to be equally divided between the heads of those two families. From that time the borough ceased to be an object of much interest to the patrons—Clements and Nesbitt—who were not in any way connected to the town by property. However, members of both families held various offices in the Corporation up to the time of the legal abolition of that body.

BOROUGH MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

An important provision of the charter was that which authorised the Corporation to return "two Discreet Burgesses" to the Irish House of Commons. This privilege was regularly exercised.

Among those who represented the town, in the seventeenth century, may be mentioned Walter Brady, the first sovereign, or mayor, of Cavan, who, with Thomas Brady (apparently one of the original burgesses), was returned to Parliament in 1614.* Walter Brady was a person of some importance in his day. The following grant was made to him by Queen Elizabeth in December, 1584:—

The office of constable and gaoler of the gaol of Cavan in Co. Cavan, with all such fees as the constable and gaoler of Tryme [i.e., Trim] has. To hold during pleasure. Security in £300 sterling for the safe custody of the prisoners.† In the *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland* (James I, 1611), under the heading, "List of Pensions and Annuities," appears the entry:—"Walter Bradey, Constable of Cavan, 10*l.*"

Alan Cooke, LL.D., one of the members returned in 1634 and again in 1639, was also sovereign of the town.‡ He was the founder of Cookstown, County Tyrone.

For a short time about 1709, Joseph Addison, the brilliant essayist of *Spectator* fame, was one of the Cavan representatives.§

In the eighteenth century, the members of Parliament for the borough belonged mainly to the families of the patrons—Clements and Nesbitt.||

Rathkenny, Cootehill, was—and still is—the family seat of the Clements family. The Nesbitts lived at Crossdoney Lodge (alias Lismore Castle), but there is now no trace of them in the County.

Theophilus Clements and Thomas Nesbitt—the signatories of the Clements-Nesbitt compact—who were elected in 1713 and 1715 respectively, were the first of their families to represent the borough in the Irish House of Commons.

Brief mention may be made of a few of the Clements's who were members of Parliament.

Theophilus Clements (above referred to) was born in County Meath in 1687. He was sovereign of Cavan in 1723-'24, and High Sheriff of the County in 1726. When sovereign he (as is stated subsequently) presented to the borough a handsome silver mace, and also an official seal. Judging from the number of Committees on which he served, he was an active Parliamentarian, and held the offices of Agent to the Civil and Military

* See this *Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 39.

† *Fians* of Queen Elizabeth, 12 Dec., XXVII Eliz.

‡ See this *Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 46.

§ See this *Journal*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 98.

|| See this *Journal*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 98.

Pensioners and Teller, or Cashier, of the Irish Exchequer. He married before 1723, Elizabeth Burton, daughter of Francis Burton, Esq., of Buncraggy, County Clare, and aunt of Francis Pierpont Burton, 2nd Baron Conyngham. In the summer of 1728 he went to Flanders and Holland for the benefit of his health, and died in Flanders in the August of that year.*

Robert Clements (born about 1725, died in 1747) was an ensign and later a lieutenant in the army. When his uncle, Lieut.-Colonel Henry Clements, died (killed at the head of his regiment at the battle of Fontenoy, 11th May, 1745) he succeeded him in the representation of the borough, holding office until his own death two years later.†

The present Vice-Regal Lodge, Phoenix Park, Dublin, was built by the Right Honourable Nathaniel Clements (the father of the first Lord Leitrim) who was a Member for Cavan town from 1761 to 1768, and from 1769 (1776 ?) to 1777. He built the house for his own use, and some time after his death it was sold to the Government.

Although not a Parliamentary representative for the town, it should be recorded that Theophilus Clements (born in 1727, died in 1804), who was High Sheriff of Cavan in 1766, was later sovereign of Cavan, and also, before 1779, of Carrick-on-Shannon.

From 1713 until 1852, a period of one hundred and thirty-nine years, there was always a member of the Clements family in the Irish or, after the Union, in the British House of Commons.

The foregoing particulars relating to the Parliamentary representatives supplement the information given in my Papers on *Members in the Irish Parliament for Cavan County and the Boroughs of Cavan and Belturbet*, already published in this *Journal*. In these Papers will be found the full list of members, dates of election, and other details.

TOWN GOVERNMENT.

During the period of the Corporation régime, the municipal affairs of the town were regulated at courts held before the sovereign or his deputy, which, under the denomination of "Town Courts," appear to have exercised jurisdiction in the nature of a court leet and of an assembly of the Corporation. At these courts "Market Juries" were appointed, and they elected

* *Ancestors and Descendants of Robert Clements of Leicestershire and Warwickshire, England, First Settler of Haverhill, Massachusetts* (Clement Genealogy), by Percival Wood Clement, Rutland, Vermont, U.S.A.

† *Ancestors and Descendants of Robert Clements of Leicestershire and Warwickshire, England, First Settler of Haverhill, Massachusetts* (Clement Genealogy), by Percival Wood Clement, Rutland, Vermont, U.S.A., Vol. II, p. 887. The name, Robert Clements, does not appear in the List of Members of Parliament on page 98, Vol. I, No. 2, of this *Journal*. He probably preceded Rt. Hon. Henry Weston, who, according to that List, was elected in place of Henry Clements, deceased.

constables, appraisers, etc., in addition to their ordinary duties. From entries in the Corporation books under the head of "A List of several Nuisances, &c., &c., presented by the Market Jury of the Town and Borough of Cavan, and approved of by Samuel Burrowes, Esq., Sovereign," it is found that regulations for the government of the town were made at these courts, through the instrumentality of the Market Jury; and that when approved of by the sovereign they were considered to be binding upon the inhabitants. No Town Court was held from 1796 until 1819, when two courts were held—the first for swearing-in a mace-bearer and constable and the second for swearing-in a Market Jury. The last Market Jury (12 in number) seems to have been sworn before Henry J. Clements, Esq., sovereign, at a "General Sessions of the Peace" held at Cavan on the 18th January, 1826 (pursuant to an Act of Parliament of the 27 and 28 of Geo. 3rd).

In 1824 a Town Court was held in the Courthouse, with a view to enforcing cleanliness in the streets, etc. The business was transacted by the sovereign, vice-sovereign, and one Burgess, in the presence of some inhabitants (who attended, but were not considered entitled, or allowed, to take any part in the proceedings). Certain regulations for the government of the town were passed. Penalties were attached for the breach of each, and the vice-sovereign later had these penalties levied under his warrant by distress. No sale, however, took place, as the penalties were paid; but the right to sell the distress was claimed. These rules were considered to be "bye-laws," and were intended to be passed as such.

The Corporation from time to time made bye-laws for the regulation of the franchise fees upon admission, etc., but in no other instance for the government of the town. It does not appear that any resistance was at any time made to the imposition or levy of the penalties. The mode of enforcing the municipal regulations of the town, under the Market Jury presentments and the bye-laws as mentioned, was apparently illegal. The Market Juries had no legal power to impose, or the sovereign to levy, such penalties as were prescribed. The bye-laws as passed were not sanctioned by law, but, at all events, the power of selling a distress made under them was not sustained by common law or statute.

The following is a representative selection (in summarised form) of the orders and regulations appearing in the original records of the Corporation, and they indicate that body's methods of dealing with matters appertaining to street cleaning, sanitation, markets, etc., as well as incidentally shedding some light on the state of the town at the time concerned:—

6th February, 1680: "The Sover. Portrives & Bur-gesses" unanimously made a table of fees payable to the sovereign, portreeves, clerks, attorneys, sergeants, pound keepers, and appraisers, respectively. There are in all 54

items of fees. The charges ranged from 4d. (fourpence)—for various services—to 13s. 4d. (thirteen shillings and fourpence) to the sovereign (as coroner) for holding an inquest on a death. The clerk was to get 2s. 6d. (two shillings and sixpence) and the sergeant 4d. (fourpence), for swearing every freeman. An attorney was entitled to 2s. 6d. (two shillings and sixpence) as retaining fee and 9d. (ninepence) for attendance for every court day afterwards “whilst the Cause Depends in Court.”

15th April, 1703: General Assembly of the Sovereign, Portreeves, and Burgesses at the “Towne House.”—An order was made that no man for the future should be admitted or sworn free [i.e., made a freeman] of the borough unless by the majority of votes of the sovereign, portreeves, and burgesses, and first paying into the hands of the treasurers for the time being the sum of ten (?) shillings “to be applied to the Publique Good” of the borough. Mr. Abra: Finlay, Mr. Isaac Adreene and Mr. Will: Parr were appointed to receive all such public moneys.

2nd December, 1703: Court before Edward Davenport, Esqr., Sovereign, and the Portreeves and Burgesses.—It was ordered that the constables of the borough levy by distress or otherwise the sum of one pound sterling on each of 28 inhabitants named, for not paving their streets before their respective tenements. The money was to be paid into the hands of Major Nesbitt, Abraham Finlay, and Isaac Adriane. Those paving their streets before the 4th May following were to have the money returned to them. In the other cases, workmen were to be employed to carry out the work in accordance with a presentment made on the 15th April, 1703.

1st March, 1704: General Assembly of the Sovereign, Portreeves, Burgesses, and Freemen.—An order was made, in pursuance to a former by-law, that no person or persons should exercise any trade in the borough unless he or they first become free of the borough, or if they did not become free “or Compounde for paying Quartridge as formerly hath been accustomed in the Sd. Burr” that it should be in the power of the sovereign for the time being to distrain the goods of any such person or persons for the amount due.

[Note.—Between 1704 and 1773 there is no record of any orders and regulations of the kind mentioned here.]

Thursday, 1st April, 1773: Town Court.—The (first?) appointment of a Market Jury is recorded. Seventeen persons, each described as “Gent.”, were appointed and sworn for the ensuing year. Judging from the title, “Gent.”, they may have been some of the local tradespeople and merchants.

Thursday, 19th October, 1775: Town Court.—It was

“presented” that every inhabitant within the Corporation of Cavan immediately dig up, scour, and open the channel opposite the back of his (or her) tenement. Where any inhabitants, within six days after notice had been given, neglected or refused doing this, the sovereign or the vice-sovereign was empowered to distrain so much of the goods and chattels of the offenders as would be sufficient to pay labourers to carry out the work.

Thursday, 28th March, 1776: Town Court.—An order signed by the Vice-Sovereign, Deputy Recorder, and Market Jury, describes the hogs and pigs “now at Large in the Town” as a common nuisance. It was then directed that the town sergeants should seize and detain any hogs or pigs they should find at large in the streets. If within twenty-four hours they were not released by the owner paying a fine of 2s. (two shillings), they were to be sold. One half of the proceeds of the sale was to go to the person seizing the animals and the other half to the poor of the parish. It would seem that this order did not finally stop the hogs and pigs from exercising themselves in the streets, as the Market Jury, on the 7th March, 1782, directed that the “former rule” respecting the hogs and pigs be strictly adhered to.

Thursday, 24th October, 1776: Town Court.—It was ordered that the sum of four pounds be assessed on the several inhabitants of the town of Cavan from “Robert Whitendales (?) in the Half Acre to Doctor Wises (?) and from the Market Cross to the Barrack Gate.” The sum was to be immediately levied by distress or otherwise. Robert Freeman, Esqr., Vice-Sovereign, and Mr. Charles Stewart, Foreman of the Market Jury, were appointed applotters of the amount assessed. The money was to be expended in providing “a proper (?) Inside Cover and Tumbler (?), with tackling,” for carrying off the dirt out of the street within the limits already mentioned.

[Note.—A State Paper Office map of “The Towne of Cavan,” made about 1593, shows the Market Cross and the Bull Ring in the Main Street.]

Thursday, 4th February, 1779: Town Court.—The Vice-Sovereign (Robt. Freeman, Esqr.), with the advice and consent of the Market Jury, made an order that no more than one penny custom (to the “custom man”) and one penny (to the Sergeant) for the use of the “pick” (?) should be paid for each sack of potatoes brought to the market to be sold. The law was to be put in force against persons exacting or taking more money.

Thursday, 10th June, 1779: Town Court.—It was enacted that if any horse, mare, gelding, mule or ass was found trespassing inside the Borough, and if the owner of such beast had not land or grazing sufficient within the Corporat on

limits, he should pay five shillings and five pence for the first trespass and eleven shillings and fourpence half-penny for every subsequent trespass.

Thursday, 21st March, 1782: Town Court.—It was ordered that a standard creel (as approved by the Sovereign) be forthwith provided to measure all back loads of turf brought into the town for sale, and that every such “Load or Loads of Turf shall contain twice the full of said Creel upon the same being fairly measured . . .” Loads “found defective of said measure” were to be immediately forfeited and sent to the confined debtors or to the poor inhabitants of the Corporation, in the manner directed by the sovereign, or, in his absence, by the majority or any three of the Market Jury. It was also laid down that creels found defective should be burned. The regulations were to apply from the first day of April following.

[Note.—Were the “confined debtors” kept in the Corporation jail?]

Thursday, 12th February, 1795: Town Court.—The town sergeant was directed to summon the inhabitants to attend on Monday, the 16th instant for the purpose of swearing in a Market Jury and appraisers for the year ensuing.

Monday, 16th February, 1795: Town Court.—It was enacted that one or more of the Market Jury (then sworn into office) act in preventing any fraud or nuisance within the Corporation (area).

13th April, 1824: Town Court. (Held in the Court House, Cavan).—The Sovereign (H. J. Clements, Esq.) and Burgesses made “Bye-Laws, Rules, and Regulations,” by which every inhabitant was required, before eleven (ten?) o’clock in the morning of every day (Sundays only excepted), to sweep and cleanse, or cause to be swept and cleansed, before his (or her) respective houses, buildings and walls; in the streets, and in such lanes and passages as carriages, carts or cars can pass through, and “carry or cause the same to be carried away or removed off the said Streets, Lanes, or Passages.” Persons refusing or neglecting to do this were for every such offence, upon oath of one credible witness, before the sovereign, to forfeit the sum of one shilling, to be levied by distress and sale of the offenders’ goods, together with the expense of levying the same. It was also directed that “All Manure and Nuisances whatever, found on the Streets, Lanes, or Passages as aforesaid, after Twelve o’Clock noon, on any of said Days, to be forfeited and disposed of, as the Sovereign may think proper.” The forfeitures paid to the sovereign were by him to be applied for the use of the poor of the town. “The above Laws and Regulations, to be in force from henceforward, or as long as the Sovereign may think they are necessary.” The regulations were printed

(by O'Brien, Printer, Cavan), and apparently duly published in the town.

It will be noted from the foregoing that the meetings of the Corporation were variously styled—"A Court before the Sovereign, Portreeves, and Burgesses," "General Assembly," and "Town Court," and elections of officers, etc., are described as having taken place at a "Court" or a "Corporation Court" or a "Town Court" or a "Court of Election," all, very likely, meaning the same. In the two Corporation books available (period, 1680 to 1840), the signatures of the officers, burgesses, freemen and officials attending are appended to the record of most of the meetings, and afford an index of the number present. The attendances varied from time to time, but frequently about a dozen members constituted a meeting. On the 30th June, 1707, at an election of Sovereign, 163 members voted (12 burgesses, 89 "old freemen," 55 "new freemen," and 7 freemen not classified as old or new). There were three candidates, and Lieut. (?) Fran: Aldrich was elected by "the majority of voices." Some other examples of attendances are:—29th June, 1724 (presentation of Mace and Seal), 26 present; 13th May, 1776 (Election of two Members of Parliament), 25 present; 30th June, 1800 (Election of Sovereign, etc.), 10 present; Monday, — June, 1815, Election of Sovereign, etc.), 3 present; 29th June, 1840, (Election of Sovereign, etc., last meeting), 9 present.

THE BOROUGH LAW COURTS.

Authority was given by the charter to the sovereign and any two or more of the burgesses to hold every three weeks a Court of Civil Pleas or Court of Record to determine all manner of actions not exceeding in debt and damages the sum of twenty pounds sterling.

Provision was also made for the holding of a Court of "Pye-powder" (or "Pie Poudre") during the fairs mentioned in the charter. The judges were to be the sovereign and at least two of the burgesses "or any other person named or authorised with him or them." This Court administered justice to all comers, but principally to wanderers and pedlars.

Both these Courts were modelled on the corresponding Courts in Kells (cognizance of plea only excepted).

An original record of the first-mentioned Court, between the years 1771 and 1796, is available. Described as "a Town Court held in and for said Borough of Cavan," the Court was held before the vice-sovereign. Reference has previously been made to the "Town Court" in connection with general town purposes, but it is the "Town Court" administering justice that is now under consideration. During the period, 1771 to 1796, the following vice-sovereigns officiated:—1771 to 1774, Mark Magrath, Esqr.; 1775 to 1795, Robert Freeman, Esqr.; 1796, Saml. Burrowes, Esqr.

Seemingly (judging from a reference to the "Jury's return" and another similar reference) the Court had, at least on some occasions, the assistance of a jury. Usually, each litigant was represented by an attorney, and apparently it was necessary for the latter, before practising, to be "Admitted and Sworn an Attorney of The Borough Court of Cavan." The Court met every three weeks on Thursdays. According to the minute book, only four sittings of the Court were held from the 25th April, 1771, to the end of that year. The number was the same in 1772, but there was a slight increase in 1773. Between 1774 and 1776, scarcely a month went by without a sitting. A fair number took place in 1777, but adjournments (without any business being transacted) are entered from the 27th November, 1777, to the 20th May, 1779. (Was the town at perfect peace, having no need for law-suits, during these eighteen months?). In some instances, there appear to have been formal adjournments, rules and orders, made at previous sittings, being continued. From the date last mentioned up to 1784, the sittings again became pretty regular. For seven years after that they fell off to about six each year. One sitting each only was held in 1792 and 1793. Once more, in 1794, the Court frequently sat. Seven was the number of sittings in 1795. Four were held before the 28th July, 1796, when the Court was adjourned to "this day Three Weeks," but it does not appear to have assembled again.

The minute book referred to does not give much information. The nature of each action is not set out, but it may be inferred that most of the suits were for the recovery of debts. The dates of the sittings, the names of the litigants, the names of their attorneys, and the rulings of the Court, are contained in the book. Some of the rulings read as follows:—"Execution in Portrif's Hands," "In Custody of Portrive on Execution," "Execution to Issue Against the Bail for the cost in this cause," "Def't. to pay the cost. Execution to Issue," "Dismiss against the Plain[tiff] in this cause," "Discharged," "Settled paying Recorder his Cost and all others," "Six Days to Declare." At a Town Court held on Thursday, 10th June, 1779, the following decision was given in the case (or cause) of John Dundass against John Castles (Attorney?):—"Discharged by consent of Plant: it appearing that no order from any Court can attach the Body of an Attorney as there was no Execution." An interesting entry occurs in the proceedings of the Town Court held on the 29th December, 1774. One case—that of James Magrath against Edwd. Reilly (or O'Reilly)—was, by consent of both parties, referred to Mr. Phyllis (Phillip?) Reilly of Croskeys and Phillip Reilly of the Bridge. [Were "Croskeys" (or Cross Keys?) and "the Bridge" the names of inns or taverns in the town?] The award of the latter gentlemen was to be the judgment of the Court if returned before next court day. Occasionally, cases were so referred to arbitration. The names of attorneys connected with the Court are

mentioned among the arbitrators. It was ordered at a Court held on the 25th October, 1781, that no further "Rules of reference" be entered in the rule book, it being provided that parties could, if necessary, settle their causes before the rising of the Court. If this order was intended to prevent further reference of actions to arbitration, it was not strictly carried out. Arbitrators were appointed in a case heard on the 23rd May, 1782; and they were also nominated on later dates.

No charter Court of Record was held in Cavan since 1796. The table of fees and other entries in the book relating to the proceedings of this Court lead one to infer that attachment of the body and goods was the usual process. It is said that the process of the Court was inoperative in a townland called "Cadua" (now spelt Keadew or Keady), which, as Abbey land, was tithe-free. This townland contained about 100 acres, and afforded this protection, although within the charter limits and not excepted thereout. In the 1709 *Cavan Townland List* (*infra*) the denomination, "Keddow and Abbey Lands," was valued at fourteen "Carvags." The 1609 map has "Nakadiue."

CORPORATION MEETING PLACE, ETC.

The Corporation were authorised by the charter to build a "common hall or Tholsell to be called by the name of the Tholsell of Cavan" in which they were to meet for the transaction of public business. It is not known if this hall was built. In the Corporation records between 1703 and 1728 mention is made of meetings held at the "Towne House." Probably, at least in the later days of the Corporation, town affairs were transacted in the old Court House in Main Street. (A Town Court was held in the "Court House, Cavan," on the 13th April, 1824.) In 1827 the old Court House became the Market House, the Grand Jury having sold it to Lord Farnham. Concerning this, it is of interest to add that the large iron gate of the Market House (fronting Main Street) was put there by its new owner. Cut into the iron of one of the bars are the words: "Made by Philip M'Arde for Rt. Hon. Baron Farnham, 1827." The maker, it is stated, owned a forge in the town. After a century's use, the gate is in a fairly good state of preservation.

At an earlier period Cavan had another Court House or Sessions House and Jail. This building is supposed to have been built on what is at present the site of the Protestant National Schools in Farnham Street, facing the now-disused County Jail on the opposite side of the same street. Was this a former County Sessions House and Jail, or was it the Jail that belonged to the Corporation (see under "Corporation Property")? And where stood the "gaol of Cavan" of which Walter Brady was, by grant of Queen Elizabeth, the constable and gaoler? These questions come to mind—some day, perhaps, they may be answered,

In the early part of the 18th century—about 1725—there was an inn in Cavan kept by a Mrs. Donaldson, who was an intimate friend of Dean Swift and Henry Brooke. This inn was their favourite rendezvous. Mrs. Donaldson advertised the inn by poetical effusions. In 1824 one of the Cavan inns was called the Corporation Arms, which was in Main Street. The proprietress was a Mary Anne Barry. Two other inns of the 1824 period may also be referred to incidentally. One was the “Cock and Punch Bowl” (Peter Brady, proprietor), in Church Street, three doors from the Cock Hill, south side: the house is now occupied by the Midland Wholesale Company. The other was the Farnham Arms Hotel (Paul Postans, proprietor) in Farnham Street—where the present Technical School is—which was the stopping place of the stage coach. The last-named hotel has been in Main Street for many years past.

An interesting provision of the charter was that which empowered the sovereign, portreeves, burgesses, and freemen to wear robes such as those worn by similar officers, etc., in Kells. As to whether or not this provision was observed, information is lacking.

MACE, SEAL, AND COAT OF ARMS.

Theophilus Clements, who was sovereign in 1723-'24, presented to the Borough a “silver mace & seal vulture Seventy Pounds ster. as a Free Gift for Ever unto the said Corporation.” So runs the official record of the presentation, which was made on the 29th June, 1724. It was then ordered in “open Court” that the mace should be kept within the Corporation in such proper place as every sovereign for the time being should appoint, and that he should have and appoint a proper person to carry the same on all Court days, on Holidays when required by the sovereign, and at every Assizes to be held for the County within the Corporation area. It was also laid down that each sovereign, as soon as sworn into office, should enter into a bond with a penalty of £140 (one hundred and forty pounds sterling) for the true payment of £70 (seventy pounds sterling) to Theophilus Clements, his heirs, etc. The object of the bond was an attempt to secure that the mace would be delivered up in good condition by each outgoing sovereign to his successor. The mace was returned to the Clements family when the Corporation ceased to exist.

On both the mace and the seal were engarved the arms of Theophilus Clements impaling those of his wife, Elizabeth Burton. The arms are thus described:—“Argent, two bends wavy sable, on a chief gules three bezants,” and the motto, *Patriis Virtutibus* [“By ancestral virtues”] goes with them. The arms of Lord Leitrim are those of the Clements's, with the addition of supporters. Lord Leitrim belongs to the Clements family.

What is regarded as the coat of arms of the town of Cavan



THE SEAL OF CAVAN CORPORATION.

A Seal was presented to that Body on the 29th June, 1724, by the then Sovereign of the Town, Theophilus Clements. The Coat of Arms appearing thereon is that of the Clements-Burton families. Motto: *Patris Virtutibus* [i.e., "By Ancestral Virtues"].



THE SEAL OF CAVAN URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL.

The Coat of Arms appearing thereon is that of Theophilus Clements (1687—1728), impaling the arms of his wife, Elizabeth Burton, Family Seat : Rathkenny, Cootehill,

(i.e., that appearing on the seal of Cavan Urban District Council, and previously on the seal of their predecessors, the Cavan Town Commissioners) is really the coat of arms of the Clements-Burton families.

FAIRS AND MARKETS.

In the year 1603 King James I of England issued letters patent which granted to John Bingle, Gent., the right of holding a market in the town of Cavan on Tuesdays.*

The charter of 1611 also authorised the Corporation to hold "one Free markett within the said town on Tuesday in every week." In addition, it provided that two fairs should be held annually—one on the 14th September and the day following, and the other to take place on the 1st November and the next day. Where the days named happened to be Saturday or Sunday, the fairs were to be held on the ensuing Monday and Tuesday in each case. According to the Schedule of Tolls and Customs (which follows), eight fairs were held yearly (on dates other than those named in the charter at 1611) "in right of the Corporation." The Corporation claimed toll on all these days.

The following is a Schedule of the Tolls and Customs payable on the following articles in the following fairs, held in the town of Cavan, and County of Cavan, in right of the Corporation of said town, viz., 1st February, Easter Monday, 14th May, 30th June, 14th August, 25th September, 12th November, and 22nd December in each year.

TOLLS ON CATTLE ON THE FAIR GREEN.

	s.	d.
For every horse, mare, or gelding	0	6
„ milk cow, springer, or with calf		6
„ dry cow, two year old heifer, or bullock exceeding one year		4
„ yearling ditto or calves		3
„ pig		3
„ small pig or suckling, on entering the fair without having a ring or staple at the nose, drove by a sow, or otherwise		1
„ load of small pigs carried		6
„ car, cart, or crate of ditto		10
„ sheep or goat		2
„ every lamb or kid until the 1st of August, the rest of the year		1
„ ass or mule		5
„ covered tent, selling spirituous liquors or entertainment	1	1
„ uncovered standing, selling eatables or otherwise		5

* *Letters Patent*, 19th October, 1 Jac. I, and enrolled (1 Jac. I, p. 2, m. 9, d.).

IN THE STREET OR ELSEWHERE.

	s.	d.
For every carcass of beef		6
„ ditto of mutton or goat		2
„ ditto of calf		2
„ ditto of pig		3
„ cow or horse auctioned, (except for rent or under execution.)		6
„ covered standing		6
„ uncovered ditto		4
„ sack of meal, flour, oats, or potatoes		2
„ back-load of potatoes		2
„ sack of salt		2
„ show or exhibiting stand or party ...	1	0
„ load of coals		4
„ back load of apples (carts and cars in proportion)		4
„ standing of apples		4
„ stocking or cast clothes man ...		4
„ back load of wooden ware ...		5
„ car or cart load of same		10
„ crock or bowl of butter, not exceed- ing 28 lbs.		1
„ ditto tub or firkin, exceeding said weight		2
„ cow, bullock, or horse hide ...		2
„ back load of fish		2
„ car or cart load of ditto		4
„ load of lemons or oranges		2
„ car-load of frize or flannel		6
„ car or back-load of wool		6
„ car or crate of brogues		4
„ ditto back load of plants		2
„ ditto cart-load of ditto		4
„ hardware or cheese standing ...		6
„ other standing of any kind ...		4
„ hawker of any kind		2
„ leather cutter		4
„ calf, goat, or sheep skin		1
„ back load of crockery ware ...		5
„ car, cart, or dray load ditto ...		10
„ delf, glass, or china standing ...		6
„ load of fir, apple, quick, or any young trees	1	0
„ load of vegetables		4
„ herring barrel		3

For every back load of any fruit (car or cart	s. d.
load in proportion)	4
WM. BURROWES, Sovereign of said Borough.	
PHILIP DOWDE, Receiver of said Tolls and Customs.	

[Note.—William Burrowes, Esqr., was vice-sovereign between 1818 and 1840.]

Formerly, the tolls and customs collected at the fairs were taken by the sovereign or his deputy, in right of his office. They were farmed out at a rent of £40 per annum. None, however, was demanded since 1830, in consequence of the collection having been generally opposed upon the alleged ground of want of title.

As long as market custom was demanded, the Corporation claimed it upon all articles brought in for sale upon every day of the week except Tuesday (the charter market day), upon which day Lord Farnham claimed and levied toll, until it was resisted by the public and given up in like manner as the Corporation toll. The Corporation never contested Lord Farnham's right to market tolls, and apparently he received them for a great many years.

The last vice-sovereign, Mr. William Burrowes, paid a quit-rent of 8s. 5d. for the fairs, hoping that these tolls would be re-established, and that he would continue to receive them as heretofore. An increase in the trade of the town took place after the collection of tolls and customs was abandoned.

The weighmaster was (at least for many years) appointed by Lord Farnham, who leased the market crane to him at a yearly rent of £50. The charges made by the weighmaster were:—

Oats, per sack	2d.
Meal, per sack	4d. or 1d. per cwt.
Butter, each firkin	2d.
Bacon, each side	2d.
Groceries and parcel, a cwt.	1d.

And no charge less than 1d. was made even if the article was under 1 cwt.

Most of the above-mentioned charges were in violation of the Acts then regulating weights and measures and the fees of weighmasters in this country (4 Anne, c. 14, and 25 Geo. II, c. 15). Potatoes were weighed free of charge at another crane.

The weighmaster who held office about 1833 was not sworn upon his appointment.

It has been considered that the right of Lord Farnham to appoint a weighmaster in the borough was extremely questionable. The right to tolls or customs was vested in the Corporation by charter, and if they retained the ownership of them under the Act, 4 Anne, the right of appointing a weighmaster was vested in them. Lord Farnham's ancestors are alleged to have exercised this right for many years (seemingly from after 1782), although

no transfer in connection with it appeared in the Corporation books.

In 1923 Cavan Urban District Council purchased from Lord Farnham, for the sum of £5,500, the Butter, Seed, and Potato Markets (now styled the Central Markets), in Main Street, the public weighbridge, the Market Square, and the Market Yard, with all the buildings thereon. As the Urban District Council already owned the Egg, Fowl, and Pork Markets (in Mill Street), this purchase placed the Council in complete control of all the market rights and market premises of the town.

In the *Gentleman's and Citizen's Almanack*, published in Dublin in 1768, the following fairs are given for the town of Cavan for the year 1768:—Friday, 14th May; Monday, 15th August; Monday, 26th September; and Friday, 12th November. Two of these fairs might have been held on the 14th August and the 25th September, respectively, but that these days were Sundays in 1768. None of these four fairs is marked "Custom Free." It will be noted that the "Almanack" does not mention the charter fairs. Apparently they ceased to be held before 1768.

Of all the fairs mentioned in the charter of 1611 and in the Schedule of Tolls and Customs, only those fairs the dates of which are the 14th May, 14th August, and 12th November, still continue. These are now called the "old fairs." In addition, at present and for many years past, a fair is held on the second Tuesday of each month in which no "old fair" is due to be held. A pig fair is held on the day prior to every fair, cattle, etc., being bought and sold on the fair day proper. If the date of a fair falls on a Sunday, it is held on the following Monday, and the pig fair on the preceding Saturday. Farmers' servants of both sexes are hired at the fairs in May and November. The hiring takes place principally in the public street at the junction of Main Street and Bridge Street.

Tuesday is still the weekly market day.

CORPORATION PROPERTY.

By the charter of incorporation, the town of Cavan, and the townlands of Tullymongan, Killnevarrow, Dromgoone, Drom-eallah, and Rossgolgan, with the reservation of O'Reilly's castle and two poles of Rossgolgan, were granted to the borough.* The lands unitedly amounted to 400 acres, and all lay within the Corporation limits. About the time of the abolition of the Corporation, the town of Cavan belonged chiefly to Lord Farnham and Lord Annesley; Tullymongan was possessed by Lord Maryborough and Mrs. Foster; Killnevarrow by Mr. Radcliffe; Dromgoone by Mr. Saunderson; Dromeallah chiefly by Lord Annesley, and that part of it called "Burgess Acres" by a Mr.

* The spelling of the townland names is that given in the charter.

Castles ; and Rossgolgan by Miss Andrew and Richard Bell. Eventually, the only Corporation land remaining was a "waste and stony common," known as the Gallows Hill—the present Fair Green. The Gallows Hill, as Corporation property, originally contained about 14 acres. Its area to-day is less, because, within living memory, certain people who had no authority to do so enclosed part of it as their own property.

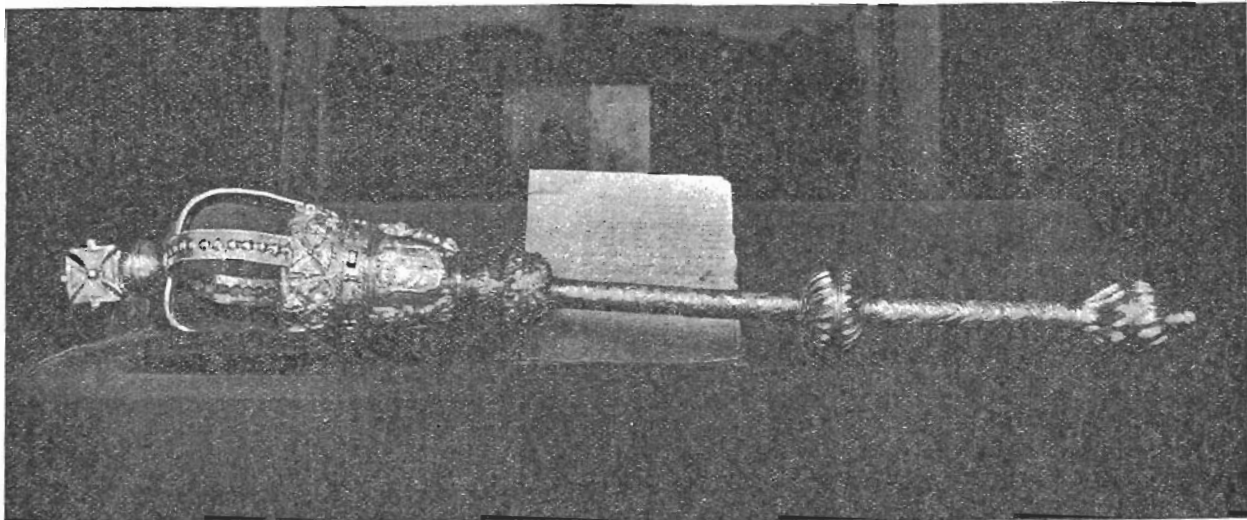
The alienation of the Corporation property must have been of very ancient date, there being no reference to it in the Corporation books commencing in 1680. Extremely vague and contradictory are the traditional accounts of alienation. In a Return to the House of Commons made by the vice-sovereign, 17th February, 1833, it is stated that "the lands had been alienated by some means unknown" to him, and were then in the possession of the families already mentioned, some of whose ancestors appear to have been burgesses of the Corporation. From this circumstance it is surmised that the burgesses, at an early period, divided the property among them. The ancestors of the last patrons of the borough are also pointed out by traditional evidence as the persons who possessed themselves of the property.

It may be of interest to mention here that a small property, consisting of tenements in the town, was left about 1673, by Sir Hugh Cullom, for the support of poor widows in the parish of Urney. A rental of £9 12s. 0d. a year, which was yielded by it, was distributed by the rector among twelve poor widows. This appears to have been done until at least 1833. There were no charitable funds under the control of the Corporation at the close of their career.

A silver cup of considerable value was given to be broken up and sold by Mr. William Burrowes's predecessor in office. In one of the Corporation books, there is an entry (under the date, Sept. 30, 1728) that Theophilus Clements, Esqr., deceased, presented the borough with a "Silver Cupp vallue Thirty Pounds Ster." It was then ordered that the cup be kept within the Corporation in such proper place as the sovereign for the time being should appoint, and that each sovereign should, as soon as sworn into office, enter into a bond with a penalty of forty pounds for the true payment of the sum of twenty pounds unto John Clements, Esqr., as heir to the said Theophilus Clements, Esqr., deceased, his heirs, etc. The provision of the bond was an attempt to ensure that the cup would be duly delivered up in good condition to the "next Sover. Ellect & his Successors for Ever for the use of said Corporation."

About 1800 a gaol belonging to the Corporation fell into ruin, and the ground was built upon by a person who claimed title by adverse possession.

The Corporation mace—a handsome article—was, in 1833, in the possession of the then vice-sovereign, Mr. William Burrowes. It is now in the custody of Mrs. Lucas Clements, of Rathkenny,



MACE PRESENTED TO THE CORPORATION OF THE BOROUGH OF CAVAN

On the 29th June, 1724, by the then Sovereign of the Town, Theophilus Clements, of Rathkenny, Cootehill.

Cootehill, whose late husband was a descendant of one of the families that controlled the municipal affairs of the borough. Her deceased husband's brother, Major S. U. Lucas Clements, 39, Ailesbury Road, Dublin, possesses the Corporation seal. This seal bears the words "Cavan Corporation" and the Clements coat of arms, with the motto: *Patris Virtutibus*. Illustrations of the aforementioned seal, the seal of Cavan Urban District Council and the Corporation mace, accompany this paper.

On the 14th April, 1873, Mr. James Maguire, Secretary of the Cavan Town Commissioners, wrote (on behalf of that body) to H. T. Clements, Esq., Rakenny, Tullyvin, Cootehill, applying "for the mace belonging to the Corporation of this town and now in your custody." Mr. Maguire received in reply a letter addressed from The Derries, Monasterevan, dated the 3rd May, 1873, and signed "Theop. Clements." In it Mr. Clements mentioned that the mace belonged to his great grandfather. He expressed regret that he could not comply with the wishes of the Commissioners, the mace being a family heirloom, and added that his property in the article had been already legally and fully established.

PUBLIC RECORDS.

With regard to the Corporation records, it is of interest to give the following copy of a letter which was addressed by the Deputy Recorder of Cavan to the Secretary to the Commissioners on Public Records in Ireland* :—

CAVAN, 14th January, 1811.

SIR,

In answer to your letter of the 18th September, 1810, containing seven queries respecting the Public Records of Cavan, I am to inform you, that since I had the honour of being appointed Deputy Recorder of Cavan, no Papers or other Documents, or any other information whatever, respecting the Corporation of Cavan, has come within my possession or knowledge, as no business in that line has been transacted in Cavan in my time.

I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS BLIGH.

To Wm. Shaw Mason, Esquire,
&c., &c., &c.

This letter indicates the moribund state of the Corporation and the lack of proper town government, at the period concerned. That a person in the position of Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk (for he held the latter office, too) should have no "information whatever, respecting the Corporation of Cavan," is indeed strange. Very likely, the sovereign or the vice-sovereign, or a select few corporators, had entire charge of affairs in Mr. Bligh's

* *Reports from the Commissioners on Public Records in Ireland, (1810—1815)*, 2nd Report, Supplement, page 210.

day. In the *Reports from the Commissioners on Public Records in Ireland*, it is noted that, as Recorder, he had "No Duty," and no remuneration is mentioned for him.

On the 20th and 22nd December, 1833, an Inquiry, under the auspices of the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Ireland, was held in Cavan. At this Inquiry two books relating to the acts of the Corporation were produced by the vice-sovereign, who some months previously had received them from Major Nesbitt, one of the joint patrons of the borough. One book related exclusively to the acts of the Corporation in elections, both corporate and parliamentary. The entries commenced in the year 1698, and were regularly continued down to the 1st April, 1818. The other book contained entries of various proceedings in civil causes depending before the town or borough court of record, from the year 1771 to 1796. The writer made enquiries and searches with a view to discovering the present location of these books. Shortly before handing this paper to the printers, it was ascertained that they are in the possession of the Honourable Mrs. Burrowes, of Lismore, Crossdoney, County Cavan, who has kindly lent them to the writer. The first book above-mentioned really covers the period from 1680 to 1840, and contains entries relating to Elections (Corporate and Parliamentary), dates and particulars of the meetings at which these elections took place; Corporation orders, etc. In the second book are recorded proceedings of the Borough Law Court, the Town Court, and the Market Jury, from 1771 to 1826; also inquests on deaths from 1819 to 1824. It has been possible to include in this paper some information gleaned from the original records.* In another paper (II), to be published in the next number of this *Journal*, will be given the names, dates of elections, etc.—from 1696 to 1840—of the following:—Sovereigns, vice-sovereigns, portreeves, deputy portreeves, burgesses, borough members of parliament, town clerks, recorders, deputy recorders, attorneys, sergeants, constables, and weighmasters, and some particulars regarding the freemen, etc.

Information regarding the Corporation officers, etc., cannot now be got from the Public Record Office, Dublin. It was believed that such particulars might be found among the records there. This belief was based on the fact that in 1665 (shortly

* The information extracted directly from the aforementioned original records relates to the notes on the town clerks, recorders, and deputy recorders; the final section (Corporation regulations and attendances) under "Town Government"; the details of the Borough Law Court between 1771 and 1796; the reference to the "Towne House"; the presentation of the mace, seal, and silver cup; particulars of the last meeting of the Corporation; some details between 1833 and 1840, and some minor insertions. Both books are rather dilapidated, due probably to age and use. Pages may be missing. The Clements-Nesbitt Compact and the Schedule of Tolls and Customs, referred to in this paper, are not there now. Some of the hand-writing is poor, but, on the whole, it is excellent caligraphy.

after the Restoration of the Stuart dynasty) an *Act of Explanation* was passed. Pursuant to the powers given thereby, the Lord Lieutenant and Council made regulations, known as the "New Rules," for Irish corporate towns. One of these rules was that requiring the names of the mayor or other chief magistrate, sheriffs, recorder and town clerk, to be submitted for approval to the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council of Ireland. The government thus obtained complete control over the appointment of these important officers. To a query on the subject addressed by the writer of this paper to the Public Record Office, Dublin, the following answer, dated 23rd December, 1926, was kindly supplied by the Assistant Keeper of the Records (Mr. Chas. Jas. MacGarry): "In reply to your letter of 18th inst. I beg to say that the Patent Rolls on which the Charters of Cavan and the Grant of Markets to John Bingle were enrolled perished in the burning of this Office in 1922. It is unlikely that the Charters were printed. A series of Lord Lieutenant's Approbation Books, in which the names of Mayors, Recorders, Sheriffs &c. of corporate towns were entered for the years 1711 to 1842, likewise perished when the Office was burned."

The Secretary, Public Record Office, London, states (in reply to a letter of inquiry) that the Charters of James I and James II to Cavan have not been printed; that they are not enrolled in the English Patent Rolls, and that, as the Irish Patent Rolls are presumably all destroyed, it would seem impossible to obtain copies of them now. Like so many of our Irish Public Records, their contents must be referred to the Greek Kalends.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSIONERS ON MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS IN IRELAND.

In the Reports from the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Ireland, 1835, the Commissioners recommended the institution in Cavan of a local law court with a well-regulated power of proceedings in the first instance of attachment of goods, and with a moderate scale of fees. This, they added, would likely benefit the trade of the town by affording a cheap and certain mode of recovering small debts. The Commissioners mentioned that the town was in an improving state and appeared to be capable of receiving considerable advantage from the government of a body elected by the inhabitants.

EXTINCTION OF THE CORPORATION.

After 1800, when the borough lost its right to return two members to the Irish House of Commons, the Corporation gradually sank into decay. For several years vacant offices were not filled up, and probably were it not for the income which the sovereign or his deputy derived from the tolls and customs, the Corporation would have become actually extinct much earlier

than the date of its legal abolition. In 1833 there was no public revenue whatever, and no expenditure. The streets and roads were then maintained in repair by presentment of the County Grand Jury. It is appropriate here to give the following extract from the *Reports and Plans on Municipal Corporation Boundaries (Ireland), 1837* :—

Description of the Town.—Cavan, the Assizes Town of the County of the same name, is a Borough, but does not send a Member to Parliament. It is situated about 54 miles North of Dublin, in the Parish of Urney. The Town is well-built, containing some large and handsome houses, a Gaol and Courthouse. There is not any staple trade or manufacture here, nor has the Town much extended itself.

Population.—In 1831 the population was 2,931; it does not appear that there has been any great increase since.

Local Rates.—The Town is neither lighted nor watched, and there are no Local Rates.

County Rates.—The County Cess, as levied at last Assizes, was 11,674*l.* 1*s.* 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* The Cess is levied by “Carvagh,” of which there is no distinction between the Town and other parts of the County; the Carvagh varying in extent. The portion of Carvagh allotted to the Parish of Urney, in which Cavan is situated, is 354 out of 8,000. The County Cess averages from 1*l.* 13*s.* to 2*l.* 2*s.* half yearly per Carvagh.

The “Carvagh,” it should be noted, was a unit for land taxation purposes. The “Carvagh” system was very ancient in Ireland, and was based on the productivity rather than on the area of the land.

In the *Cavan Townland List*,* published in Cavan by Henry Ireland in 1709 (or 1790 ?), we find recorded the number of Carvagh in the various townlands and sub-divisions. In the immediate vicinity of Cavan, the following denominations with number of Carvagh in each are enumerated: “Green of Cavan,” six and a half; “Humphry’s Freehold,” one and a half; “Humphry’s Park, at the end of Cavan,” two; “Price and Johnston’s Park,” one; “Keddoe and Abbey Lands,” fourteen; “Roscolgan,” nine; “Kilnevarrow,” sixteen and a half; and “Kinypottle,” four and a half Carvagh, respectively. The townlands mentioned in the charter of incorporation may be located by means of the 1609 map.† “Dromgoone” [“Dromadoun”—1609 map] is partly included in the present townland of Swellan.

As already stated (under “Town Government”), two Town

* See this *Journal*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 324.

† “Dromeallah” would appear to be the townland of Drumalee. However, as “Burgess Acres” was reckoned as part of the townland, it appears likely that the “Dromeallah” of the charter was adjoining Roscolgan.

Courts were held in 1819 (the first for the swearing-in a mace-bearer and constable, and the second for the swearing-in a Market Jury), and one took place in 1824 (for enforcing cleanliness in the streets, etc.). In 1826, at a "General Sessions of the Peace," a Market Jury was sworn. But there is no record after the 1st April, 1818, until the 28th June, 1838 (?) of the periodical election and swearing-in of sovereign, portreeves, and other officers. On the latter date (after a lapse of 20 years) a meeting styled a "Town Court" was held, at which nine burgesses, five freemen, and a sovereign, vice-sovereign, and portreeves, were chosen. Between 1821 and 1833 there were only six burgesses, including the sovereign, the vice-sovereign, and portreeves. In 1838 the governing body consisted of apparently only three burgesses, and nine burgesses were then nominated, making the usual twelve. From 1838 until the final meeting, the appointment and the swearing-in of officers were regularly carried out. The last meeting took place on the 29th June, 1840. There were then elected to the offices mentioned:—Sovereign, John Nesbitt, Esqr.; vice-sovereign, William Burrowes, Esq.; portreeves, Samuel Moore, Esqr., and Robert Burrowes, Esqr.; deputy portreeve, Chas. Stewart. Nine members were present, namely:—Theop. Clements (the out-going sovereign), W. Burrowes (vice-sovereign); Burgesses: Robt. Burrowes, H. J. Clements, John C. Tatlow (?), Henry T. Kilbee; Freemen: J. Murray, J. W. Dunbey, Charles Stuart.

A reference will now be made to the passing away of some of the last members of the Corporation.

The following paragraph appears in the *Cavan Herald and Inland General Advertiser*, Vol. 3, No. 527, Tuesday, January 2nd, 1821:—

DIED

To the universal grief of all who knew him, on the evening of Friday, the 29th December, at his residence, near Cross-doney, in the County of Cavan, nearly in the prime of life, William Nesbitt, Esq., son of the late Colonel Thomas Nesbitt, whose remains he had but a few days before attended to the Family Tomb at Kilmore. To record the excellencies of such a man is a public duty. In the centre of a respectable and populous neighbourhood, his inestimable virtues had equally endeared him to the rich and the poor. With a mind singularly endowed with the best attributes of nature—amongst the former, he was cherished as the mild, cheerful, cultivated, valuable companion; by the latter beloved, as the every-ready and compassionate friend! A true Christian, a true gentleman in the circle to which the society of this excellent person was such a blessing, a chasm has been made which it will be difficult, if possible, to fill up. . . .

The Colonel Thomas Nesbitt referred to was apparently the Thomas Nesbitt who was one of the Parliamentary representatives for Cavan borough at the time it lost the right to return two Members of Parliament. One of the Nesbitts (John Nesbitt, Esqr.) was the last sovereign to be elected (1840).

Notable among the last Corporation members (alive in 1837) were the Rev. Joseph Story, Vicar of Cavan (grandfather of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Story, Bingfield, Crossdoney), and the vice-sovereign, William Burrowes, Esq., who lived in the house in Farnham Street at present the private residence of Surgeon B. T. Cullen, and formerly occupied by the late Dr. MacCabe and others. Mr. Burrowes died about the year 1847.

In 1840 the Corporation was abolished by law. That year the British Parliament passed an Act for the Regulation of Municipal Corporations in Ireland (3 and 4 Victoria, chapter 108). It is enacted by Section 13 of the Act that certain corporate bodies referred to in the schedules attached shall be dissolved on dates named. Included in Schedule I is "The Sovereign, Portreeves, Burgesses, and Freemen of the Town and Borough of Cavan." The date of dissolution, applicable in respect of Cavan Corporation, was the 25th October, 1840. On that date the real and personal estate of the Corporation was (by the Act) vested in the Town Commissioners elected under the Act of 9 George IV, chapter 82, about which further mention will later be made.

Cavan Corporation, in common with others established about the same time, were originally created to serve the political purposes of the Crown, loyal support of the King being expected from the burgesses to be returned to the Irish House of Commons.* Not very many acts of public utility can be traced to the credit of Cavan Corporation. On the contrary, judging from what has been stated regarding the Clements-Nesbitt Compact, the Parliamentary representatives and the Corporation property, it would seem (to say the least of it) that the corporators were not consistently influenced by altruistic motives in the conduct of civic affairs. As the inhabitants generally were, in practice, excluded from any control of the Corporation, the latter were a more or less irresponsible body. But, though Cavan was really a "pocket" borough, it was no worse than most of the other Irish corporate towns of the contemporary period.

TOWN BOUNDARIES.

Reference has already been made to the town boundary as defined by the charter of 1611. The boundary was not more accurately ascertained, and the charter definition is alleged to have been found sufficient for regulating the extent of the town-court jurisdiction.

* *Municipal Government in Ireland*, by John J. Webb, M.A., LL.B.

In the *Reports and Plans on Municipal Corporation Boundaries (Ireland)*, 1837, the following boundary is proposed :—

From the Point (1) where the Gortnacash Road leaves the Dublin Road, in a straight Line to the Fort called Kinny-pottle Fort ; thence in a straight Line to the Point (2) on the Road to Enniskillen, where it is crossed by a Stream, which is the Boundary between the Townlands, Kedue and Kinny-pottle, about Three hundred and sixty Yards North of the Church (3) ; thence in a straight Line to the North-west Wall of the Court-house (4) ; thence in a straight Line to the North-west Corner of the Enclosure Wall of the Gaol (5) ; thence to the Point where the Boundary between the Townlands of Kilnevarrow, Upper Swellan, and Drummavanagh meet on the Road to Swellan Lodge (6) ; thence in a straight Line to the College (7) ; thence in a straight Line to the Point first described.*

On the 10th May, 1837, the House of Commons (London) ordered that the *Reports and Plans on Municipal Corporation Boundaries (Ireland)* be printed. It does not appear, however, that effect was given to the proposal for a new town boundary for Cavan. As far as the Valuation Department, Dublin, is concerned, the first recognised boundary of the town of Cavan is that laid down as provided by the Act mentioned in the next paragraph.

Under the provisions of Section 15 of the Towns Improvement (Ireland) Act, 1854, new boundaries were fixed for the town. It appears that about the time of fixing these boundaries, the inhabitants of Cavan presented a Memorial requesting that the Town Boundary should be the circumference of a circle of one mile radius, having its centre at a point in the townland of Abbeyland, a few yards from the existing Market House. This proposed boundary was apparently not officially sanctioned. A new boundary was, however, eventually, approved. It is described in an Order dated the 21st June, 1855, issued from Dublin Castle, and addressed to Robert Erskine, Esqre. [the Chairman of the Town Commissioners], and Abraham Brush, Esqre., Justices of the Peace, Cavan. The following is an extract from the Order :—

The Lord Lieutenant having received, one month previous to the date of this Order, an application from 24 Householders of the Town of Cavan, each of such Householders occupying a dwelling-house or other lands, tenements, or hereditaments within that Town, and rated in respect thereof to the Relief of the Poor at a net annual value of Eight

* The " Church " is the Protestant Church of Ireland, first opened for public worship about 1816 ; the " Court-house " is the new County Court-house, built about 1828 ; the " Gaol " is the now-disused County Gaol, the site of the proposed new Catholic Cathedral ; and the " College " is the present Royal School, which was originally founded by royal charter in the second year of Charles I (1626).

Pounds or upwards, applying that the provisions of "The Towns Improvement Act, 1854," so far as relates to the lighting Draining Cleaning and Supplying with Water the said Town of Cavan may be carried into execution in the said Town, and specifying the Boundaries proposed for the purposes of the said Act ; and the said application having been duly published in the manner in the said Act directed, the Lord Lieutenant has been pleased to approve of the Boundaries so specified as aforesaid, that is to say commencing at the Northern extremity of the Townland of Kinnypottle, thence in a southerly direction along the boundary of said Townland to the Cock-hill road thence following the Boundary of the Townland of Aghnaskerry to and along the eastern Boundary of the Townland of Tullymangan Lower, thence along said Boundary and the Boundary of Tullymangan Upper to the Dublin Road thence Westward along the southern fence of said road to the junction of the Mud-wall-Row road and the Dublin road, thence Westward in a straight line to the Southern Boundary of Bridget Reilly's holding in the Townland of Creighan and along said Boundary to the Cavan river, thence South west along the Cavan river, and Northward along the Western Boundary of the Townland of Lurganboy to the eastern extremity of fence in the occupation of Revd. William Prior Moore, thence Westerly and Northerly along said fence to Kilnavara road, thence in a straight line in a North-westerly direction to the Southern angle of a pass leading from said road to the spring well in Fegan's holding, thence along said pass north-westerly to its junction with fence in Fegan's holding in Kilnavara, thence westward along said fence to the eastern Boundary of Swellan Lough, thence northerly to the Townland Boundary of Swellan Upper, thence westerly to the boundary of Swellan Lower, thence along said boundary in a north west direction to the old Cavan road, thence Northerly and Easterly along said boundary to junction of first fence in James Browne's holding in Swellan Upper, thence Easterly along said fence to junction with eastern fence of pass leading to Swellan fort, thence Northward along said fence to junction with fence about seventy yards South of Swellan Fort, thence northeasterly along said fence to the Eastern Boundary of Townland of Swellan Upper, thence Easterly along said fence continued through James McGauran's holding in Drumavanagh to junction with fence in John Egan's holding in said Townland, thence northeasterly along said fence to the new Cavan Road, thence in a northeasterly continuation of said fence through Doctor Babington's holding in Drumavanagh to junction with first fence of same, thence in a South Easterly direction along said fence, thence Easterly along northern boundary

of plantation in said holding to the Cavan River, thence Easterly passing in a straight line through holdings of William Fegan, Theophilus Thompson, and William Johnston in the Townland of Keadue to the old Enniskillen Road, thence in same direction along the northern Boundary of Theophilus Thompson's holding to the new Enniskillen Road, thence South east to the Boundary of Kinnypottle, thence in a northeast direction along said Boundary to the point first mentioned.

And I am commanded by His Excellency to convey to you His order and direction that you will convene a Meeting for the purpose of considering the carrying of the said Act into execution, and that one of you will preside thereat.

Shortly after the passing of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, of 1898, the Town of Cavan was constituted an Urban District having the same boundaries as fixed under the Towns Improvement (Ireland) Act, 1854.

The boundaries as fixed according to the Act of 1854 have not been altered since. It will be seen by reference to the Ordnance Survey maps of County Cavan, on which the boundaries are marked, that the town area is greater than that proposed in 1837.

The two maps appearing with the *Reports and Plans on Municipal Corporation Boundaries (Ireland)*, 1837—showing the boundary of 1611 and that proposed in 1837, respectively—and a map showing the present boundary, are reproduced among the illustrations accompanying this paper.

“THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH.”

In 1830 there was an attempt to introduce into the borough some of the provisions of an Act passed in 1828 (9th George IV, c. 82) entitled “An Act to make provision for the lighting, cleansing and watching of cities, towns corporate and market towns in Ireland in certain cases.” The Act enabled the inhabitants to elect a board of commissioners resident in the town, the board having power to levy rates and apply them to the purposes specified. This attempt to have the statute applied failed in consequence of a vestry not having been previously held as required by it.

On the 25th November, 1837, a memorial, signed by twenty-two householders, was presented to Earl Mulgrave, the then Lord Lieutenant, praying his Excellency to put the town under the aforementioned Act. This request having been granted, the first meeting of the new body was held in the Courthouse under the presidency of Mr. Burrowes (the last vice-sovereign), on the 23rd December, 1837. The affairs of the town were managed by this body until April, 1855, when the Towns Improvement (Ireland) Act, 1854, was put into force. Under this Act, the municipal body was styled the “Town Commissioners.”

In pursuance of the powers given by Section 42 (1) of the Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898, and Section 7 of the Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878, the Local Government Board for Ireland, by an order published in the *Dublin Gazette* on the 1st December, 1899, constituted the town of Cavan an urban sanitary district as from the following 1st April. After the lapse of three months, the Local Government Board, on the 21st March, 1900, issued a certificate stating that no petition against the Order had been received, and that "our said order has taken effect." Accordingly, on the 1st April, 1900, the town entered into its new civic status, with an Urban District Council to control its municipal affairs.

TERENCE STANISLAUS SMYTH

Notable Breiffne Individuals.

(Continued).

IX.—JOHN CARDINAL FARLEY (1842—1918).

A recent work, entitled *Our American Cardinals*,* by the well-known American writer, Dr. James J. Walsh, M.D., Ph.D., Litt.D., of Fordham University, and published in U.S.A., presents intimate and informative biographies of seven American Cardinals six of whom are either Irish, or of Irish descent, and bear Irish names. It is a noteworthy fact, as Dr. Walsh points out, that in every case the parents of these six Cardinals belonged to the large group of Irish people who emigrated during the period of the Great Famine.

John Cardinal Farley, Archbishop of New York, died on Sept. 17, 1918. He was a man who stood head and shoulders, as Dr. Walsh tells us, above the other men of his time. In this excellent biography Dr. Walsh provides a very full account of his life and activities. Shortly after the death of the Cardinal a sketch of his life appeared from the pen of the Right Rev. Michael J. Lavelle and was published in New York.† Dr. Lavelle was for forty years the Cardinal's trusted friend; hence the materials may be regarded as authoritative. Another brief sketch appeared in the *Catholic World* (November, 1918) written by Rev. Dr. Guillard. But, the various Lives and Biographies omit all mention of the Cardinal's Cavan ancestry; the fact that his father belonged to the townland of Carnalynch, in Killinkere Parish, seems to have completely escaped the notice of the Cardinal's biographers.

Cardinal Farley was born at Newtown Hamilton, Co. Armagh, in April, 1842. Some years previously his father had moved from Carnalynch to Clones, and then to Newtown Hamilton where he married a Miss Murphy. Not finding these facts regarding the Cardinal's family history mentioned in any of the works just referred to, although traditionally accepted, the present writer addressed an inquiry to a distinguished Cavan priest in America—Right Rev. Monsignor Richard Brady, of Loretto,

* New York, Appleton & Co., 1926. The Cardinals are McCloskey of New York; Gibbons of Baltimore; Farley of New York; O'Connell of Boston; Dougherty of Philadelphia; Mundelein of Chicago; Hayes of New York.

† New York, The Paulist Press, 1919.

Colorado—who had been personally acquainted with Cardinal Farley, and who, on that account, would be in a position to furnish first-hand information. Monsignor Brady, who is a Life Member of our Society, takes a deep interest in Breiffnian history. The following reply from Monsignor Brady, which I publish with his kind permission, definitely establishes the claim of Killinkere parish as the paternal home of the great Cardinal :

LORETTO HEIGHTS COLLEGE,
LORETTO, COLORADO,
SEPTEMBER 10th, 1927.

DEAR MR. O'CONNELL,

In reply to your query of recent date, I wish to assure you that it is a pleasure to supply you with the information regarding the birthplace of Cardinal Farley's father and the circumstances in which the same was obtained.

At the request of the late bishop of this diocese, his Eminence Cardinal Farley graciously consented to come over two thousand miles to officiate at the dedication of the new Cathedral of Denver, on October 27, 1912. And it was my privilege to be one of the two delegates selected to meet his Eminence in Chicago, as a representative of the Rt. Rev. N. C. Matz, then Bishop of Denver.

On the return trip to this city, I had the pleasure of many little conversations with Cardinal Farley, who was ever gentle, genial and gracious. On one occasion, he kindly inquired regarding my birthplace. And when I replied that I was born in Dooreagh, parish of Drumgoon, Co. Cavan, His Eminence remarked with some feeling : " I have always had a very warm and tender spot in my heart for the County Cavan, because my dear, good father was born there." Naturally interested, I ventured the question, " in which part of Cavan ? " His Eminence answered, " In Carnalynch, near the town of Bailieborough. But, when a young man, my father moved to the town of Clones, and later to Newtown Hamilton. It was in this town he was married, and *there* I was born."

A little later on the same day, I made a memorandum of these items which I have carefully preserved.

Yours very faithfully,
RICHARD BRADY.

The future Cardinal went to America in 1864 and commenced his studies in Fordham University. It will be observed that in U.S.A. the Americanised spelling " Farley " generally takes the place of the more usual form " Farrelly." (Ο ΦΑΙΡΡΕΑΛΛΑΙΣ), although the forms are not phonetically equivalent. The O'Farrellys were an old Breiffne clan, and many ecclesiastics of the name are mentioned in the *Four Masters* and other early writings. From the old Parish Register of Killinkere, which preserves the records from 1766 to 1790, we can follow the family

history of the Killinkere O'Farrellys over the last half of the 18th century. The information there detailed is to be found nowhere else. The Parish of Killinkere has given America one of her greatest Churchmen—Cardinal Farley, and one of her greatest soldiers—General Sheridan. The future biographer of Cardinal Farley would be well advised to make a careful study of the family history which can be gleaned from the old Killinkere Register.

X.—REV. CHARLES P. MEEHAN (1812-1890).

Rev. Charles Patrick Meehan, the distinguished historical writer, was born in Dublin on July 12, 1812. His father was a native of Co. Leitrim and was born in the neighbourhood of Manorhamilton. It is worthy of record that he was a relative of the late Rev. Joseph B. Meehan, P.P., the founder of this Society, who often mentioned the fact to the present writer.

Father C. P. Meehan has left behind him many valuable historical works. In 1860 appeared his *Confederation of Kilkenny*, and in 1868 he published *The Fate and Fortunes of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*. One of his most popular volumes, which first appeared in 1869, is *The Rise and Fall of the Irish Franciscan Monasteries*. It has since passed through five editions, and is the *vade mecum* of every Irish historian. One of his earlier works, *The Geraldines* (a translation) was published in 1847. He was an intimate friend of Mangan, and edited some of the poet's work. He was, himself, a poet, and wrote some verse for *The Nation*. His first piece, *Boyhood's Years*, appeared in that newspaper on November 5, 1842, over the pseudonym of "Clericus." He also published various translations which appeared in *The Nation*. To Duffy's *Fireside Magazine* he contributed numerous articles over various pseudonyms. His death occurred in Dublin on March 13, 1890. The late Father J. B. Meehan, who knew him personally, used to tell some interesting anecdotes concerning him.

XI.—GENERAL, THOMAS BRADY (1752-1827).

General Thomas Brady of the Austrian Army was born at Cootehill, Co. Cavan, in 1752. The place and date of his birth is given by another authority as "Cavan, Co. Cavan, about 1753."* However, the evidence is sufficient to show that the former is the more probable. In the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries* (Dec., 1926) is an article by Lieut.-Col. Cavenagh entitled "Irish Knights of the Imperial Military Order of Maria Theresa," giving a list of the recipients of Irish lineage. This article gives a sketch of the career of Thomas Brady, and says he was a native of Coote-

* *Ireland and Her People*. Prepared and edited by Thos. W. H. Fitzgerald: 5 vols.—Chicago, Fitzgerald Book Co.

hill. The information is more likely to be authentic, as it was taken from an Austrian pre-war Service book, with brief memoirs added from Hirtonfeld's History of the Order, and other sources. Evidently the details from Austrian sources would have been compiled from information supplied by General Brady himself during his lifetime.

The son of a farmer, he gave early promise of ability, and went to Vienna to study for the priesthood. But he was destined to choose another career, and was induced by the Empress Maria Theresa to enter the army. He rose rapidly in the ranks and was appointed a Cadet in Nov., 1769. On April 10, 1774 he was promoted ensign, and became lieutenant on Nov. 30 of the following year. At Habelschwerdt in 1778, during the war of the Bavarian Succession he specially distinguished himself, became a captain in 1788, and for his gallantry at the storming of Novi, on Nov. 3rd, 1788, in the Turkish war, he was awarded the Cross of the Knights of Maria Theresa. Promoted to Major on July 20, 1790, he served on the staff until April, 1793, when he was posted as Lieutenant-Colonel to a corps of Tyrolese sharpshooters. Transferred to the Infantry Regiment of Murray he became its Colonel on February 6th, 1794. With this Regiment he was present at Frankenthal in 1795, and was promoted Major-General for his service in 1796, at the battle of Ukerath against the French on the Rhine. In 1799 he was commanding at Cattaro, in Dalmatia. Promoted Lieutenant-General on January 28th, 1801, he was two years later given the Colonelcy of the Imperial Infantry Regiment. In 1804 he was appointed Governor of Dalmatia, and in 1807 was made a Privy Councillor. He took part in the Battle of Aspern in 1809, and retired from the army on September 3rd of the same year. He married an offshoot of the Austrian Imperial family and died without issue in Vienna on October 14, 1827.

XII.—COLONEL, JAMES B. MACBRADY (1732-1800).

Colonel Baron James Bernard MacBrady of Loughtee was born at "Draighnenan," Co. Cavan, in 1732. This seems to be the townland of Dreenan, in Kilmore Parish and Barony of Loughtee—the 1609 Plantation Map of Loughtee has this townland marked "Drinan," and the old *Cavan Townland List* has "Drynan"; the townland is about midway between Bellananagh and Cavan.

James B. MacBrady went to Austria in 1749, joined the Sincère Infantry Regiment as a volunteer and served as a Captain through the Seven Years' War. He was present at the battles of Prague and Torgau. The Cross of the Knights of Maria Theresa was conferred upon him for gallantry at Schweidnitz in October 1762, and he was created a Baron. He was appointed Major to the Hildbringheimer Infantry Regiment in 1768 and a few years later he retired as Colonel. His death occurred at Vienna in 1800.

PHILIP O'CONNELL,

Epitaphs in Munterconnacht Churchyard.

[Vide *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 300.]

PRAY FOR THE
SOUL OF BRYAN
GIBNY WHO DE
PARTd THIS LI
FE JANry 1st
1754 AGED 12
YEARS.

THIS STONE & BU
RIAL PLACE BELONG
ETH TO NICOLAS
BRUODEL & HIS FA
MILY HIS AGE 84
1762 ALSO JAMs
BRUODEL DIED JU
LY 27th 1756 AGED 30
ERECTd BY PA
TRICK BRUODEL.

PRAY FOR Ye
SOVL OF LVK
E. GOLDERICK
WHO DIED
MARCH 1750
AGED 26
CATHERINE
GOLDERICK
DIED ANo 1749.

This Stone was
erect'd by Owen
Connell in Memory
of his father Phillip
Connell who dec
eas'd Feb'y ye 12th 1762
ag'd 32 & his moth'r
Bridget Lynch
who deceas'd June
ye 4th 1768 ag'd 47 yrs
Requiescant in pace. Amen.

PRAY FOR Ye SOVL
OF JAMES REIL
LY WHO DIED JV
NE Ye 16 1746 AGEd 13.

PRAY FOR Ye SO
VL OF BRIDGET RE
ILEY WHO DIED FEB
Ye 19th 1743-4 AGEd—

Here Lyeth [ye]
Body of Peter
Reilly son of
Hugh Reilly
of Bolies who
Dyed July 16
1735 aged 10.

PRAY FOR Ye SO
VL OF MARY MAC
ENTEE WHO DIE
D FEB Ye 27 1751.

PRAY FOR THE
SOVL OF JOHN
McENTEE WHO DIED
MAY 1739 AGE 68
ERECTd BY WILLm
McENTEE & LAU
RENCE McENTEE.

PRAY FOR THE
SOVL OF TERnc
MAGAURAN
WHO DIED ANo
1725 AGEd 49
JAMs MAGAU
RAN DIED ANo 1745.

PRAY FOR THE SO
UL OF MATTHEW
PLUNKET WHO
DEPARTd THIS LI
FE AUGUST 15 1770
AGE 68 ALSO FOR
MARY PLUNKET
WHO DIED MAR
1770 AGE 44.

Pray for the So
ul of John Halpin
deceasd June ye
29th A.D. 1741 Aged
57 yrs.
Erectd by Patk Hal
pin.

This Monument
was erectd by John &
Simon Henery for
Mathew Henery
deceasd July the 17th
1767 aged 74 years.

Pray for ye
Soul of John
Henery who di
ed Septembr 11th
1742 Aged 37
& For Patrick He
nery.

Pray for ye
Soul of Michael
Gibny who died
June 25th 1756
Aged 65 yrs.

Pray for the Soul
of John Smith
deceased Sept.
the 27th 1778
aged 63 yrs.

PRAY FOR THE
SOUL OF MATTH
EW HEARY WHO DI
ED MARCH Ye 1st 1752
AGED 50 Yrs.

This Monument was
erected by Laurence
Smith for himself & pos
terity A.D. 1775

Pray for the Soul of
Hugh Smith decea
sed Dec the 12th 1771
aged 72

PRAY FOR Ye
SOUL OF BRID
GED HENERY
WHO DIED M
AY 29th 1758
AGED 60.

PRAY FOR THE SOVL
OF CHARLES REILLY
WHO DEPARTED THIS
LIFE APRIL 23rd 1740
AGED 40 YEARS
HE LIVED IN NEWCASTLE.

Pray for the Soul of
Judy Plunket who
departed this life Jan
uary ye 1st 1773 age 28
Erected by Luke Cad
den.

PRAY FOR YE SOU
L OF MARGART
CADDEN WHO
DEPARTd THIS
LIFE OCTOBr 13
1764 AGED 76.

This list is by no means exhaustive. These epitaphs are of special interest and importance as, since the destruction of the Public Record Office in June, 1922, they are the sole remaining records we now possess of the great majority of the families to which they refer.

PH. O'C.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE BIRTHPLACE OF GENERAL, PHILIP H. SHERIDAN,
OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.

By REV. JOSEPH B. MEEHAN, P.P., Killinkere.

(Published by P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York—25 cents. ; M. H
Gill & Son, Dublin—6d. 1926.)

In this interesting booklet the question of General Sheridan's birth-place is discussed and fully answered. After much research and having consulted the leading authorities on both sides of the Atlantic, the late Father Meehan has amassed conclusive evidence to prove that the great American cavalry officer was born at Beagh, in Killinkere Parish, in the County Cavan, in 1830. The evidence is here presented to us and the last word is spoken in a controversy which has lasted for a generation. All the available sources of information were examined by Father Meehan and a formidable array of authorities—Irish, English, and American—are produced. This booklet of 27 pages is a masterful digest of all the arguments which have been put forward, and finally disposes of the American claims to Sheridan's birth-place. To students both of Irish and American history it is an invaluable work. Its conclusions are overwhelming and its logic irresistible.

The year that has passed since the booklet was published has witnessed many changes. A month after the publication of the booklet the distinguished author, Father Meehan, had passed away. A few years before he had erected a mural tablet on the house at Beagh in which General Sheridan first saw the light. He made a detailed study of the controverted question of Sheridan's birthplace and only lived to see the publication of the booklet—a work in which he took a particular interest. He collected and sifted all the local family traditions relating to the Sheridans. Much valuable information was supplied by Thomas Sheridan of Virginia, a first cousin of the General ; Thomas has since passed away, in September, 1927, at the age of 92 (See *Anglo-Celt*,

September 24th, 1927). References to him will be found on page 20 of booklet.

We regret to add that another binding link with General Sheridan has since been severed in the person of Andrew John Smith of Coradua, Killinkere, who died on December 6th, 1927, at the age of 80. (*Anglo-Celt*, December 17th, 1927.) The late Mr. Smith, who was a splendid type of genial Irishman, was very proud of the fact that his father, John Smith, was on intimate terms with the Sheridan family. It was this John Smith who, in 1831, drove General Sheridan's father and mother with their three children (Phil. was then an infant in arms) in his cart to Drogheda on their way to the ship that was to bring them to America (p. 25). John Smith died in 1889 but the incident, related so often by the father to the son, created an indelible impression on the mind of the latter—an impression which neither the passing of the years nor the fanciful and misinformed declarations of trans-Atlantic journalists could ever efface. The compilers of Encyclopædias paled their ineffectual fires before the force of local tradition. When Father Meehan sought first-hand information he invoked the aid of Andrew John Smith, and at the meeting of Cavan Literary Society on March 12th, 1925, at which Father Meehan read his paper—now reproduced in pamphlet form—the late Mr. Smith was present and related to the members various interesting historical facts concerning the Sheridan family. It may be mentioned that Mr. Smith's family are the possessors of a crook (or pot-hanger) and other household utensils which belonged to the General's parents. The visitor to Paris feels a thrill when confronted with the Napoleonic mementoes in Fontainebleau and Versailles; in the City of Ajaccio, in the island of Corsica, the tourist is shown the house where Napoleon was born. The home of Napoleon in Corsica is not more imposing than the home of Sheridan in Killinkere, in fact it is smaller, and were it not for the fact that mural tablets and national emblems are profusely displayed the visitor would hardly be impressed. But the French nation has declared it a national monument. Some day, perhaps, the American visitor to Co. Cavan will have his patriotism aroused before the mementoes of that great soldier—the hero of Cedar Creek and Winchester.

The parentage of General Sheridan, and his family history, is clearly traced. Now that so many of those who possessed the traditions of the last century have passed away the booklet is of permanent value. It would now have been difficult to collect all the information. Readers will note just one error—a misprint—which occurs on page 12 (line 9 from bottom): the date "1857" should read "1875." An excellent photograph of Sheridan appears on the cover. The booklet is Father Meehan's tribute to the memory of a great Cavan man; it will remain a tribute to his own genius—a testimony to his own literary worth.

IN REMEMBRANCE: ARTICLES AND SKETCHES.

By FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER, M.A., M.R.I.A. Edited by John S. Crone and F. C. Bigger. (Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1927. 10/6 net.).

The late Mr. Bigger was a Life Member of our Society and played no small part in its inauguration. He was an eminent antiquarian and his knowledge of Ulster archæology, in particular, was unique. In the first issue of this *Journal* will be found a resume of his inaugural Address at the first meeting of our Society in Cavan. For many years he was editor of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*—a work which contains, throughout its many volumes, much valuable history concerning the Province of Ulster. Mr. Bigger was a prolific writer, but as his writings were mostly in historical journals and in the proceedings of the learned societies they were not immediately accessible to all. The book before us is a splendid memorial volume of selections from his historical, topographical and biographical writings.

The Preface is by Mr. Bigger's brother, and a lengthy *Memoir* is contributed by Dr. J. S. Crone, M.R.I.A. There is a very valuable bibliography of books, memoirs and pamphlets, as well as a chronological list of his various articles and sketches. These lists run to 16 pages, which will indicate the extent of his literary and historical labours. Reference to the lists will enable historical writers to locate Mr. Bigger's informative articles.

Dr. Crone's *Memoir* furnishes a very exhaustive account of Mr. Bigger's antiquarian researches. There is an interesting account of his restoration of Sean's Castle at Ardglass—which he found a roofless ruin and had restored. Since Mr. Bigger's death this historic pile has been handed over to the Northern Government by his nephew, Prof. Bigger, M.D., of Dublin, to be preserved as a museum open to the public. It will remain a historical monument to the memory of its restorer. One condition is to be observed: that no flag be flown from it except the Red Hand of Ulster on a white background.

Twenty years before his death Mr. Bigger had planned the publication of a series entitled *The Northern Leaders of '98*. Only the first volume—a Life of William Orr—was actually published. The project was postponed, and the remaining volumes never appeared. However, his manuscripts are preserved in the Belfast Free Library, and we hope that some competent editor will undertake the task of their publication.

*Ode to the Memory of the Late
Father Meehan.*

BY

MISS BRIDIE M. SMITH.

While memory recalls his noble life,
And his genius fame proclaims,
'Twixt gleam and gloom we sigh.
For back through time's dim corridors flash
Anew, many deeds sublime,
Affording Heaven joy.

Though destined to fulfil God's mission,
His love for Breifney found vent
To crown her in history.
This lifetask is the rich legacy
Now left us—all else is gone
—Ended in Death's mystery.

Obituary.

Francis Joseph Bigger, M.A., M.R.I.A., F.R.S.A.I., an Honorary Life Member of our Society and an eminent Irish Antiquarian, passed away at his residence "Ardrigh," Antrim Road, Belfast, on 9th December, 1926. He was an intimate personal friend of the late Father Meehan, who pre-deceased him by only seven weeks. The death of these two great antiquarians is a very severe loss to our Society.

Mr. Bigger belonged to a family which has been associated with the commercial life of Belfast for three centuries. He was the seventh son of the late Mr. Joseph Bigger of "Ardrigh," who was the seventh son of David Bigger, "The Trench," Mallusk, who in turn was the seventh son of William Bigger, of Biggerstown, Co. Antrim, proprietor of a woollen mill.

Admitted a solicitor in 1887, he entered into a partnership and soon built up an extensive legal business. He did not, however, restrict his activities to the Law, for he devoted much of his time to the history and antiquities of Ireland, especially his native Province of Ulster. He was an active member of many Historical Societies, and contributed to various Archæological Journals. In 1888 he became a member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, and for a time was Vice-President of the Society. In the pages of its *Journal* will be found a large number of his learned articles. He also contributed to the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*. The *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, of which he was at one time editor, owes much to his energy and zeal.

For ten years he was Secretary and for three years President, of the Belfast *Natural History and Philosophical Society*. He was also a Governor of the Royal Academical Institution, and of the Belfast Society for Promoting Knowledge. For a number of years he was a member of the Coiste Gnotha of the Gaelic League, being also Past-President of the Coiste Ceanntair, Belfast. He occupied a prominent place in the Gaelic revival movement, and was himself a fluent Gaelic speaker.

Among the many valued fruits of his labours may be mentioned the monumental granite slab over the reputed grave of St. Patrick at Downpatrick, and the restoration of the statue of *Our Lady of Dunsford*, the ecclesiastical remains at Rahoys, and Castle Sean, Ardglass. He worked assiduously for the preservation and restoration of ancient monuments in Ulster, many of which through his efforts have been saved from neglect and decay.

The voluminous historical writings of the late Mr. Bigger will be found in the pages of the Journals of the various Societies to which he belonged. He frequently wrote over the pseudonym "Ardrigh." Two very interesting historical pamphlets, which he wrote under this pseudonym, are published by the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland; they are entitled: "Ἀν ὀπιότ-ῶροῖατ —" "The Penal Days," and "*The Hills of Holy Ireland.*"

A man of charming personality he took a deep interest in the history of Breiffne. He delivered the Inaugural Address at the opening meeting of this Society on March 11, 1920. It may be mentioned that his father was a cousin of the late Joseph Bigger (1828-1890) who for many years sat as M.P. for Cavan.

The members of this Society were under many obligations to the late Mr. Bigger, and his loss will be deeply deplored by all. His advice was always at their disposal, and every Irish anti-quarian found in him a willing helper and genuine friend.

William Finlay, who played a prominent part in the public life of Cavan, passed away on 6th Jan., 1927. He was one of the original members of our Society and manifested a lively interest in its success. As Secretary of Cavan County Council he proved himself a capable and efficient officer, and it was in this capacity that he was best known to the people of Breiffne. It was said of him that he seldom looked beyond the confines of his native county. In affairs of local administration his advice was sought and acted upon, and his efficiency and outstanding ability was always at the service of the people. He discharged his duties with marked ability, but in an ultra non-official way. Everything pertaining to Cavan, its past and present, filled him with enthusiasm and had his warm support. For him Cavan was the centre of the universe. Mr. Finlay was the outstanding personality of the county in the generation past—he belonged to the people he so ably served, his life's work was for them, and his memory will be cherished by them.

Ven. Archdeacon Joseph Mayne, M.A., one of the original members of our Society, died at Kilmacanogue, Co. Wicklow, on 7th March, 1927. He was a graduate of Dublin University, where he took B.A. in 1877 and M.A. in 1880. In 1894 he was installed Incumbent of the parish of Laragh and Lavey, in Kilmore diocese, where he was most popular with all classes. Archdeacon Mayne filled the office of Diocesan Registrar in 1898, and Diocesan Treasurer in 1905. In 1910 he was raised to the dignity of Archdeacon of Kilmore, and was appointed examining chaplain to the Bishop. He was Rural Dean of Bailieboro' from 1899 to 1911. Owing to his advanced age he resigned some years ago and went to reside near Dublin. But he continued to take a deep interest in the history of Breiffne, and his death removes one of the staunchest supporters of the Society.

Very Rev. Hugh P. Smyth, LL.D., of St. Mary's Rectory, Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A., passed away suddenly on November 6, 1927. A Life Member of our Society, he manifested a great interest in the history of his native county and his loss will be severely felt. Born at Drummanduff, Lavey, on Sept. 21, 1855, he studied for the priesthood at All Hallows College, Dublin, and was ordained in 1881. Going to U.S.A. he was appointed assistant pastor at the Church of the Nativity, Union Ave., Chicago, where he laboured zealously for nine years. He was then appointed pastor of St. Peter's Church, Lemont, Ill.

In 1893 Father Smyth was made pastor of St. Mary's Church, Evanston. There he was known, not only for his administrative ability and indefatigable ministrations for the spiritual and material progress of his people, but for his interest in all movements for civic reform. During his pastorate he erected a convent, rectory, and schools. In 1906 Father Smyth celebrated the silver jubilee of his ordination. The Honorary Degree of *Doctor of Laws* was conferred on him by Loyola University in 1924. He was a well-known lecturer and frequently lectured at Northwestern University.

Father Smyth was a prolific writer on historical, religious, and philosophical subjects. One of his best known works is the *History of the Reformation*, which has had a large sale in U.S.A. A series of lectures on Philosophy are published under the title *Testimony to the Truth*. By his death Breiffne loses one of its most brilliant sons, and one whose intellectual achievements reflected glory on the county of his birth. Father Smyth returned from a visit to his native home only six weeks before his sudden death. He had previously visited Ireland in 1923. His brother, Mr. Thomas Smyth, resides at Drummanduff. The benevolence of Father Smyth has not been generally recognised in Cavan; he made no parade of his charity. Some time before his death he contributed £700 to the Co. Cavan Surgical Home for the installation of a Waygood-Otis Lift, the most perfect made. He also contributed towards the laying of new pitch-pine floors in the wards. Towards sundry Irish charities he contributed generously. His whole life was an unselfish one for his fellow-man, and on his death he will be followed by the prayers of the hosts of acquaintances, both in Ireland and U.S.A., who truly valued his friendship and regret the passing of a true friend.

Rev. Stephen J. Brady, pastor of Notre Dame de Lourdes Church, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A., passed away on Friday, Nov. 4, 1927. He was a Life Member of our Society and took a lively interest in its welfare. Born in the townland of Drumgoney (where his brother Patrick resides), in Laragh Parish, about 60 years ago, his preparatory studies were made in Cavan, whence he passed to St. Patrick's College, Carlow. Here he was noted for ability, industry, and perseverance. Finishing his theological

studies in Carlow College in June, 1896, he went to U.S.A., having been adopted some five years previously for the archdiocese of St. Louis. Towards the end of 1896 he was ordained to the priesthood by Most Rev. John J. Kaiu, D.D., Abp. of St. Louis.

Serving in rural parishes, including Troy, Mo., till 1907, he was in that year called to St. Louis and promoted to the pastorate of St. John's Church, at Sixteenth and Chestnut Streets, where he remained until 1919, when he was again promoted to Notre Dame de Lourdes Parish, Wellston, where he laboured till his death. Less than two months before his death, writing to his home in Drumgoney, he announced his intention of visiting Ireland in the summer of 1928. He was a worthy representative of a stock possessing many estimable qualities. His brother, Rev. James Brady, studied in Carlow College, and died in Liverpool in the summer of 1887 (or 1888). Three of his nieces are Sisters of Charity. The passing of Father Stephen will be deeply regretted by all our members. Few men took a greater interest in their native land, and he was always proud of the fact that he belonged to Breiffne—the home of his fathers. Hence the objects of this Society, the preservation of our native traditions, the development of our native language, and the publication of our historical records, found in him an ardent supporter and a generous patron.

List of Life Members and Members at the end of the Year 1927.

LIFE MEMBERS.

BRADY, Rev. Francis J.	...	Craig, Colorado, U.S.A.
BRADY, Right Rev. Msgr. Richard.	...	Loretto Heights College, Loretto, Colorado, U.S.A.
BRADY, Rev. J. J.	... ..	306 Ashley Boulevard, New Bradford, Mass., U.S.A.
CONLON, M. V.	... ..	Ministry, L.G.D., Dublin.
CONNOLLY, Patrick	... ..	Market Street, Cootehill.
FINNEGAN, Most Rev. Patrick, D.D.		Bishop's House, Cullies, Cavan.
FINLAY, Rev. Thomas A., S.J.		35, Lower Leeson St., Dublin.
FINLAY, Rev. Peter, S.J.	...	Milltown Park, Dublin.
FLYNN, Very Rev. Michael J.		St. Michael's, West Derby Road, Liverpool.
GILFILLAN, Right Rev. Francis X., D.D.		519 N. 10th Street, St. Joseph, Mo., U.S.A.
GILLICK, Rev. Bernard	...	611 Logan St., Pueblo, Colo., U.S.A.
LOUGH, Mrs.	... ..	4 Wilton Terrace, Booterstown, Co. Dublin (Honorary).
MACBRIDE, Rev. James	...	St. Paul's Church, Pine Bluffs, Wyoming, U.S.A.
MACCABE, Very Rev. Francis, L.L.D., V.F.		2603 Norwood Street, Pittsburg, Pa., U.S.A.
MAGUIRE, Rev. Patrick	...	St. Vincent's Church, 1886 South Fifth East, Murray, Utah, U.S.A.
MASTERTON, Rev. Ed., S.J.	...	Milltown Park, Dublin.
MOORE, Right Rev. W. R., D.D.		See House, Cavan.
O'CONNELL, His Eminence William H. Cardinal O'Connell.		49 Rawson Road, Brookline, Mass., U.S.A.

O'FARRELLY, Agnes W., M.A.	University College, Dublin.
O'REILLY, Right Rev. James, D.D.	Bishop's House, 608 Broadway, Fargo, N. Dakota, U.S.A.
O'REILLY, Rev. Patrick ...	St. John's Church, 2820, Mari- posa St., Fresno, Cal., U.S.A.
O'REILLY, William, D. L. ...	Knock Abbey, Co. Louth.

MEMBERS.

BENISON, J. A., D.L. ...	Sliabh Russel, Ballyconnell, Co. Cavan
BLAKE, Miss K ...	Derrylin, Enniskillen, Co. Fer- managh
BOURKE, C., M.D. ...	Portaliffe House, Killeshandra.
BRADY, Very Rev. Msgr. Hugh, P.P., V.F.	Crosserlough, Co. Cavan.
BRADY, Very Rev. H.P., P.P., V.F.	Cootehill.
BRADY, P.J., M.R.I.A.I. ...	Broomfield House, Ballyhaise.
BURKE, T. J., M.P.S.I. ...	Main Street, Cavan.
CHAMBERS, T. Y., M.A. ...	The Laurels, Bailieboro.
CLARKE, J., M.D. ...	Tower Hamlet, Cavan.
CLARKE, Terence ...	Barrack Street, Bailieboro'.
COGAN, Rev. John, B.A., B.D., B.C.L.	St. Finian's College, Mullingar, Co. Westmeath.
COLE, J. A., M.A. ...	Scotch Quarters, Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim.
COLUM, Padraic... ...	64, 5th Avenue, New York, U.S.A.
COMEY, Rev. Charles, P.P. ...	Killasnet, Manorhamilton.
COMEY, Rev. M., D.D., Adm....	The Presbytery, Cavan.
COONEY, Peter ...	Victoria Hotel, Sligo.
CORR, Rev. Laurence, C.C. ...	Kildrumsherdan, Cootehill.
CULLEN, B. T., F.R.C.S. ...	Farnham Street, Cavan.
CURRAN, Thomas, M.D. ...	Ballananagh, Cavan.
DALTON, John P., M.A., M.R.I.A.	19 Belgrave Square, Monkstown, Dublin.
DOLAN, Joseph, M.A. ...	Ardee, Co. Louth.
DOLAN, Rev. Michael, P.P. ...	Killinkere, ΔΑΔΘ ΛΑΘΑΙΡ. (Virginia), Co. Cavan.
DOONER, Rev. F., C.C. ...	Dring, Granard, Co. Longford.
DOWNEY, Daniel, N.T. ...	O'Dalysbridge (Mountnugent), Co. Cavan.
DUFFY, P., A.R.C.Sc.I. ...	Annesley Terrace, Cavan.
DUKE, S., A.R.C.Sc.I. ...	Agricultural College, Ballyhaise

EARLEY, Rev. James, C.C.	...	Ballynarry, Kilnaleck, Co. Cavan.
FARRELLY, T. M.	... ..	Bailieboro'.
FIGGIS, W. F.	... ..	20 Nassau Street, Dublin.
FINNEGAN, LOUIS J., M.D.	... ..	Newtownmountkennedy, Co. Wicklow.
FINNEGAN, Rev. Chas., B.A., C.C.	...	Ballymore Eustace, Co. Kildare.
FINNEGAN, Rev. Peter, P.P.	... ..	Queen's Park, Perth, W. Australia.
FITZPATRICK, Rev. Daniel, B.A., B.D.	...	Shercock, Co. Cavan.
GAFFNEY, Very Rev. B., P.P., V.F.	...	Δαδθ Λαθαη (Virginia), Co. Cavan.
GALLIGAN, Rev. Henry, C.C.	... ..	Fairymount, Crosserlough.
GANNON, J. P.	... ..	Cavan.
GANNON, Rev. P. J., S.J.	... ..	Milltown Park, Dublin.
GERRARD, Rev. F., P.P.	... ..	O'Dalysbridge (Mountnugent), Co. Cavan.
GILSENAN, Rev. James B.	... ..	Our Lady of Nazareth Church, Roanoke, Virginia, U.S.A.
GODLEY, MISS M.	... ..	Killegar, Killeshandra.
GREEN, J. Maxwell, D.L.	... ..	Tullyvin, Cootehill.
HALPENNY, P. J.	... ..	Ulster Bank, Mullingar
HALPIN, W. H.	... ..	Farnham Street, Cavan.
HAMILTON, Major W. J.	... ..	Castlehamilton, Killeshandra.
JUDGE, Very Rev. J., P.P., V.F.	...	St. Brigid's, Killeshandra.
KELLY, Rev. Thos. J., C.C.	... ..	Glenade, Manorhamilton.
KENNEDY, F. E.	... ..	Cavan.
KIMMET, John	... ..	98-100 Holm Street, Glasgow.
LYNCH, Very Rev. John, P.P., V.F.	...	Killenummery, Dromahaire.
MACCABE, Aiden E. R., Solr.	... ..	Cavan.
MACGOVERN, Owen, N.T.	... ..	Aghaloorra, Kilnaleck.
MACGOVERN, Rev. J. B., F.S.A. (Scot.), F.Ph.S.	...	St. Stephen's Rectory, Charlton-on-Medlock, Manchester, S.E.
MACGOVERN, Sean	... ..	Ardalla House, Belturbet.
MACGUINNESS, Thomas	... ..	Main Street, Cavan.
MACKEON, Rev. John F., C.C., B.D.	...	Cootehill.
MACMULLEN, Surgeon	... ..	Infirmery House, Cavan.
MACNAMARA, Jeremiah, A.R.C.Sc.I.	...	Church Street, Cavan

MACNIFFE, Rev. P.	St. Patrick's College, Cavan
MAGAURAN, Raymond G., M.D.	Church Street, Cavan.
MAGUIRE, Hugh (<i>Hon. Treasurer</i>)	Ulster Bank, Cavan.
MAGUIRE, Rev. Francis, C.C. ...	Loughduff, Cavan.
MAGUIRE, Rev. John, B.D. ...	St. Patrick's College, Cavan.
MANLY, Rev. P. J., P.P. ...	Killoe, Longford.
MARTIN, Peter, N.T. ...	Kilnaleck.
MEEHAN, Rev. Patrick, P.P. ...	Keadue, Carrick-on-Shannon.
MICKS, W. L.	3 Palmerston Villas, Palmerston Park, Dublin.
O'CONNELL, Philip, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I.	20 Mary Street, Clonmel.
O'DONOHUE, Rev. Charles ...	Kinlough, Bundoran.
O'DONOHUE, Rev. P., C.C. ...	Killeshandra.
O'HANLON, John F.	Cavan.
O'HANLON, E. J.	Cavan.
O'REILLY, Rev. Patrick, P.P. (<i>Vice-President</i>).	Knockbride, Bailieboro'.
O'REILLY, Rev. John, C.C. ...	The Presbytery, Cavan.
O'REILLY, Rev. Peter, C.C. ...	ΔΕΛΤΑ ΛΑΘΑΙΗ (Virginia).
O'REILLY, Very Rev. Patrick, P.P., V.F.	Derrylin, Belturbet.
O'REILLY, THOMAS	Loughduff, Cavan.
O'REILLY, Henry, B.E. ...	Rice Hill, Cavan.
O'SULLIVAN, J. J., A.R.C.Sc.I.	Hotel, Carrickmacross.
REEGLIN, Rev., W. W. ...	Wyat Villa, Ballybrack, Co. Dublin.
REID, William M., M.B.E., Solr. (<i>Hon. Sec.</i>)	Church Street, Cavan.
REYNOLDS, H. Fitzgerald ...	25 Stallcourt Avenue, Pennylan, Cardiff.
RUDDEN, Very Rev. P. V. ...	St. Patrick's College, Cavan.
RUSHE, D. Carolan, B.A. ...	Far Meehul, Monaghan.
RYAN, R., M.D.	The Villa, Bailieboro'.
SHERIDAN, Michael	Ballananagh, Cavan.
SMALL, Rev. Terence, P.P. ...	Moybolge, Bailieboro.
SMITH, Frederick P., M.D., D.L. (<i>President</i>).	Kevit Castle, Crossdoney.
SMITH, Miss Bridie M., F.R.S.A.I.	Corratubber, Castletara, Cavan.
SMITH, Rev. Philip, P.P. ...	Parochial House, Carrigallen, Co. Leitrim.
SMYTH, Terence S.	60 Main Street, Cavan.
SMYTH, E. J.	Hibernian Bank, Cavan.
SMYTH, T. J., B.L.	Cavan.
SUPERIOR, The	Marist Institute, Bailieboro.

- SWANZY, Rev. H. B. Canon, The Vicarage, Newry, County
M.A., M.R.I.A. Down.
- TIERNEY, John The Hotel, ΔΕΛΤΑ ΛΑΡΔΙΑΝ,
(Virginia)
- WALKER, Rev. R. J., B.A. ... Ballintemple, Ballananagh,
Cavan.
- WALKER, R. V., B.A. ... Ardeevin, Clones, County
Monaghan.
- WALKER, J. S. Ulster Bank, Cavan.
- WHELAN, Bernard Main Street, Cavan.
- YOUNG, Rev. Michael, C.C. ... Redhills, Co. Cavan.

Rules of Breifny Antiquarian Society.

OBJECTS.

- 1 The Society, which shall be non-sectarian and non-political, is formed :—
 - (a) to throw light upon the ancient monuments and memorials of the Diocese of Kilmore, and of the Counties of Cavan and Leitrim, and to foster an interest in their preservation ;
 - (b) to study the social and domestic life of the periods to which these memorials belong ;
 - (c) to collect, preserve, and diffuse information regarding the history, traditions, and folk-lore of the districts mentioned ; and
 - (d) to record and help to perpetuate the names and doings of distinguished individuals of past generations connected with the diocese or counties named.

CONSTITUTION.

2. The Society shall consist of Patrons, Members, and Life Members.
3. The Patrons will be the Bishops of Kilmore, if they are pleased to act.
4. During this year (1920) all interested in the objects of the Society may become Members on payment of the entrance fee and the annual subscription.
5. After 31st December, 1920, a Candidate for Membership besides complying with the conditions in the preceding Rule must :—
 - (a) be proposed in writing by an existing Member ;
 - (b) have his name submitted to the Committee, and, if approved of,
 - (c) be elected at a meeting of the Society.

6. The entrance fee shall be 10/-. The annual subscription shall also be 10/- payable on or before election and on each subsequent 1st day of January.
7. A single subscription of £5 covers the entrance fee and entitles to Life Membership.
8. A Member ceases to have any right or privilege in the Society until his subscription for the year is paid.
9. At the end of the year such defaulters, failing a special resolution of the Committee to the contrary, shall be considered to have resigned, and their names shall be removed from the list of Members.

GOVERNMENT.

10. The Officers of the Society shall be a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman, an Honorary Secretary, an Honorary Treasurer, and an Honorary Registrar.
11. The affairs of the Society shall be managed and controlled by a Committee. This Committee shall consist of :—
 - (a) the Officers just mentioned, who shall be Ex-officio Members ;
 - (b) the Patrons and Past Chairmen, who shall be Honorary Members ; and
 - (c) Six others specially elected.
12. For ordinary business of the Committee three shall form a quorum. But any contentious matter shall be reserved for a meeting at which five, at least, shall be present.
13. All cheques on the funds of the Society shall be signed by two Members of the Committee, as well as by the Honorary Treasurer.
14. In the event of a vacancy in any Office or on the Committee occurring during the year the Committee shall have power to fill the former by appointment and the latter by co-optation until the next Annual General Meeting. It also shall have power to select to act on the Editorial Subcommittee any Member or Members of the Society it may consider specially qualified.
15. THE CHAIRMAN
 - (a) along with his deliberative vote shall have a casting vote at Committee Meetings, but at the Society's Meetings only the latter ;
 - (b) on his own responsibility may at any time call a Special Meeting of either the Committee or the Society ; on joint requisition in writing by five Members of

the Society for either, he shall on cause shown summon such meeting ;

- (c) shall hold office for two years only and until the end of the Session at which his successor should be appointed ; he shall be ineligible for re-election, but afterwards shall continue an Honorary Member of the Committee ;
- (d) if appointed by the Committee under Rule 14, the time of such temporary appointment shall not be considered as part of the two years just referred to.

16. THE HON. SECRETARY

- (a) shall convene Committee Meetings as business may arise ;
- (b) shall send to each Member a clear week in advance notification of General Meetings, together with the Agenda paper ;
- (c) shall take and preserve Minutes of all Meetings ;
- (d) shall forward to each Member entitled to it (vide Rule 30) a copy of the Journal on its publication.

17. THE HON. TREASURER

- (a) shall receive all moneys paid to the Society and make such payments as are authorised by the Committee ;
- (b) shall keep accurate accounts of receipts and payments, and submit them for audit whenever required either by the Rules or by the Committee ;
- (c) shall keep an accurate list of Members of the Society, showing the dates upon which their subscriptions have been paid, this list to be available for inspection at reasonable times ; and
- (d) in the first week of December shall remind any Member in arrears of the provisions of Rule 9.

18. It shall be the duty of the Hon. Registrar to aim at procuring information on Antiquarian and Historical matters. He shall preserve and index it, and assist all the workers of the Society.

19. Due regard being given to the provisions contained in (c) and (d) Rule 15, all Officers and Members of the Committee, Hon. Members excepted, shall be elected from and by the Society's Members and Life Members at the Annual Meeting of each year. They shall remain in office until the opening of the Annual Meeting in the succeeding year, and shall be eligible for re-election.

20. No Member who during the year has failed to attend at least one-fourth of the Committee Meetings to which he was summoned shall be eligible at the next Annual Meeting for election as Officer or Member of Committee.
21. Resignations either from the Committee or from the Society shall be lodged with the Secretary in writing. On acceptance by the Committee the individual's obligations cease.

MEETINGS.

22. The Society shall hold three Ordinary Meetings in the year, two mainly for the purpose of reading and discussing papers, and one for an excursion to some place of archæological interest in either of the Counties named.
23. The Chairman shall preside at both Committee and General Meetings. In his absence (*a*) the Vice-Chairman, or (*b*) the Senior Past Chairman present, or, failing these, (*c*) a Member selected by the Meeting shall be entitled to powers as the Chairman.
24. The first of these Meetings shall be held, if possible, in January, and shall be called the Annual Meeting.
At its opening Session :—
 - (*a*) The Committee shall submit a Report on the work of the Society during the previous year ;
 - (*b*) the Hon. Treasurer shall furnish a detailed balance sheet, duly audited, ending with the previous 31st December.
 - (*c*) the Hon. Auditor for the current year shall be appointed ;
 - (*d*) the election of Officers and Members of Committee shall take place ;
 - (*e*) any amendments to the Rules, duly proposed, shall be discussed ; and
 - (*f*) any other matter appertaining to the Society's well-being or working shall be brought forward.
25. Except to the business Session just mentioned, Members may introduce visitors to all the meetings of the Society.

PAPERS AND PUBLICATIONS.

26. A paper to be read before the Society must be first submitted to and approved of by the Committee. The writer of it, however, will alone be responsible for its contents.
27. All reference to existing religious or political differences must be rigidly excluded from such papers, as well as from the discussions at the Society's meetings.

28. It rests with the Committee to determine what papers or part of papers shall be published.
29. All papers read before the Society shall become the property of the Society.
30. At the end of each year the Society shall endeavour to publish, as far as the funds will permit, a Journal containing these papers, together with the proceedings of the year and other matters of local antiquarian interest. Every Member not in arrears with his subscription is entitled to a copy of this Journal.

ALTERATIONS IN RULES.

31. Amendments or additions to the Rules can be made only at the Annual Meeting.
 32. Notice of such alterations must be lodged in writing with the Honorary Secretary on or before the last day of the previous year and the modifications proposed must appear on the Agenda paper.
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Breifne Antiquarian
and
Historical Society.

1929 **Journal** 1930



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Vol. III.

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No. 2.

Gavan

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Breifne Antiquarian and Historical Society.

(Founded 1920.)

EXTRACTS FROM RULES.

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- (b) To study the social and domestic life of the periods to which these memorials belong.
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The Patrons will be the Bishops of Kilmore, if they are pleased to act.

All interested in the objects of the Society may become members on payment of the entrance fee and the annual subscription.

The entrance fee shall be *Ten Shillings*. The annual subscription shall also be *Ten Shillings*, payable on or before election, and on each subsequent 1st day of January.

A single subscription of *Five Pounds* covers the entrance fee and entitles to life Membership.

A member ceases to have any right or privilege in the Society until his subscription for the year is paid.

MEETINGS.

The Society shall hold three Ordinary Meetings in the year, two mainly for the purpose of reading and discussing papers, and one for an excursion to some place of archæological interest in either of the counties named.

The first of these Meetings shall be held, if possible, in January, and shall be called the Annual Meeting.

PAPERS AND PUBLICATIONS.

A paper to be read before the Society must be first submitted to and approved of by the Committee. The writer of it, however, will alone be responsible for its contents.

All papers read before the Society shall become the property of the Society.

At the end of each year the Society shall endeavour to publish, as far as the funds will permit, a *Journal* containing the papers read before the Society and approved of by the Committee, together with the proceedings of the year and other matters of local antiquarian interest. Every member not in arrears with his subscription is entitled to a copy of this *Journal*.

THE LIBRARY.

A copy of O'Donovan's *Ordnance Survey Letters* (1836) for the Counties of Cavan and Leitrim has been secured for the Society's Library. The Society is deeply indebted to Mr. H. Fitzgerald, Reynolds, of Cardiff, who has presented numbers of *Notes and Queries* containing his series on Irish Family History compiled from Wills and other documents in the Public Record Office. These records are now of very great value. His manuscript Book of Genealogies—which he kindly presented to the Society—will be published in coming issues of this *Journal*. When funds permit the Society will publish this work as a supplementary volume.

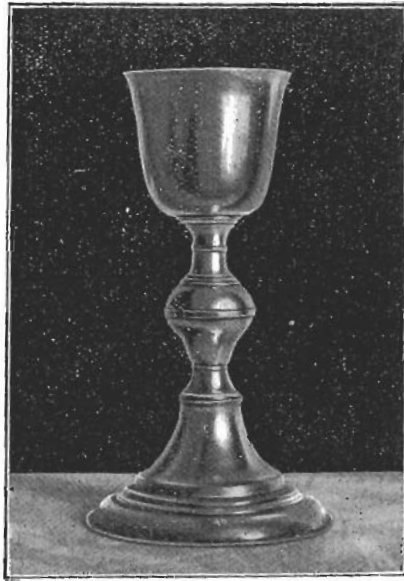
A catalogue of books, periodicals, manuscripts, exhibits, etc., has been compiled for the use of members.

N.B.—All who are interested in the objects of the Society and wish to become members should communicate with the *Hon. Secretary and Treasurer*: Mrs. B. M. Smith-Brady, F.R.S.A.I., Ballyhaise, Cavan.

The Society invites members to submit papers dealing with the history and antiquities of Breiffne and to encourage historical research. Papers dealing with local topography (illustrated if possible), unpublished parochial records, genealogies, ancient clan territories, extracts from State Papers, and everything pertaining to Breiffne, will be carefully considered by the Committee. Literary contributions, items of historical interest, reviews, and inquiries relating to the publications of the Society should be sent to:

Philip O'Connell, M.Sc., 30 ΔΡΟ ΝΑ ΣΤΡΕΜΕ, Clonmel.

P.S.—A limited number of copies of the following issues of the *Journal* are still obtainable (price 7/6 each, by post 8/-): Vol. I, No. 2—1921; Vol. II, No. 2—1924; Vol. II, No. 3—1925-26; Vol. III, No. 1—1927-28.



THE MacCABE CHALICE.—A.D. 1768.

PHOTO BY]

[P. O'CONNELL.

Parochial History of Killinkere.

CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL.

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

I.—CIVIL HISTORY.

The historic Parish of Killinkere, in Kilmore Diocese, is chiefly situated in the Barony of Castlerahan with a small portion—about one-fourth its total area—in the Barony of Loughtee.* It adjoins the Parish of Mullagh, with which it is sometimes grouped in the taxation records of the 17th century. Both parishes were, of course, always recognised as ecclesiastically distinct units, but in the records of the Civil Parishes, arranged in a somewhat arbitrary manner for taxation purposes, we usually find them grouped together. These Civil Parishes date from the time of the preparation of the *Plantation Map*—1609. In the *Patent and Close Rolls* of 1626, a grant to John Gowan, vicar) describes him as: “Rector or Vicar of the Parish of Mullagh, otherwise Killinkeare.” The *Act of Settlement Grants* (1669, refer to the Rev. Patrick Maxwell as: “Incumbent of Mullagh, also Killinkere, Ballyclanephillip [Termon] and Templecally [the old parish church of Mullagh].” In the *Books of Survey and Distribution* (1641) no distinction is made between the parishes both of which are included under the heading “Parish of Killinkeare.” In 1654 the *Down Survey* does not specify them as distinct units but groups them together as the “Parish of Killinkeare.” Referring to the *Hearth Tax Rolls* (1664) we also find the parishes dealt with as a unit—“Killinkeare.”

The Civil Parish, therefore, did not follow the lines of the old established ecclesiastical units. The limits of the ecclesiastical parishes of Killinkere and Mullagh as existing in the early 17th century correspond exactly with those of the present day. But referring back to the 16th century we find that certain amalgamations had already been effected due to the troubles and difficulties

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

	A.	R.	P.		A.	R.	P.	
Castlerahan ...	12078	0	36,	including	98	3	33	water.
Upper Loughtee	3883	3	33,	including	32	1	2	water.
Total ...	15962	0	29					

of the times. The power of the native chieftains was declining and the Church lands were already being threatened with confiscation. The two older ecclesiastical divisions of Killinkere (Gallon) and Ballyclanphillip (Termon) were united to form the Parish of Killinkere; and, in the same way, Raffony and Mullagh were amalgamated. These amalgamations were effected about the year 1590. In pre-Reformation times each unit was distinct and exercised parochial jurisdiction over a clearly defined area.

The earliest reference to Killinkere so far traced is found in the *Calendar of Papal Registers*, sub. anno 1406 (see *Ecclesiastical History*), where the parish is called "Killincheir *alias* Mullach-laydidy." The latter title is, obviously, MULLACH LAOIGILL—the Gaelic name of Mullagh as recorded by the *Four Masters*, A.D., 1488. No reference to Killinkere seems to occur in any of our *Annals*. The O'Reilly castle was situated at Mullagh (on the north-west shore of the picturesque little lake), hence the latter place became of primary importance as the seat of the ruling family. Both Mullagh and Killinkere were under the patronage of the O'Reillys and, although distinct units, may have been to a certain extent interdependent on each other. During the Breiffne wars of the 14th century the church of Mullagh (TEAMPULL CEALLAIG) was burned and there are reasons for believing that the parishes were, as a result, temporarily amalgamated.

The earliest recorded forms of the parish title (Killinkere) do not differ materially from the present-day spelling. The various renderings will be noted in the course of this paper. As O'Donovan notes, the Gaelic rendering is CILLIN CÍAR, i.e., the little black church. The location of this early church—which gave the parish its title—will be described later on. The word CÍAR, meaning jet black, does not occur frequently in placenames. It would seem to have reference, in place nomenclature, to the colour of the soil, and this is clearly its meaning here. Joyce notes an example from Co. Mayo: Keerglen, i.e., CÍAR SEANN, or "dark-coloured glen."

In the *Fiants of Eliz. sub annis* 1584, 1586 and 1592, already noted, we find a number of pardons, leases, etc., granted to the "natives" of the parish. At the beginning of the 17th century, when the schemes for the Plantation of Ulster were being formulated, the Barony of Castlerahan was allotted to English and Scottish Undertakers. But the parish of Killinkere—unlike its neighbours, Mullagh and Lurgan—was not definitely singled out for Plantation purposes. In the general survey of confiscated lands in Cavan carried out by Sir John Davies in 1610 the greater part of Mullagh parish was allotted to Sir William Taaffe and Sir John Elliott.* The Killinkere tlds.† included in the grant to

* Pynnar's *Survey of Ulster*, 1619; Hill's *Plantation of Ulster*, p. 343; *Journal*, vol. I, p. 127.

† In the present paper the abbreviated form "tld." is used for "townland."

Taaffe are Killaghdough [Carnagarve], one poll; Carnelinch, two polls, and Lurganile [Lurganaveele], one poll. The comparative infertility of the soil, as plainly indicated by the early maps, was the obvious reason for its exclusion from the Plantation scheme.

The greater portion of Killinkere Parish was set aside for Irish "natives" who were transplanted from the other parishes of Castlerahan Barony in the reign of James I. In 1604 we find a pardon granted, *inter alios*, to Margaret ny Gowen of Killingkeire.* In the list of grants to Irish "natives," dated Jan. 8, 1610, the following lands, *inter alia*, were allotted to Walter, Thomas, and Patrick Brady, of Cavan: Greaghcleagh, two polls; Aghne-cloghfin [Cleffin], one and a half polls; Carrigneveagh, one poll; Invegerogy [Invyarroge] and Carraghdowan [Corradooa], one poll; Togher, one poll; Drotramen [Drutamy], one poll; Carneregerrill [*V. Down Survey, infra*], one and a half polls.† The grant to Cahir McShane O'Reilly of Cornegall, Co. Cavan, dated Nov. 8, 1610, specified: Greaghduffe [Greaghadoo], one poll; Greaghneferne, one poll; Cargagh-Ishall [Carrickeeshill], one poll; Dehernan [Termon], one poll; Finernane [*V. Down Survey, infra*], one poll; Cargaghdewan [Cargagh?], one poll; in all, 300 acres. Rent £3 4. 0. English.‡

Shane McHugh O'Reilly of Ballaghanea (in Lurgan Parish) was granted, *inter alia*, one poll in Dromallaght. The following tlds. were granted to Philip McBrian McHugh O'Reilly:—Syarne [Seeharan]; the gallons of Drumrath and Creaghclagh; Crosbane, Lysnehederny, Anaghcharnet, and Dromsaury [*V. Down Survey, infra*], one poll each; in all 300 acres. Rent £3 4. 0.

To Owen McShane O'Reilly were granted, *inter alia*: Dromfamony [Drumfomina], Lurginure, and Cornapesty [*V. Down Survey, infra*], one poll in each. Hugh Roe McShane O'Reilly was given the lands of Carrigorman, two polls, and one poll each in Fartidrine and Corlatirnie [Corratinner?]; in all 200 acres at a yearly rent of £2 2. 8.§

The grant to Shane McPhilip O'Reilly included, *inter alia*, one poll in each of the tlds. of Downe [Doon], Kilmore, Dromaghegolan, Shranickmoyertie [Stramaquerty], Dromadiraglasse [Dromederglass], Lisagapull [Lissacapple], Boylly [Billis], Killiduffe, Corroneadan, Bracklone [*V. Down Survey, infra*], Nacarcragh [*V. Down Survey, infra*], and two polls in Naburney [Burnew].||

Shane bane O'Moeltully was granted one poll in the tld. of Coolenacoala, "in the barony of Loughtee and precinct of Castle-

* *Patent Rolls*, 2 James I.

† *Patent Rolls*, 8 James I.

‡ Hill, *op. cit.*

§ Hill, *op. cit.*

|| *Patent Rolls*, 8 James I.

rahan, 50 acres; rent 10/8."* A grant from the King to Edward Nugent, dated 1611, specifies one poll in each of the tlds. of Aghadrinagh and Tullyogonell, "in Loughtee Barony and Castle-rahan Precinct" in all, 100 acres at a yearly rent of £1 l. 4. † In 1612 a pardon was granted to Turlogh McGlasney O'Reyly of Dromallaght, "for fine of £20 Irish." ‡

The native Irish landowners continued in possession of these lands until the *Act of Settlement* finally decided their fate. In connection with the *Act of Settlement* a map—the *Down Survey*—was drawn up by Sir William Petty in 1654.§ This map helps us to identify the tlds. mentioned in the 17th century grants. The 1609 Plantation Map—compiled in connection with the Jacobean grants detailed above—is also available. The 1654 map is the more exhaustive of the two. As already noted both Mullagh and Killinkere are grouped together and it will be found more convenient to deal with them as a unit—the old Civil Parish. The *Act of Settlement* Grants, giving in detail the native owners in 1641, together with the names of the grantees, have already been fully described in these pages. ||

In 1617 James I granted to William Hill of Allenstowne, Co. Meath, *inter alia*, the following "towns and lands" in Co. Cavan: Laterloghan *otherwise* Laghtegloghan [Lattagloghan—Lavey Parish; "Loughtiglahan," *P.M.*]; Lisdirge [Lisderg—Lavey Parish; "Lisadirige," *P.M.*]; Mullaghnecavan *otherwise* Mullaghvickgavan [Mullymagowan—Lavey Parish; "Mullonegavan," *P.M.*]; Nadromine *otherwise* Dromine [Drummanduff—Lavey Parish; "Nadrominy," *P.M.*]; Mogher [Moher—Lavey Parish; "Mahery," *P.M.*]; Killogroighan [Killygrogan—Lavey Parish; "Killogrogan," *P.M.*]; Kilnefearny *otherwise* Greaghnefearny [Greaghnafarna—Killinkere Parish; "Greaghnefarna," *P.M.*]; Cabercossan, ¶ and Lisanevore [Lissannymore—Killinkere Parish]. Total rent £3 4. 8. English. °

In 1615 Francis Annesley, Esq., was granted by James I the following lands in Mullagh Parish:

The Manor of Mullagh and the towns and lands of Mullagh,

* *Ibid.* The surname O'Maoltully is now usually shortened to Tully.—In some districts it has been Anglicised Flood.

† *Ibid.* 9 James I. The tld. of Aghadrinagh is in Lavey Parish. Tullyogonell is not entered on the modern *O.S. Index Map*, but the *P.M.* has "Tollogone" to the north of Aghadrinagh; the name is now obsolete. The northern portion of Aghadrinagh marks the location of this ancient division.

‡ *Ibid.* 10 James I.

§ *Journal*, vol. III, p. 49.

|| *Journal*, vol. I, p. 130.

¶ The *P.M.* has "Caborchosan" and "Lisconiney" marked as tlds. situated north and east of Lissannymore ("Lisanamore"): the *Down Survey* has no record of them, nor are they shown on the modern *O.S. Index Maps*. Both tlds. now obsolete appear to be included in the present tlds. of Lissannymore and Termon.

° *Patent Rolls*, 15 James I. Dated July 15, 1617. Sir William Hill was in possession of these lands in 1641 (see *Books of Survey and Distribution, infra*).

Lislasseragh and Lecke [*Vide Down Survey*, No. 46 *infra*] being two polls; Cloghvollibegg, one poll; Leytrim, two polls; Colkagh [Quilca], one poll; Arlogh, two polls; Crossreogh, one poll; Killaghdough [*Vide supra*], one poll; Carne linche, two polls; Killechony [*Vide Down Survey*, No. 53 *infra*], one poll; Cornegleigh, two polls; Dromratt, one poll; Clonvickmaragh, one poll; Cashellsilloge [*Vide Down Survey*, No. 49 *infra*] and Carraghloone, one poll; Lurganile [*supra*], one poll; total 1000 acres, rent £10 13. 4. Irish.*

Six years later—in 1621—the King granted to Edward Dowdall of Rathmore, Co. Meath, the following lands and hamlets:

Leytrim, two polls; Mullaghliisslasseragh and Lecke, two polls; Cornaglare, one poll; Cornagleigh, two polls; Dromratt, one poll; Clonvickmaragh, one poll; Cashellsilloge and Corragloone, one poll; Colkagh, one poll; Arlagh, two polls; Crossreogh, one poll; Killadaugh, one poll; Carne linch, two polls; Lurganile, one poll; Barony of Castle-rahine. To hold as of the Castle of Dublin in soccage for ever.

The land created the manor of Mullagh; license to hold a Tuesday's market and a fair on August 1 and the day after, for ever, at the town of Mullagh, with a court of pie-powder and the usual tolls and customs; to appoint a clerk of the market; to have all waifs and strays, and free warren and chase, with all tithes, great and small; also license to tan leather. †

The Dowdalls of Rathmore, one of the great Catholic families of the Pale, held these lands until the *Act of Settlement* when they were dispossessed. In 1668 Lawrence Dowdall was deprived of his Mullagh estates which then passed into the hands of the Saundersons, Mortimers, Massarenes, etc. ‡

THE DOWN SURVEY: KILLINKERE IN 1641.

We will now examine the 17th century topography of the Civil Parish of Killinkere as detailed by the *Down Survey*. The order in which the tlds. are placed in the *Commonwealth Grants* and located on the *Down Survey Map*, is indicated by the numbers attached. The forms which are given by the 1609 *Plantation Map* are indicated thus: (P.M.). Present-day Ordnance Survey forms are in square brackets thus []. O.S. = *Ordnance Survey tld. Index Map*, 1916, H.M. = *Hearth Money Tax Rolls* 1664. C.L. indicates the form of the tld. name which is given in the *Cavan List* of 1709 (or 1790). § ✕ shows church lands.

* *Patent Rolls*, 13 James I.

† *Patent Rolls*, 19 James I, dated 19 Feb.

‡ *Vide Journal*, vol. I, pp. 131 *et seq.*

§ *Journal*, vol. I, p. 324.

1. CORNAKELLY. A sub-division of Drummallaght, occupying the S.W. portion of the latter tld. Now apparently obsolete.
2. DRUMFOMENY [Drumfomina]. "Dromfamony" (*P.M.*). "Dromfamony," 1610 Grants (*supra*). "Drommamony" (*C.L.*), obviously a misprint for "Dromfamony."
3. ASSAN. "Assantrews" (*C.L.*).
4. CROSSBANE. "Crosbuane" (*P.M.*). "Crosbane" (*H.M.*). "Crosbane" (*C.L.*).
5. GREAGHLOGH. "Greaghclea" (*P.M.*). "Greaghcleagh," 1610 Grants (*supra*). "Greagh-Glagh" (*H.M.*). "Griaghcliagh" (*C.L.*).
6. SEAHARD [Seeharan]. "Stroherny" (*P.M.*). "Skehard," *Act of Settlement Grants*. "Syarne," 1610 Grants (*supra*). "Syharne"—Registry of 1704 (Rev. Murtagh Gargan the then P.P. of Mullagh lived in this tld.).
7. DROMSAWRY. This division, now obsolete, occupied the hilly northern portion of the tld. of Greaghlogh—adjoining Finternagh. In the 1610 Grants it is spelled in the same way—Dromsawry. The *P.M.* has "Dromhaura." The name is obviously Οριμ Σαμψιαιρ, *i.e.*, the summery, or sunny, ridge as the configuration of the locality indicates. The designation is an apt one. There is another Drumsawry, sometimes Anglicised "Summerbank," near Loughcrew, Co. Meath.
8. CARCARNATH. "Carcarnagh"—*Act of Settlement*. "Nacarcragh"—1610 Grants (*supra*). An obsolete division occupying the S.E. portion of the tld. of Drummallaght.
9. CORNABEST. Another obsolete sub-division (N.E.) of Drummallaght. "Cornapesty"—1610 Grants (*supra*). The sub-divisions, Carcarnath and Cornabest, are shown as occupying the marshy portion of Drummallaght adjoining Drumfomina.
10. ANKERNOGHT [Annagharnet]. "Anakarnaght" (*P.M.*). "Anaghcharnet"—1610 Grants (*supra*). "Anagharnett" (*H.M.*). The greater portion of this tld. is marked "Bog," "Annagharnet" (*C.L.*).
11. LISNEHODERNY [Lisnahederna]. "Lisnakederny" (*P.M.*). The 1610 Grant form is practically the same. "Lisnehederna" (*C.L.*).
12. DRUMALLAT [Drumallaght]. "Dromalaghe" (*P.M.*). In the *Patent Rolls* of 1612 (*supra*) the spelling is the same as at present. "Dromallet" (*H.M.*). The tld., as shown above, includes the older sub-divisions of Cornakelly, Carcarnath, and Cornabest. The *C.L.* form is "Dromallaght Nolding"; the latter part of the name is evidently personal.
13. CARRAGHEAKALL [Carrickeeshil]. "Carigagh-ishal" (*P.M.*); also 1610 Grants "Cargagheesel" (*H.M.*). The *C.L.* has "Carrigagh Isle [iseal=low] with Massaren's part." Lord Massarene was granted this tld., *inter alia*, in 1668.
14. CREAGHDUFF.—"Greaghduffe," 1610 Grants. There are

two tlds. marked, spelled similarly, but not adjoining. The tld. marked "Creaghduff"—No. 14—is indicated as "part of Slewgole (Sliabh Guaire) mountain," and adjoins Greaghadossan: it is the *Greaghadoo* of the O.S. The other tld.—14(2)—adjoins Carrickgorman and is the *Greaghduff* of the O.S. The *Act of Settlement Grant* has Pottelldoo—*i.e.* the "black pottle"—for 14(2) which takes the place of No. 15. The C.L. has record of two divisions—"Griaghduff" and "Pottleduff."

16. LARAGNENURE [Lurgananure]. "Loraga-inury" (P.M.). "Lurginure," 1610 *Grants*. "Lurganure" (C.L.). A division, "Finernan," is shown on the P.M. adjoining Carrickeeshil; it appears to be identical with the O.S. tld. of Tievenaman. "Finernane," 1610 *Grants*.

17. BILLY AND KILLIDUFF. These tlds.—Billis and Killyduff—are also grouped together in the *Commonwealth Grants*. "Nabelly" (P.M.). "Boylly" 1610 *Grants*. "Belty" (C.L.). "Killiduffe" (*ibid*); "Keilidou" (P.M.). "Kilduff" (C.L.).

18. BOURNE [Burnew]. "Nabarny" (P.M.). "Naburney," 1610 *Grants*. "Burnue" (H.M.). This tld. seems to be identical with the *Ath-na-Boirne* referred to by the *Four Masters sub anno 1486* (V. *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 123). "Borne" (C.L.).

19. LISNACAPULL [Lissacapple]. "Lisachapul" (P.M.). The *Commonwealth Grants* have "Drumaderdaglasse and Latester and Liscappul." The two former tlds., which adjoin, are not marked on the *Down Survey*. The P.M. marks "Dromadiraglasse." Cf. 1610 *Grants* (*supra*). "Liscapple" (H.M.) "Lissacapple" (C.L.).

19 (2). CORNEDON (Corraneden). "Corroneadan" (P.M.). Cf. 1610 *Grants* (*supra*). "Cornudin" (C.L.).

20. DRUMHOLLAN [Drumagolan]. "Dromaga-gollan" (P.M.). "Dromaghegolan," 1610 *Grants*. "Dromagalin and Bracklony" (C.L.).

21. BRACKLONE. A division now obsolete, occupying the west end of Drumagolan and adjoining Killyduff. "Bracklona" (P.M.). "Bracklone," 1610 *Grants*. It is obviously *Breac Cluam*, *i.e.*, "speckled meadow." From the acreage given by the *Commonwealth Grants* it would appear to have included at least the half of Drumagolan. (See No. 20 *supra*).

22. SCRACKINIUTFERT [Stramaquerty]. "Scrackinfert," *Commonwealth Grants*. "Raurvierty" (P.M.). "Shranickmoyertie," 1610 *Grants*. "Sramaverty" (C.L.).

23. KILLMORE. "Keiluoire" (P.M.); the "u" is evidently a misprint for "m." "Kilmore" (C.L.).

24. DOWNE [Doon]. "Deune" (P.M.). "Downe" (H.M.) and 1610 *Grants*. Doon (C.L.).

C. ✱ 1. KILLINKEERE. This is marked "Church Land," belonging to the Bishopric of Kilmore. The two adjoining subdivisions are marked "Part of Killinkeere" and "Latroran, Part

of Killinkeere," respectively. As a townland name the title is now no longer in use; it has long since been extended to the entire parish, but it is important to note that as a distinct tld. Killinkere was recognised at the time of the Down Survey. The *C.L.* has "Killinkeare" showing that it persisted until after the year 1700. Similar instances may be found elsewhere in Breiffne, *e.g.*, Munterconnacht, Maghera, and others, where an ancient church existed, and which, in the course of time, gave its name to the parish (or section of a parish) while the original application of the name fell gradually into disuse. Not that the name would become obsolete but it would acquire a new significance and wider application. However, this only occurred in certain cases. This process of evolution in place nomenclature affords ample materials for research in local topography, a subject which has never been given all the attention it deserves.

According to the *Commonwealth Grants* the total acreage of "Killinkeare" tld. in 1641 amounted to 426A. 3R. 0P., including the unprofitable land. (*Cf. Books of Survey and Distribution*). The *P.M.* form is "Kilinceo," obviously an error of the copyist. The *Commonwealth Grants* and *H.M. Rolls* have "Killinkeare." The present day *O.S.* tlds. of Gallon, Corratinner, Cargagh and Greaghnacunna are, very approximately, co-extensive with the older tld. of "Killinkeare." None of the early maps have marked any of the four tlds. just referred to. The present tld. of Cargagh would be, geographically, identical with the "Latroran" of the *Down Survey*; this older division seems to be obsolete. The old parish church of St. Ultan, now in ruins, from which the parish took its name, is in the tld. of Gallon. Obviously this signifies the gallon—or land measure—belonging to the church.

C. ✠ 2. RAHONACK [Raffony]. This was also church land and belonged to the church of St. Brigid, the ruins of which still remain. Raffony was a distinct ecclesiastical unit in pre-Reformation times and was the religious centre which served an extensive medieval parish which is now partly included in Lurgan and Killinkere but chiefly in Mullagh. The district of Raffony was in early times the patrimony of the Clan O'Connell, who were the Erenachs (*i.e.*, wardens) of the church which through successive generations they endowed with lands and over which they extended protection. In 1605, when Brian O'Connell was attainted and his property declared forfeit, the church lands suffered the same fate and the ecclesiastical importance of Raffony gradually declined. This Brian O'Connell was the ancestor of the present writer.

The ruined church measures 57 feet in length by 20 feet in width. The greater part of the structure has long since been swept away together with the splendid tombs which commemorated the names of those who endowed the church, and also which marked the graves of its early pastors. We find from the *Register* of Primate Dowdall that Rev. Patrick O'Connell was a Canon

of Kilmore Cathedral in 1542. The earliest inscribed monument in the graveyard is dated 1731. Around these ruined walls lie the many generations of the O'Connells of East Breiffne who in medieval times owned considerable property in the vicinity.

A hoary ash tree marks the site of the Altar; St. Brigid's Well lies a few perches away. The history and vicissitudes of this ancient sanctuary will be dealt with in detail in a later paper.

The early forms of the name are of interest. "Rahony" (*P.M.*); "Rachonacke," *Commonwealth Grants*; "Rahawna," 1590 *Inquisition*; "Rathawna," 1605 *Patent Rolls*; "Rahony," *Attainder of Brian O'Connell, 1605*; "Rahone," 1690 *Inquisition*; "Ravanagh" (*H.M.*); "Rahony" (*C.L.*)

C. ✠ 3. RANTAVAN [Rantavan]. "Ranman" (*P.M.*); "Roantavan," *Commonwealth Grants*; "Ramtavin," 1590 *Inquisition*, and 1605 *Grants*; "Ranetaven," 1609 *Inquisition*; "Rantavan" (*H.M.*); "Rantawin," (*C.L.*). This tld. was *Church Land*. The Parish Church, or Hospital, of Mullagh, although situated in the tld. of the same name, is referred to in the *Inquisitions* of 1590 and 1609, and also in the 1605 *Grants*, as the "Hospital of Ramtavin [or Ranetaven]." It is somewhat puzzling why, in this case, the parish title should not designate the church also. The explanation seems to be this: although the church (Teampull Ceallaigh—now known as "Kelly's Church") was in Mullagh yet the church lands and most probably the monastery where the priests lived, were in the adjoining tld. of Rantavan. The church then became known as the Church of Rantavan. But Mullagh retained the parish title. The church of Teampull Ceallaigh has already been described in these pages.* In the adjoining graveyard rest, *inter alios*, the celebrated Henry Brooke (died 1783), and the well-known Rev. Felix MacCabe, P.P., of Mullagh (died 1816). Another ancient church now obliterated, existed at the south-east end of Rantavan, adjoining Rosehill. It is evident that this church gave its name to the obsolete tld. of *Aghukilbride* which surrounded it (*vide* No. 53 *infra*).

C. ✠ 4. BACH [Beagh]. This is marked "gleab [i.e. glebe] land." "Vehagh" (*P.M.*). The glebe land was granted by James I. for the Established Church. The *C.L.* has two divisions, "Beaghbane" and "Beaghduffe."

25. GREAH LOGH, AGHADOFIN AND GREACHADOZEY [Greagh-claugh, Cleffin and Greaghadossan]. The tlds. are given as a unit with no boundaries indicated. The *Commonwealth Grants* have "Greaghdozen, Aghaclofin and Greaghlogh." "Greaghclea" and "Aghnaclogfny," (*P.M.*). "Greaghcleagh" and "Aghne-cloghfin," 1610 *Grants*. "Greagh Glagh," "Aghaneclifine," and "Greaghadossan" (*H.M.*). The *C.L.* has "Greaghliagh," and "Greaghadossan"

* *Journal*, vol. I, p. 150.

26. SLEWGOLF—part of [Gola]. An adjoining division, 26 (2), is also marked "Part of Slewgole." The *Commonwealth Grants* have "Slewgolly." This is part of the ancient district of Sliabh Guaire for which see *infra*. "Golliu" (C.L.).

27. CARRICKNEFEAGH [Carricknaveagh]. "Carignaveagh" (P.M.); "Carrigneveagh," 1610 *Grants*; "Carickenenagh" (H.M.); "Carrignaveagh" (C.L.).

28. CORRIDONA [Corradooa]. "Corradran" (P.M.); "Carraghdowan," 1610 *Grants*; "Carradooa" (C.L.).

29. INORGAROGÉ [Invyarroge]. "Inorgoroge," *Commonwealth Grants*; "Invegerogy," 1610 *Grants*. "Envergarooge" (H.M.); "Evergaroge," (C.L.); the "v" is obviously a misprint for "n."

30. TOGHER. "Toger" in *Commonwealth Grants*; "Togher" in 1610 *Grants*, same in (P.M.) and in (C.L.)

31. DROMTAMON [Drutamý]. "Natratromy" (P.M.); "Drotramen," 1610 *Grants*: "Drumtaman," *Commonwealth Grants*. "Druthamain" (C.L.).

32. CARICKGORMAN. "Carigroma" (P.M.); "Carygorman" in *Commonwealth Grants*; "Carcorman" (H.M.). Cf. 1610 *Grants* (*supra*). "Carrigorman" (C.L.).

33. FARTIDREENE. "Tolledrine" (P.M.); "Fartidrine," 1610 *Grants*; "Fartrun" (C.L.).

The P.M. has an adjoining division "Dromiatt"—stretching along "Dromhaura" (No. 7 *supra*)—not marked on the D.S. or O.S.

34. CORELUNSHE [Carnalynch]. — "Careuilensi" (P.M.); "Carnelunshe," *Commonwealth Grants*; "Carnelinch," 1610, *Plantation Grants*. "Carnelency" (H.M.); "Carn-Linchy" (C.L.).

35. CARNEGARAVE [Carnagarve]. The P.M. has the hardly recognizable form "Keilagodaue"; this is the "Killaghdough" of the 1610 *Plantation Grants*. "Cornegararrow" (H.M.) The river Borora—"Borora's brown-eyed stream"—forms the northern boundary of the tld.; the P.M. has "Roah Reagh flu." The C.L. has "Carngarve."

36. TRINTERNAGH [Finternagh]. This seems to form part of No. 35 as indicated by the P.M. "Ffinternagh" (H.M.); "Finternagh" (C.L.).

37. CROSREAGH. "Crossreagh" (P.M.); same in *Fiants* of Eliz. 1592. "Crossreagh" (C.L.).

The greater part of this tld. is marked "Bog" on the *Down Survey*. Adjoining Crossreagh, and apparently forming part of Invyarroge, the P.M. has a division marked "Carnuegeril"; it is the "Carnegerrill" of the 1610 *Grants supra*.

38. CLONMACMARREN [Clonmacmara]. "Clon-i-muragh," (P.M.); "Clowne McMarren," *Commonwealth Grants*; "Clonvikmaroche," *Fiants* of Eliz., 1602; "Clonvickmaragh," 1610

Plantation Grants (to Sir William Taaffe); "Clum MacMaragh" (C.L.). "Clum," should read "Clun," i.e., CLUAM = a meadow.

39. CORREROUCKE [Corryouruke]. "Corrirurk" (P.M.); "Correrouke," *Commonwealth Grants*; "Carrowronicke," 1610 *Grants*; "Corryrork" (C.L.).

40. CORNEGLERED [Cornaglare]. All the older spellings—P.M., *Commonwealth Grants*, 1610 *Plantation Grants*, H.M. *Rolls*—with the exception of the *Down Survey*, agree with the modern form. "Corneglare" (C.L.).

41. COREGLEA [Cornaglea]. "Cornagliegh" (P.M.); "Carneglea," *Commonwealth Grants*; "Cornagleigh," 1610 *Plantation Grants*. "Cornegleagh" (H.M.); "Cornegle" (C.L.).

42. KILLETER. "Keillchter" (P.M.); "Killi-Ighter," 1610 *Plantation Grants*; "Killeater," *Commonwealth Grants*. "Killeter" (H.M.); "Killeater" (C.L.).

43. LISLUNE [Lislin]. "Lishlin and Morleagh," 1610 *Grants*; "Morleagh" is evidently intended to be Mullagh; "Lislin" (C.L.).

44. CORNAKELLY [Cornakill]. "Coronakilly" (P.M.); "Cornekilly," 1610 *Grants*; "Cornakilla" (C.L.).

45. CLOGHWELY BEGG [Cloghbally-Beg]. "Claghbally bege" (P.M.); "Claghvalle," "Claghvelle" and "Claghvoyle," *Fiants* of Eliz. 1586; "Claghvoly," *Fiants*, 1592; "Cloghballebeg" (H.M.); "Cloghvally-beg" (C.L.). The old castle of Mullagh was situated in this tld. and alongside the Lake of Mullagh; it is so marked on the 1609 P.M. In 1605 James I. granted to John Kinge of Dublin, *inter alia*: "The old castle, town and lands of Cloghvolly, containing 60 acres, making one poll or half a carucate in Co. Cavan."* The Dowdall family of Co. Meath were owners of the greater part of Mullagh parish until the Cromwellian confiscations, when they were dispossessed.† In 1621 Edward Dowdall of Rathmore, Co. Meath, and proprietor of the Manor of Mullagh, was, as already stated, granted a license to hold a fair, etc. In 1668 James Mortimer was granted, *inter alia*: "Cloghwelly beg, with the old castle thereon."

46. MULLAGH. The various forms under which the name is recorded in our early documents have already been discussed in these pages.‡ The *Hearth Money Rolls* of 1664 have "Mullagh-clislyn," the latter part of which is obviously Lislin, both tlds. having been grouped together for taxation purposes. It is interesting to note that in that year only six householders in the tlds. of Mullagh and Lislin were assessed for *Hearth Tax*.§ Four of these were O'Reillys—Philip, Charles, Owen and Hugh—and the others were John Duffy and Patrick Clery (or Clarke). Of

* *Patent Rolls*, 3 James I.

† *Journal*, vol. I, pp. 130 *et seq.*

‡ *Journal*, vol. I, p. 126.

§ *Journal*, vol. I, p. 147.

course, the present town of Mullagh which is a much later foundation was not then in existence.

The present tld. of Mullagh corresponds with the tld. as shown on the earlier maps. From an early period the district was of considerable historical importance; it was the site of the early parish church, and in the neighbourhood the O'Reillys possessed a strong castle and large estates. The *Annals of the Four Masters*, *sub anno* 1488, have a reference to MULLAC LAOIGILL—the old Gaelic name of the district. The latter part of the name gradually passed out of everyday use, and the abbreviated form "Mullagh" was adopted. But the full name is still locally preserved, although in a slightly disguised and unintelligible form, in the sub-denomination "Mullagh-land," which is applied to the western portion of the present tld. of Mullagh surrounding the Hill of Mullagh. In the *Papal Registers*, *sub anno* 1406, we find "Mullach-laydidy" as a parish title (*supra*), presenting, in a Latinised form, the ancient name.

We have already noted that in 1621 Edward Dowdall was granted permission to hold a market at Mullagh and a fair on August 1 and the following day. In order to stimulate trade in the country districts of Ireland James I. established a considerable number of fairs and markets. A fair had already been established in Virginia in 1612*. The lords of the soil, to whom the charters and licences were granted, exercised the right to exact tolls and dues on all goods entering the fairs and markets. These exactions were usually exorbitant and were a great hardship on the people as well as causing serious injury to trade. In 1635 complaints were made in Parliament of the excessive tolls in fairs and markets.†

The former fairs and markets of Mullagh were held, according to a well-founded tradition, at the foot of Mullagh Hill and at the junction of the tlds. of Mullagh, Cloughbally-Beg and Cornakill. There is an important road junction here on which converge the roads leading from Virginia, Crossreagh, Whitegate, and the Mullagh-Kells district. This important point of convergence is called the "Gates of Mullagh," and here the old Fair Green was situated. The position suited its purpose admirably. Centuries ago a "Toll Gate" was erected on all roads leading to the Fair; hence the name. The "old town of Mullagh" was situated here and the Fair must have been in existence long before Edward Dowdall sought permission to appropriate the tolls. A licence was necessary before the tolls could be legally collected, and the possessors of the right reaped a handsome profit.

A few hundred yards east of the "Gates of Mullagh" is the site of the Castle of the O'Reillys, on the shore of the lake. An immense isolated glacial boulder, evidence of Ice Age activity in

* *Journal*, vol. II, p. 270.

† O'Brien's *Economic History of Ireland in the 17th century*, p. 60.

the district, is situated close by the "Gates" and alongside the road leading to Virginia. The Fair was evidently established by the O'Reilly family in very early times. The present town of Mullagh was founded by the Saundersons in the early part of the last century, and the Fair was transferred to the new foundation. The Tolls and Toll-gates are gone, the fair and market have dwindled and have been removed elsewhere, but the name "Gates of Mullagh" still survives, and is a reminder of Ireland's important trade and commerce in the 17th century. Evidently the tanning industry was then an important one in Cavan as we find it included in the licence (*supra*).

The various *Grants* already referred to—1610 to Taaffe; 1615 to Annesley; 1621 to Dowdall—have "Mullagh, Lissasseragh and Lecke." Neither of the two latter sub-divisions are marked on the earlier maps, nor do they seem to be remembered locally, but evidently they were all included in the present extensive tld. of Mullagh.

In 1847, according to Lewis*, the town of Mullagh consisted of 72 houses, and had a population of 368. There was a weekly market; and fairs for the sale of cattle and pigs, oats, butter, and flax were held on Jan. 29, March 25, May 27, July 29, Sept. 30 and Nov. 25. The flax industry was then a flourishing one in Co. Cavan, and we find from the 1821 *Census Returns* that the majority of the families around Mullagh were engaged in it.

47. LETRIM. Same form on *P.M.* "Letrum" (*H.M.*). The tld. of Leitrim, although in Co. Cavan, is now included in the Parish of Loughan, and Diocese of Meath. In the *Fiants* of Eliz., *sub anno* 1586, we find "Letrom." "Leytrim" (*C.L.*).

48. AGHAMODOE. This was the older name of the northern portion of the modern tld. of "Rosehill." The *Commonwealth Grants*, *sub anno* 1666, have "Aghaniader." In the *Elliott Grants*, 1610, it is written "Aghamada"; "Aghanemaddae" (*H.M.*); "Aghunemaddaw" (*C.L.*). The name is locally remembered and interpreted $\Delta\epsilon\ \text{na}\ \text{M}\alpha\delta\alpha\delta\text{o}$, *i.e.*, the ford of the dogs. The River Borora flows past the tld. *V. 53 infra*.

49. QUELCAGH AND DRUMRATT [Quilca and Drumrath]. These tlds. are also grouped together in the *Commonwealth Grants*. "Colkagh" (*P.M.*) and 1610 *Grants*; "Quilka and Droma" (*C.L.*); "Dromrao" (*P.M.*); "Dromratt," 1610 *Grants*; "Culkeagh" (*H.M.*). In the correspondence of the brilliant and eccentric Dean Swift, *sub annis* 1722 and 1725, it is always spelled "Quilca," which is the form now generally adopted. The Gaelic form of the name is, most probably, $\text{C}\mu\text{it}\text{c}\epsilon\alpha\delta$, *i.e.*, reedy, from $\text{C}\mu\text{itc}$, a reed or broom. This is also the local derivation. It may be noted that another district of the same name Quilcagh Mountain—the source of the Shannon—in West Breifne has quite a different derivation: it is $\text{C}\alpha\text{it}\text{c}\epsilon\alpha\delta$, which signified chalky,

* *Topog. Dict.*, s.v. "Mullagh."

and is applied to the mountain on account of the quartzite which when viewed from a distance has the appearance of chalk.

The tld. of Corragloon, adjoining Quilca, is not noted on either the *Down Survey* or *P.M.* The latter has "Cashil Selloge" instead. In the 1610 *Taafe Grant* we find "Cashellsilloge and Carraghagloone," showing that these were then distinct divisions. Cashellsillogé, from its position on the *P.M.*, adjoined, and seems to have included, the north-west portion of Quilca tld. *CAIPÉAL SÁITEÓIS*, *i.e.*, the circular stone fort of the willow, or willow, tree, is the evident derivation. In the tld. of Quilca and bordering Corragloon is the large circular moat flattened at the top and utilised as a summer theatre for the rehearsal of plays in the days of Thomas Sheridan and Dean Swift. The *P.M.* has a circular rath indicated in the tld. of "Cashil Selloge," adjoining Quilca, and it is quite evident that it represents the moat, which gave its name to the older sub-divisions.

50. LURGANVODE [Lurganaveele]. "Largauile" (*P.M.*); "Lurgaveele," *Commonwealth Grants*; "Lurganile," 1610 *Grants*; "Lurganvaille" (*C.L.*).

51. ARDLOGH [Ardlow]. "Arlogh" (*P.M.*); "Ardloho," *Fiants* of Eliz. 1602; "Arlogh," 1610 *Grants*; "Ardlough," *Commonwealth Grants*. The local pronunciation indicates the Gaelic form: *Eatartac*—*i.e.*, a valley or "low lands between two high lands." (*Cf.* "Glen of Aherlow" in the Galtee Mountains). The greater part of the tld. of Ardlow is marked "Mountain" and "Bog," on the *Down Survey*. "Ardlagh" (*C.L.*).

52. CLOVERNALENOWRAGH [Lenanavragh]. This large division also includes the present *O.S.* tlds. of Clonarny, Greaghnadarragh, Corlat and Crosscarn. "Clenarny" (*P.M.*); "Clovernalenorath," *Commonwealth Grants*. In the 1610 *Grants* we find "Clonarny"; "Lenenawragh" (*H.M.*). The prefix "clover" of the earlier spellings is probably *clochar*, *i.e.*, a stony place. The *Down Survey* has the small lake marked at the northern end of the tld.; the acreage of this "Lough" is 21a. 2r. 16p., according to the *Commonwealth Grants*. "Lisnawragh" (*C.L.*).

53. ACNAMADRON AND ARCHTKILLIBREED.—These tlds. are grouped together without any boundaries indicated. They constitute the southern part of the present tld. of "Rosehill," adjoining Mullagh; the northern portion of Rosehill is the "Aghamodoe" above referred to—No. 48 *supra*. Rosehill now includes all these older divisions. In the 1610 *Elliott Grant* we find mention of two divisions "Aghamada"—48 *supra*—and "Aghnemona," all being separate divisions. The *Commonwealth Grants* have "Enamadron and Archekillibride." Hence we see that both the *Commonwealth Grants* and the *Down Survey* group these divisions together. The *Cavan List* has three divisions, "Aghunemaddaw," "Aghukilbride," and "Aghunemony," containing five, four, and four Carvags, respectively. Neither "Aghukil-

bride" nor "Aghunemony" are now locally remembered; in fact, no mention of them has been found except in the references quoted.

None of these divisions are recorded on the 1609 *Plantation Map*, which has "Keilichonychan" instead; this seems to be the "manor of Kilcronehan," referred to in the *Elliott Grant*. The *Down Survey* has no record of it. Two references to this division have been found in the Jacobean Confiscations: "Killechony"—1615 Grant to Francis Annesley, and "Killichony"—Dowdall Grant of 1621.

From the *Books of Survey and Distribution** we find that the townland of "Aghamodoe" contained 120a. 1r. 8p., all profitable land, which, together with the adjoining tlds., was granted to Col. Robert Saunderson on June 22, 1666. The combined divisions of "Acnamadran and Archtkillibride" containing 302a. 3r. 8p., all profitable, were allotted to the same grantee. This would give the total acreage of all three tlds. to be 423a. 0r. 16p. The acreage of Mullagh is given as 301a. 2r. 32p.

It is now evident that the present tld. of Rosehill comprises five older sub-divisions, formerly distinct, viz., *Aghamodoe*, *Acnamadron*, *Aghukilbride*, *Aghnemona* and *Killichony*. The derivations of some of these titles is a matter for conjecture.† In the course of time the sub-divisions passed out of general use, and the entire tld. came to be known as "Aghanemaddae," which is the form given in the *Hearth Tax Rolls of 1664*.‡ The *Cavan List* form is almost the same (*supra*). In 1766 we find it as "Aghnamaddow" in the *Parochial Records* belonging to the Established Church.§ The local interpretation, Δε να Μάδαδ, *i.e.*, the ford of the dogs, is substantiated by a tradition which tells of (enchanted) dogs in the olden time crossing the River Borora, which forms the S.E. boundary of the tld. and separates it from Co. Meath.

The present title "Rosehill" is not older than the beginning of the last century. The Kellett family owned considerable property in the tld., and were possessed of wealth and influence

* *Journal*, vol. I, p. 134.

† Both "Aghamodoe" and Acnamadron" would be equivalent terms. Two words are in common use for a dog—μαδάδ and μάδαδ. As Joyce observes, μάδαδ is more usual in the south of Ireland and μαδάδ in the rest of the country. There must be some generic difference between the words; at any rate, in the present examples they are used to differentiate between two adjacent sub-divisions.

"Aghnemona," or "Aghunemony," as the *Cavan List* has it, is probably Δεαδ να μόνα, *i.e.*, the field of the bog; but it might be Δε να μυνε, *i.e.*, the ford of the shrubbery. "Killichony" would be Κοιττ αν Κοναδ, *i.e.*, the wood of the brush-wood, or fire-wood. It is probable that the tld. contained plenty of timber in far-off days. The south-western extremity of the present Rosehill, adjoining Rantavan, is locally called *Curragh*, *i.e.*, a marshy place, which is an apt designation.

‡ *Vide Journal*, vol. I, p. 147.

§ *Vide Journal*, vol. II, p. 95.

in the 18th century. I was informed by the late Mr. T. P. MacKenna of Mullagh, who took a keen interest in the history of the district, that Rosehill was named after a Miss Rose Kellett, who was a society celebrity in the closing years of the 18th century. In the Killinkere Register of Baptisms, belonging to the Established Church, we find record of the baptism of a Rose Kellett, daughter of James Kellett, of "Aghnamadda," on June 7, 1761. That she was identical with the Rose Kellett in whose honour the tld. was renamed there can be no doubt.

From the *Down Survey Map* it is evident that "Acnamadron and Archtkillibreed" adjoined the tld. of Rantavan (C. ✠ 3, *supra*), forming the S.E. boundary of the latter. Quite close to this boundary line where the present tlds. of Rosehill and Rantavan meet, and beside the ruins of Rantavan House—the home of the Brookes—there was a church in early times. Tradition tells that this church was burned down one Sunday morning during the Penal times and the people burned or slain.* A graveyard which surrounded the site of this church was uprooted and obliterated in the early part of the last century and the clay was scattered over the surrounding fields. The outline of the graveyard may still be traced in the field alongside the road. Even in recent times human bones have been unearthed here. This church is not indicated on any of the early maps; it seems to have been a minor ecclesiastical foundation and very probably belonged to the parish church of *Teampull Ceallaigh* which is about a mile distant.

From the evidence afforded by the early maps and the various references the present writer, who has made a careful survey of the topography of the district, identifies the site of this old church with the now obsolete tld. of *Archtkillibreed*. It is obvious that the tld. (now partly merged in Rantavan) received its name from this early church: *Δεσφ Cille Brigidie*, i.e., the *Field of St. Brigid's Church*." Although the tld. of *Aghukilbride* (the more correct form and that which is given by the *Cavan List*) is no longer remembered, yet the name must have been in general use in the early 18th century. It would seem to have included the southern portion of Rantavan, together with portion of Rosehill touching the Meath border. The church was, clearly, dedicated to St. Brigid, as the tld. name shows. Both church and tld. name have disappeared, but tradition points out the site of the former. The name of the former owner of the farm, who had the old graveyard uprooted, is still the subject of popular execration.

54. CLOGHWELY-OTRAGH [Cloghbally Upper]. "Cloghbally-

* *Journal*, vol. I, p. 150.

owtra," 1610 *Grants*. The *P.M.* has "Claghualli-beré"; the termination "beré" is evidently intended to be μὲρ, to distinguish it from Cloghbally-Beg (No. 45 *supra*). Although not a present-day *O.S.* tld., yet, "Cloghbally-more" is locally regarded as a distinct division. In the 1610 *Grants* we find "Cloghvally-more"; "Cloghweelotra," *Commonwealth Grants*; "Cloghbally-otragh" (*H.M.*); "Cloghvally-Otragh" (*C.L.*).

55. CLOGHWELY-ETRAGH [Cloghbally Lower]. "Cloghweel-eitra," *Commonwealth Grants*; "Cloghbally-iteragh" (*H.M.*). Both Cloghbally Upper and Lower are included in the "Cloghualli" of the *P.M.* When a tld. was divided into two parts the divisions were usually distinguished by the terms ὑΔΤΤΑΡ, *i.e.*, the upper part, and ἸΟΤΤΑΡ, *i.e.*, the lower part. In Breiffne, at least, the northern portion of a tld. is called the "lower" part, and the southern the "upper" part. The *C.L.* has "Cloghvally-Ittragh."

G. B., THE GREAT BOGG.—The *Down Survey* shows this extending in a continuous chain from Murmod to the Meath border. The *Commonwealth Grants* describe it as "A Great Redd Bog of the adjacent towns," unprofitable, and containing 1709a. 1r. 24p. On the *P.M.* it is called "Monuorogata Bog": μὲρ μῆδων ἢ κατὰ, *i.e.*, the marshy meadow, or bogland, of the cats. The wild-cat—*felix catus*—although now extinct in Ireland, was formerly very common, as our place-nomenclature testifies; it still exists in the Scottish Highlands. The S.E. extremity of the Great Bog—locally called the "Big Bog"—is in the tld. of Feegat (ἸἸΟῦ ἢ κατὰ, *i.e.*, the wood of the wild-cats), in Co. Meath.

A. CROWFAD AND MELTRAN [Corfad]. "Corfadd and Meltran," *Commonwealth Grants*.—This has been anglicised "Longfield," an appellation applied by Henry Brooke, who, with his family, retired here in 1774. Traces of the residence of the Brookes still exist. The sub-denomination "Meltran" is no longer remembered; it is obviously ΜΑΘΙ ὄρησιμ, *i.e.*, the bare ridge, a derivation which the configuration of the tld. confirms. The *P.M.* divides the tld. into two parts: "Polotrach Corrada" and "Politra Coriada," *i.e.*, upper and lower polls, or divisions, of Corfad. In the 1610 *Grants* to Roger Garth both divisions are also specified, *viz.*, "Pollowtracorrada," and "Polleightracorrada." The *C.L.* form is "Cortadda": κορ ῥάδα, *i.e.*, the long hill.

56. CLOHERGULE [Cloghergoole].—Cleyargoule" (*P.M.*); "Cloyergoole," 1610 *Grants*. The *Commonwealth Grants*, and *H.M. Rolls*, also the *C.L.*, have the same form of the name as is used at the present day.

57. ENAGH. "Antenah" (*P.M.*); this shows that the definite

article (Δn) was formerly prefixed, but not permanently incorporated, as frequently happens elsewhere. The *Commonwealth Grants* have the present spelling: "Ennagh" (*C.L.*).

KILLINKERE PARISH: LOUGHTEE PRECINCT.

1. LISANAGHMORE [Lisannymore]. "Lisanamore" (*P.M.*). "Lissanymore" (*C.L.*); "Lisanemore," 1617 *Grants* (*supra*).

2. COOLENACOLIE [Coolnacola]. "Coolenacoala," 1610 *Grants*; "Coolnecola" (*C.L.*).

3. GREAGHNAFARNE.—All the older spellings are practically the same. "Greaghneferne," 1610 *Grants*; "Greaghnefarna" (*P.M.*); "Greaghnafarna" (*C.L.*).

C. ✕ 4. BALLICLANPHILLIP [Clannaphillip or Termon]. "Dehernan" (*P.M.*) and 1610 *Grants*. In the *Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls*, 1626, it is spelled "Dehernan." The Parish Church or Hospital, of "Ballyclanphillip" was in this tld. The adjoining tld. of Carricknamaddoo, which is not entered on the earlier maps, was, at least, partly included in this tld.; the *C.L.* has "Carrignamaddoo" (*Cj.* No. 48 *supra*).

The *P.M.* of Loughtee has "Kilnacrivy" with a ruined church indicated; this is the Hospital of Ballyclanphillip. The tld. form "Kilnacrivy" is now obsolete, although it was recognised in the early 18th century. The *C.L.* has "Killnecreevy" valued at six carvags. Three adjacent tlds. shown on the *P.M.*, but now no longer remembered are "Coborchosan," "Lisconiney," and "Dromheriue." From its position on the *P.M.* the tld. of "Coborchosan" (or, more probably, "Cahorchosan") would seem to have been situated to the north of Lissannymore, and appears to have occupied the northern part of the latter tld. In the 1617 *Grants* (*supra*) we find "Cabercossan and Lisanevore." The former is not recorded in the *C.L.*, but "Lissanymore" is entered as containing the comparatively large number of nine carvags. East of Lisannymore, and occupying the southern end of the present tld. of Termon, the *P.M.* has "Lisconiney." This is the "Lisclony" of the *C.L.* containing six carvags.

"Dromheriue," as shown by the *P.M.*, seems to have included the central portion of the present-day tld. of Termon, together with the southern end of Greaghnafarna adjacent to Derryham. It is not shown on the *Down Survey*, nor is it mentioned in the *C.L.*

The present tld. of Clannaphillip, or Termon comprises, therefore, the older sub-divisions of Killnecreevy, Lisclony, and Dromheriue, the first-named occupying the northern portion, together with portion of Carricknamaddoo. Caborchosan may have included portion of Termon. It may be pointed out that

Termon is not recorded on any of the earlier maps, nor is it mentioned in any of the earlier lists, or *Inquisitions*. The title, Ballyclanphillip is given in the *Down Survey* and is an *alias* for Termon. The *P.M.* preserves for us the titles of the original tlds. which comprised the church lands belonging to the ancient church. All traces of the ancient church and monastery of Clannaphillip have long since been swept away.

The *P.M.* has the northern end of Killinkere Parish marked "Sleugorie Mountain." This would include the tlds. of Bogesky, Moylett, and Carricknamaddoo, all of which are absent from the *P.M.*

Since the older sub-divisions are no longer remembered we cannot with any degree of certainty establish their original Gaelic forms. But the following tentative interpretations may be accepted as very probable:

KILLNECREEVY.—CILL NA CROIBHE, church of (or beside) the branchy tree. It is locally believed that the church was constructed of wood, which would suggest a similar interpretation.

LISCLOONY.—LIOR CLUANA, the fort of the meadow.

DROMHERIUE.—DROMH CARRB, the ridge of the bull.

CABORCHOSAN.—The first part of the name seems to be CACAIR a circular stone fort, and the second part is evidently CARRAN, a path. This would give "the stone fort by the path."

A topographical survey of the district, with note of its physical features, and ancient raths, would establish the locations of most of these obsolete divisions. It would be an excellent lesson in local geography as well as a valuable contribution to local history. I would recommend this as furnishing excellent materials for the geography classes in the National Schools throughout the county.

C. ✕ 5. DURIAN ([Derryham]. This was also Church Land. "Doriam" (*P.M.*); "Durryham" (*C.L.*).

M. MOYLET. "Moylett" (*C.L.*).

M. I. BEGALLY [Bogesky]. Marked "Part of Gory Mountain."

The acreages of the tlds. together with the names of the native owners in 1641 and the Grantees under the Act of Settlement (1652) will be found in the *Books of Survey and Distribution*. The lists for Killinkere and Mullagh—Castlerahan portion—have already appeared in these pages.* The following list is for the Loughtee portion of Killinkere. The names of the Proprietors in 1641 are on the left; the names of the Grantees, with date of certificate, are on the right. The letter B ✕ signifies Bishops' Land; b, and M, are bog and mountain, respectively.

* *Journal*, vol. I, pp. 130 *et. seq.*

KILLINKEAR PARISH. LOUGHTEE BARONY.

		A. R. P.			A. R. P.					
SIR	1	Lissanmore	305	2	16	305	2	16	} Colonel Robert Sanderson by Cert., 22 June, 1666. R. 2, P. 146.
WILLIAM	1b.	In the same ...	...	85	0	16	Unprofitable		
HILL,	2	Coolnacolly ...	...	68	3	8	68	3	8
Irish	2b.	In the same ...	...	52	3	8	Unprofitable.		
Protestant.	3	Graghnafarney ...	...	130	0	0	130	0	0
	3v.	In the same ...	...	92	2	16	Unprofitable.		
	M.	Goury mt. <i>alias</i> Car-								
		rignamad ...	...	10	2	32	10	2	32
	M.1.	In the same ...	...	228	0	16	Unprofitable.		
	M.2.	Boggasky, part of								
		Goury mount. ...	...	224	2	32	Unprofitable		
	M.a.	In the same ...	...	18	3	24	18	3	24
WILLIAM	B. ✕4.	Ballyclan Phillip	469	1	24	469	1	24	} ✕ B. Bishops' Land.
BEDELL,	b.	In the same ...	...	32	0	16	Unprofitable		
[Prot.]	B. ✕5	Durian ...	...	170	1	24	170	1	24
Bishop of Killmore.	b.	In the same ...	...	41	3	24	Unprofitable		
	M.v.	Moylet	65	1	24	Unprofitable.			

It is evident that the surveyors who executed the *Down Survey* did their work exhaustively and with great care. Sir William Petty, its director, was an able statistician and completed the entire Survey of Ireland in a little over a year—a great achievement in those days.

The tlds., for very obvious reasons, are not arranged in geographical order; they were grouped together and allotted in parcels to the various grantees. The 1609 Plantation Map, apart from its defective orientation and sometimes unintelligible spellings, is not so reliable as the Down Survey. A comparison of these early tld. maps—1609 and 1654—with the present-day O.S. Index Map, will prove an interesting study in local topography. These maps are available for every parish in Breiffne, and show ruined churches, forts, rivers, castles, etc. No study of local history is complete without the use of these maps. Although the tld. names may sometimes appear under rather unrecognizable forms, yet we must remember that these names were generally written down as pronounced; in this way we obtain occasionally valuable clues to their derivations.

The *Act of Settlement* sounded the death knell of native Irish proprietorship. The ownership of the land was destined to undergo a fundamental change; the former landowners were either deprived of the whole of their estates or compelled to forfeit the greater portion. But, as we have already discussed in these pages,* the great mass of the people—the tenants and cultivators—were found to be indispensable and thus escaped the fate meted out to their superiors in station.

HEARTH TAX ROLLS OF 1664.

The *Hearth Tax Rolls* preserve the names of the principal householders in Killinkere and Mullagh in 1664. The list has already been given in these pages.† The location of the principal families of the parishes in 1664 can be established from these records. With one or two possible exceptions the householders were all Irish. In all 123 people in Killinkere Parish, including Mullagh, paid for one hearth each, and in no case were two hearths entered. Calculating on Sir William Petty's basis of an average of five persons to each family, the total population of the united parishes would have been about 615. But, as already explained, Petty's estimates were certainly too low.‡ However, it must be remembered that the country had then passed through a very troubled period, from 1640 to 1660, when war, famine and confiscation had wrought havoc among the native population.

* *Journal*, vol. II, pp. 275 *et seq.*

† *Journal*, vol. I, p. 147.

‡ *Journal*, vol. III, p. 64.

The *Down Survey* shows that nearly one half of Killinkere Parish consisted of bog and unprofitable land. This helps to explain why the district escaped the Jacobean confiscations, and why the native Irish were left to enjoy a longer period of security from molestation.

THE BOUNDARIES OF SLIABH GUAIRE.

The eastern boundary of the ancient district of *Sliabh Guaire* passed through and included portion of the western end of Killinkere Parish. This was the patrimony of the O'Reilly Clan. On the death of Philip O'Reilly of Ballinacargy in 1596 his estates were forfeited and soon afterwards, on 5th March, 1613, an *Inquisition* was held at Cavan to determine the extent and boundaries of Sliabh Guaire. A later *Inquisition*, held at Tullyvin, 21st August, 1618, defined the boundaries of this mountainous district. The great topographical importance of this *Inquisition* has already been referred to.*

The old territorial division of Sliabh Guaire is frequently referred to in the early Annals. The *Four Masters*, *sub anno* 1054, record that:—

Loch Suidhe Odhrain in Sliabh Guaire stole away in the end of the night of the festival of St. Michael and went into the Feabhail, a thing that has not been heard of from ancient times.

A similar record occurs in the *Annals of Ulster*, *Annals of Loch Cé Chronicum Scotorum*, and *Annals of Tighearnach*. Loch Suidhe Odhrain is now represented by Seoran tld., in Knockbride Parish. "Sioran" is the *P.M.* form. The Feabhail has been identified with the upper portion of the Blackwater flowing into Loch Ramor.† From the geographical point of view the surmise is undoubtedly correct.

The *Inquisition* of 1618 traces the boundaries of Sliabh Guaire, proceeding in an unbroken line over a large area. Passing through Knockbride Parish by the—

rock of DROMAGNEHALL [Drumhillagh] and thus from thence the mere [*i.e.* boundary] of the aforesaid mountain [*i.e.* Sliabh Guaire] extends itself through another pool as far as a river placed as a mere between the parcel of mountain land called SIFFIN [Seefin] and DROMEN‡ in the aforesaid

* *Journal*, vol. III, p. 31. The complete document will be found in the *Patent Rolls*, 19 James I.

† *Cf. Journal*, vol. I, p. 18.

‡ In O'Donovan's notes (*Letters from Cavan*, 1836) this division is located in Drumgoon Parish. This is an obvious error; the tld. was evidently a sub-division of Seefin.

barony [Clankee]; and from thence to another pool which lies near the land of SIFFIN aforesaid and the parcel of land called TONEFOILE [Tonyfoyle] and from thence to a river which runs between the land of DROMENASPICKE [in Killann Parish] in the said barony of Clanchy; and from thence through a valliculum (*i.e.*, small valley) on the mountain of GREAGHMACISTIN placed as a mere between the parcel of mountain called GREAGHMACISTIN aforesaid and the land of the barony of Clanchie; and thus from thence through a pool lying between GREAGHCLITTY parcel of the aforesaid mountain and GREAGHCLAGH adjacent to said mountain; and from thence through a little river which is the mere between GREAGHCLITTY aforesaid and GREAGHDOSSAN in the barony of Castlerahan; and from thence through a pool lying as a mere between FEARTNAMANOGE parcel of the aforesaid mountain and GREAGHNEDOSSAN; and from thence the said pool is the mere between GREAGHNECROSS, GREAGHDONGERRY, LISNABREAR and LISMALLAGH parcels of the aforesaid mountain and COOLNECALLY [Coolnacola] adjacent to the said mountain; and from thence the said pool is the mere as far as a miry moor lying as a mere between GOOLAGH [Gola], parcel of the said mountain and DOREYM [Derryham] adjacent to said mountain; and thus from thence the said miry moor is the mere as far as a little river which flows into a lake called Loughmoylet [Moylett], and thus the said lake lying and placed as a mere between the aforesaid mountain, *viz.*, between the parcel of land called BROCKLIN parcel of the said mountain, and a certain poll called GREAGHNEROGE adjacent to the said mountain and from thence to a little pool which is the mere between GREAGHCROT TAGH, parcel of the aforesaid mountain and GREAGHNEROGE aforesaid, and from thence to an old fosse lying as a mere between LENOGES parcel of the aforesaid mountain and KILNECRIVY adjacent to said mountain, and from thence through a miry moor which lies between Lenoges aforesaid and the town of ARDONE being church land; and thus from thence through a pool lying as a mere between CARGAGHNEMADERY [Carricknamaddoo] and KNOCKNEGAWNAGH parcels of the aforesaid mountain and ARDRONE in the said county; and from thence to a great pool lying as a mere between BOGAISKY [Bogesky], parcel of the aforesaid mountain and LURGANURE; and thus from thence through a river lying as a mere between KNOCKECHOLLY, parcel of the said mountain, and DRUM-EYSTAGH [Drumestagh]; and from thence the said river is a mere as far as another river lying as a mere between the parcel of mountain land called KNOCKLAHAN and SRAGHMIC-NEBO [Stravicnabo]; and thus the said river is the mere between EDDENEFORAN, parcel of the aforesaid mountain

and a certain pole of land called DROMEDERDAEISKY* adjacent to said mountain ; and from thence the said river is the mere between LURGABOY (mountain land) and a certain pole called the "meritagh of Mullymagavan" [Mullymagowan] ; and thus from thence through a pool as far as a lake called Loughpick and from thence to another lake called Loughpack and so to another lake called LOUGHBURNROUSK ; and from thence to another pool which is the mere between Greaghloskinligh parcel of the aforesaid mountain and Tirelehode [Tirlahode] adjacent to the said mountain ; and from thence the said pool is the mere between Kedinesheragh parcel of the aforesaid mountain and Loygittatty and from thence through a miry moor lying as a mere between the two MOYLAN [Moylett ?], leaving one of the same adjacent to the said mountain, as parcel of the said mountain ; and thus from thence the middle of a moor lying as a mere between "the two Greaghnegibbins" [Greaghagibney] and the STURRIL,† parcels of the aforesaid mountain, and BRACKLAGH adjacent to the said mountain ; and thus to a lake called the "LOUGH OF THE STURRIL," [Loch Sturil, between Greaghagibney and Carrickacroman] as far as the river of BELANAGRAGH, leaving Belanagiragh aforesaid to the said mountain as parcel of the same ; and thus from thence through a little river at KNOCKTEGART [Knockataggart] to the aforesaid mountain as parcel of the same ; and from thence through a pool and an old fosse which are the meres between GREAGHEVIRRIN, parcel of the aforesaid mountain and MONECASS. . . .

The south-west boundary of Sliabh Guaire here indicated passes through the parishes of Killann, Knockbride, Killinkere, Lavey and Laragh. Many of the placenames mentioned will be easily recognised, but others seem to have had a purely local significance and are now forgotten. Even the early maps do not afford much assistance in the work of identification, as the names of sub-divisions, lakes, bogs, rivers, etc., were not noted. The wealth of detail in describing the boundary tends to confuse the modern topographer ; the document is a proof of the number and variety of placenames in use during the early 17th century. Many of the designations are now obsolete, but the various physical features described can be traced locally in the unbroken line followed by the *Inquisition*. The portion of the boundary just described passes through a hilly region with numerous small lakes, streams and bogs ; hence the irregularity of the boundary will easily be understood. Unfortunately, O'Donovan's notes on this *Inquisition* are both scanty and imperfect, the geographical continuity is ignored and many of the identifications are inaccurate.

* The *Down Survey* group the following tlds. together, but without indicating the boundaries : " Gragnehimney, Carrickeroman, Knocktegard, and Dromederdaiske part of Slewogore Mountaine."

† " Gragnegibbeney and Stirrill "—*Down Survey*.

It need hardly be stated that the great topographer himself was not responsible for this portion of the work.

The limits of Sliabh Guaire are defined with great precision, and all that remains is the identification of the various sub-divisions and physical features. A close study of the boundary will be an interesting historical task for the topographer. But only a person well acquainted with the district could do full justice to the subject. The present writer has attempted to locate some of the places mentioned in the neighbourhood of Lower Killinkere. The search proved an interesting one although the irregularity of the boundary and the hilly nature of the district (not to speak of the roads which have never felt the influence of MacAdam !) made the task a difficult one. The physical features described in the *Inquisition* can easily be traced, even though their various names no longer survive. The visitor to the district who takes up a position on the highest point of Carricknamaddoo and by means of a map follows the boundary line will observe immediately the wisdom of the old-time geographer who first established the boundaries of Sliabh Guaire. These rocky hills with innumerable little lakes and winding streams were nature's frontiers against invasion from the south and east, and the proud chieftains of Sliabh Guaire possessed a natural barrier which rendered their territory less liable to enemy attack.

A discussion on the boundaries of Sliabh Guaire, as preserved for us in the report of the 1618 *Inquisition*, must be deferred for another occasion. Here again are abundant materials for local research, and a close study of local topography will be necessary before the various sub-divisions can be identified with certainty.

II—ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

The *Calendar of Papal Registers*, under date March, 1406, records the :

Mandate to collate and assign to Donald Oqueorgan, clerk [in Holy Orders], of the Diocese of Kilmore, the rectory without cure, value not exceeding 3 marks,* so long void that there is no certain knowledge of the manner of its

* The mark was worth $13/4$ in the money of the time. Its comparative value at the present time would be an interesting problem for economists; it would probably be at least 30 times as great.

In 1306 the rent and revenues of the Bishop of Kilmore was valued at 10 marks; the lands in Cavan then belonging to the Abbots of Kells and Fore were valued at 5 and 11 marks, respectively (Sweetman's *Calendar of Documents*, vol. V, p. 213).

voidance,* of the parish church of SS. Wygyr and Wulstan (Ultani) Killincheir *alias* Mullachlaydidy in the said diocese, which, although it has a rector, is governed by a perpetual vicar who has the cure of the parishioners.

At that period the parish, as is evident from this statement, included both Killinkere and Mullagh. Thus the benefice of Killinkere had charge of both churches, indicating a temporary amalgamation.

The ancient parishes of Killinkere and Mullagh comprised at least four distinct ecclesiastical foundations, viz. :—Killinkere, Raffony, Ballyclanphillip, and Mullagh. Ballyclanphillip is situated in the Barony of Loughtee; the others are in Castlerahan. Each was under separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and had its own share of termon lands. Although these churches, or ecclesiastical units, were distinct, yet they must have been partly dependent on each other; but the exact extent of their ecclesiastical inter-dependence cannot be fully discussed in the present paper. As will be seen later they belonged to the Abbey of Fore, Co. Westmeath, and when this abbey was confiscated in 1539 its minor dependencies were soon destined to suffer the same fate. However, their comparative poverty, together with the fact that Breiffne was not finally conquered until the closing years of Elizabeth's reign, deferred the dread day of their dissolution, and not until 1590 were they definitely singled out for confiscation.

Raffony is now included in Mullagu Parish; its history has much in common with that of the other churches of the neighbourhood.

The *Inquisition* taken at Cavan 19th September, 1590, to determine the value and extent of the termon lands in Cavan, found that: the Termon or Hospital of KILLINKEARE, containing two polls or cartrons in the said county, pertain, and ought to pertain to our said lady the Queen and are worth two shillings Irish money *per ann.*†

The same *Inquisition* found that the Termon or Hospital of BALLYCLANNY PHILIP [Clannaphillip] containing three polls or cartrons was worth three shillings *per ann.*; also that the termon or Hospital of RAHAUNA [Raffony] containing 1 poll or cartron was worth 12 pence *per ann.* The termon or Hospital of RAMTAVIN [Mullagh] containing two polls or cartrons was worth two shillings *per ann.* The entries in Archdall's List‡, of the Cavan Hospitals correspond with those of the 1590 *Inquisition*. The spellings given by Archdall will easily be recognised, viz., "Kilin-keire," "Balliclamy-Philip," and "Rahaura."

* During the last half of the 14th century Breiffne was in a state of war which caused much confusion; this seems to have been the cause of the voidance.

† 32 Eliz., *Excheq. Inquis.*, No. 3, P.R.O., Dublin.

‡ *Monasticon Hibernicum*, 1st ed. *Addenda*, p. 783.

The details furnished by this *Inquisition* enable us to determine the comparative values of the Hospital lands at the time of the Elizabethan confiscations. Clannaphillip, with its three polls, had the largest share, while Raffony with one poll had the smallest: With the exception of Moybolge—which also possessed three polls—Clannaphillip was more richly endowed with termon lands than any of the other churches in the neighbourhood.

The church lands, now the property of the English Crown, were allotted to Royal favourites. In 1606 Sir Garrett Moore, of Mellifont, Co. Louth, was granted, *inter alia* :

The termons, or hospitals of KILLENEKEIRE, two polls, rent five shillings; BALLYCLANYPHILLIP, three polls, rent seven shillings and six pence; RATHAWNA, one poll, rent two shillings and six pence; RAMTAVIN [Mullagh], two polls, rent five shillings.*

A later Commission which sat in Cavan on 25th September, 1609, explains in greater detail the status of the Cavan Hospitals. The object of this Commission was to secure the termon lands for the Established Church. The Report of the Commission specifies that the Bishop [Prot.] of Kilmore, "is entitled, in right of his See, to the rents issuing out of the several termon lands following in the barony of Castlerahan, viz. :—"[†]

Ranetaven [Rantavan], 2 polls, 33s. 4d. ; Rahone [Raffony], 1 poll, 1s. 4d., and Killenkerrie, 2 polls, 1s. 8d., which 5 polls are in the parish of Mollagh Mollagh, containing 5 ballybetaghs[‡] and 5 polls, whereof 8 polls, viz. : the 3 polls of the termon land of Balliconphillip [Clannaphillip], and the 5 polls of Lissanymore, are in the barony of Loughtie, the parsonage impropriate to the late prior of Four [Fore], and the vicarage collative, the tithes are paid in kind, $\frac{1}{3}$ to the vicar, excepting thereout the 5 polls in the barony of Castlerahan and the eight polls in the barony of Loughtee, and the $\frac{1}{3}$ of the tithe of the said 8 polls are paid to the Bishop of Kilmore as his mensal lands, also $\frac{2}{3}$ of the tithes of the 5 polls in the barony of Castlerahan, and the vicar pays 12 shillings proxies

The great Benedictine Abbey of Fore, Co. Westmeath, to which these churches belonged, had already been confiscated in 1539. § In the report of the 1609 *Inquisition* it will be observed that Mullagh ("Mollagh") is the parish title, with the four specified ecclesiastical units included.

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

[†] *Cavan Inquis.*, 1609; *Patent Rolls*, 7 James I.

[‡] The *Ballybet*—Βαίτε βιαύταις, *i.e.*, the town (or townland) of the vicar—was a unit of land of variable extent. According to the approximations of Reeves it was about 1,000 acres. But its extent would be inversely proportional to the quality of the land, within certain limits. See *Journal* vol. I, p. 306.

§ *Journal*, vol. III, p. 69.

Referring to the 1609 Map of Castlerahan Barony we find that there is no indication of the churches of Mullagh, Raffony or Killinkere. Hence we may infer that at that time the churches had already been ruinous and deserted. The Elizabethan wars had caused much destruction, and the proximity of Killinkere to Kells—one of the frontier towns of the English Pale—left it exposed to frequent attack. From the days of Dermot MacMurrough, of evil memory, the district around Kells was the scene of many conflagrations. The *Four Masters*, A.D. 1170, tell us that Kells, Kilskyre, Dulane, Castlekieran, and other churches in Meath, were burned by Dermot and his allies. Although history is silent on the point yet, we may conjecture that the Breiffne borders were sometimes invaded and the borderland swept by fire and sword.* Tradition, indeed, supports our conjecture. In the Parish of Laragh—the stronghold of the MacBradys—adjoining Killinkere, there is a tradition that a Father MacBrady was murdered at the cross-roads of Clifferna by the soldiers of Dermot MacMurrough. This is very probably an echo of Dermot's predatory incursion of 1170.

From the 12th century onward the power of the native Breiffne chieftains was sufficient guarantee for the safety and protection of these ecclesiastical foundations. Well endowed with termonlands, and enjoying the patronage of the chieftains, the Hospitals flourished for centuries as the centres of religious life and learning—the Universities of the Middle Ages. But the troubles of the 16th century, and the confiscation of the great Abbeys of Kells, Fore, etc., heralded the dissolution of the Breiffne Hospitals. *Delenda est Carthago* was now the slogan, and the Hospitals passed into ruin and desolation.

The fact that the churches of Mullagh, Raffony and Killinkere are not marked on the 1609 map indicates that they had been already in ruins and abandoned. A later *Inquisition*, held in 1620, reported that only eighteen churches in Kilmore Diocese were then in use for religious services;† but none of the Castlerahan churches are included in the list.

The 1609 Map of Loughtee shews a ruined church in the tld. of "Kilnacrivy," adjoining Doriem [Derryham] and Greaghnefarna. This is the parish church, or hospital, of Clannaphillip. Neither Carricknamaddoo nor Clannaphillip are marked, but evidently Kilnacrivy—now an obsolete title—was intended to designate the division in which the church was situated. The same map has three adjoining divisions—all now obsolete—"Caborchosan,"

* In the early part of the 16th century the north-west boundaries of the English Pale passed through the following places in Co. Meath:—RATHMORE, HILL OF LYDE [Hill of Lloyd, a mile west of Kells], MULDAGHEHEGHE [tld. of Mullaghey, two miles north of Kells], Teltown, DONAGHPATRICK, CLONCALL, SIDDAN, etc. (*Alan's Register*, fol. 150). This shows that the north-west limits of the Pale approached fairly close to the Breiffne border.

† *Journal*, vol. II, p. 204.

"Lisconiney," and "Dromheraue," now constituting the townlands of Termon and Lisannymore. Clannaphillip is not included in the 1620 *List of Churches* then in use for religious services.

The *Books of Survey and Distribution* (1641)* show that the church lands in Killinkere amounted to 426a. 3r. 0p., then belonging to the Bishop (Prot.) of Kilmore. Of this 48a. 1r. 16p. are described as unprofitable and consisting of bog. The tld. of Beagh was also church land but was not created as such until 1626; on the *Down Survey* it is marked "Bach gleab land," and containing 311a. 3r. 24p. arable, with 72a. 0r. 16p. unprofitable. In the 1641 *Book of Surveys* it is described as "Glebe Land last in possession of Daniel Creno, Protestant Minister." These returns show that in the parish of Killinkere (Castlerahan portion), and not including the church lands of Raffony and Mullagh, the Established Church was then in possession of at least 810a. 3r. 0p.

The church lands of Clannaphillip, in Loughtee Barony, included the present tlds. of Clannaphillip, Derryham, Lisannymore, and Carricknamaddoo. From the *Books of Survey and Distribution* we find that in 1641, Ballyclan-Phillip contained 469a. 1r. 24p., arable, with 32a. 0r. 16p., unprofitable; Durian [Derryham] had 170a. 1r. 24p., arable, with 41a. 3r. 24p. unprofitable. Both these tlds., containing in all 713a. 3r. 8p., then belonged to William Bedell (Prot.) Bishop of Kilmore. In 1641 neither Lisannymore nor Carricknamaddoo are included in the *List of Church Lands*. Both the tlds. of Lisannymore, containing 305a. 2r. 16p. arable, and 85a. 0r. 16p. unprofitable, and Carricknamaddoo, with only 10a. 2r. 32p., arable, and 228a. 0r. 16p., unprofitable, were then in possession of Sir William Hill, and were granted in 1666 under the *Act of Settlement* to Col. Robert Sanderson. The *Down Survey* marks as Church Land both Clannaphillip and Derryham. The modern O.S. tld. of Termon corresponds with the "Balliclan-Phillip" of the *Down Survey* and *Commonwealth Grants*. According to the 1609 *Inquisition* (*supra*) Clannaphillip contained 3 polls whereas Lisannymore contained 5 polls. However, from the respective acreages given by the *Commonwealth Grants* it is evident that Clannaphillip was the more extensive. Without entering here on the perplexing problem of the indeterminate extent of the Poll it seems fairly obvious that the original church lands of Clannaphillip—constituting the 3 polls definitely specified by the 1590 and 1609 *Inquisitions* and the 1606 *Grants*—did not include the entire townland. But by inference from the statement of the 1609 *Inquisition* which specifies the "3 polls of the termon lands" of Clannaphillip, we may conclude that the 3 polls mentioned represented only a portion of the termon lands attached to the Hospital church. Assuming that a poll here contained about 50 acres of arable land it would be difficult to reconcile

* *Vide Journal*, vol. I, p. 130.

the various estimates. But it must be conceded that the phraseology of the *Inquisition* is somewhat vague. From the Reports of the *Inquisitions* it will be seen that Clannaphillip was more richly endowed than Killinkere.

The old parish church or Hospital, of Killinkere, now in ruins, is in the tld. of Gallon. The O.S. tlds. of Gallon, Cargagh, Corratinner and Greaghnacunnia correspond with the tld. of "Killinkeere" as shown by the *Down Survey* and *Act of Settlement Grants*. None of these four tlds. mentioned are recorded by the early maps. The 1609 map of Loughtee has marked "Logh Kilganohan of Castlerahin," the position of which is represented by the present tld. of Gallon, and obviously refers to the little lake adjoining the tld. The word Gallon (ḡalún) signifies a land measure, and it is quite obvious that there was some qualifying word which has since dropped out of use. What this qualifying word must have been we can infer from the "Kilganohan" of the 1609 map, and also from the fact of the ruined church being in the tld.; the missing word is CILL, *i.e.*, a church. Hence the tld. name signifies the gallon, or land measure, of the church. This church is not marked on the *Down Survey* and seems to have been in ruins before 1609. If these are not the actual ruins of the original "little black church"—CILLÍN CILL—it is manifest that, at least, they occupy the site.

The parish title is derived from the name of the original tld. which contained the parish church. But Killinkere is no longer used to designate any particular tld.; it only survives as the parish title. Some parallels have already been discussed in these pages. Killinkere as a distinct tld. was recognised at the time of the *Commonwealth Grants*, and is given in 1664 by the *Hearth Tax Rolls*. Since that time the name has ceased to be applied to the tld., and the four tlds., mentioned above, and which were evidently sub-denominations, are recognised instead. As indicated by the *Down Survey* the original name was applied to the district around the church, and obviously included a number of sub-denominations. The original name is yet locally applied, however, to the present parish church, which is in the tld. of Corratinner, and is very properly called "Upper Killinkere."

The Hospital of Clannaphillip was in the tld. of that name, now usually called Termon, where the Catholic church of Clannaphillip—Lower Killinkere—now stands. This church in ruins is shown, as already observed, on the 1609 Map and in a tld. marked "Kilnacrivy" now obsolete. The *Down Survey* has "Balliclanphillip"; the *Commonwealth Grants* (*supra*) "Ballyclan-Phillip," and the earlier *Inquisitions* agree. All traces of the ancient church have long since disappeared.

Clannaphillip is the abbreviated form of BAILE CLAMNE PHILIP, *i.e.*, "the town of Philip's descendants." Philip was, of course, the great hereditary Christian name of the O'Reillys. The

Gaelic word *Clann* may be translated as race, children, descendants, etc. It frequently happened that the tribal name in ancient Ireland was derived from some worthy ancestor. As O'Donovan notes :—

It is now universally admitted that the ancient names of tribes in Ireland were not derived from the territories they inhabited, but from certain of their distinguished ancestors. In nine cases out of ten names of territories and of the tribes inhabiting them are identical.*

By prefixing certain words, or by postfixing others, the names of tribes were formed from those of their ancestors, and in turn the names of the territories were derived from the tribal names. Other examples are found in Breiffne, *e.g.*, Clankee (barony) is *Clann an Daoic*, *i.e.*, the descendants of the one-eyed man, who was *Μαλλ σαοc* *Ο Ραγαλλαις*, *obit.* 1330†. Another prefixing word is *Μυντεαρ* signifying family, or descendants, and we have already shown in these pages that the parish of Munterconacht derives its title from Cuconnacht, another worthy scion of the O'Reilly family.‡

We find from the *O'Reilly Pedigree* that Giolla Iosa Ruadh O'Reilly, who founded Cavan Abbey, A.D. 1300, had thirteen sons, one of whom was named Philip. Furthermore, it is recorded that Philip's descendants resided in the district of Mullagh.§ Again, the *Pedigree* tells that “to the family of Edmund (*ριοcc* *Εδουμν*) belong the people of Drummallaght (*Μυντεαρ* *ορομα* *Μαλλαιcc*).” The tld. of Drummallaght, near Clannaphillip, was an O'Reilly seat. From the genealogy of the O'Reillys, detailed in the *Pedigree*, we find that Edmond was son of Conchobhar Mór, son of Shane, son of Philip, son of Giolla Iosa Ruadh. Conchobhar Mór had three sons, *viz.*, Conchobhar Óge, Edmond, and Thomas, and the first-named lived at Ballaghanea in Lurgan parish.||

From another passage in the *Pedigree* we learn that Conchobhar Mór, father of Edmond, erected the Castle of Mullagh. Hence the descendants of Philip possessed the parishes of Mullagh, Killinkere, and Lurgan. Edmond, who was the head of the Drummallaght branch, was a great-grandson of Philip. It is clear that the territory of Ballyclanphillip received its title from this Philip O'Reilly, son of Giolla Iosa Ruadh.

Giolla Iosa Ruadh O'Reilly died at an advanced age in the year 1330, and was buried in the Abbey of Cavan, which he had

* Topographical Poems of O'Dugan and O'Heeren—O'Donovan's Introduction.

† Duffy's *Hibernian Magazine*, Jan., 1861, p. 38.

‡ *Journal*, vol. II, p. 263.

§ Cf. *Journal*, vol. I, p. 118.

|| *Journal*, vol. I, p. 19.

founded 30 years previously; his virtues are extolled by the *Annalists* (*Four Masters, Annals of Ulster, and Annals of Loch Cé, sub anno 1330*). The subsequent and rather untr tranquil career of his son, Philip, is of interest. In 1365 Cu-Chonnacht O'Reilly, son of Giolla Iosa Ruadh, resigned the Kingship of Breiffne and joined the Friars; "a spirited and powerful king" the *Annalists* call him. His brother Philip succeeded; but four years later, in 1369, was deposed by his kinsmen, taken prisoner, and put "in fetters"—according to the *Pedigree*—in the Castle of Loch Uachtair. War now raged in Breiffne. Maghnus O'Reilly seized the kingship but the followers of Philip, aided by the MacMahons of Oirghialla (*i.e.*, Louth and Monaghan), inflicted a crushing defeat on Maghnus in the battle of Blenacup (in Kilmore parish), in July of the same year.* But this did not secure the prisoner's release. Towards the end of the year Philip's son-in-law, MacGuire, lord of Fermanagh, sailed up the Erne with a fleet, captured the castle of Loch Uachtair, and released Philip, who re-assumed the lordship of Breiffne.† The year 1369 was therefore an eventful one for Philip O'Reilly; it witnessed his deposition, imprisonment and re-instatement. The whirligig of time soon had its revenge, for in the following year the usurping Maghnus was seized and was, in turn, thrown into the dungeons of Loch Uachtair Castle, where probably he died.

Following the imprisonment of Philip the kingdom of Breiffne seems to have suffered much from the ravages—reprisals and counter-reprisals—caused by the hostile sections of the O'Reillys.

The *Annalists* say that "great war arose in the Breiffne"; a passage in the *O'Reilly Pedigree* puts it in somewhat milder terms that a "dispute (impedant) arose" between the descendants of Cu-Chonnacht and the descendants of Giolla Iosa Ruadh. The quarrel was a domestic one, and the bitterness all the more pronounced. In the course of an attack on the district of Mullagh, by the descendants of Cu-Chonnacht, the church of Teampall Ceatlais (beside loe an mullin, or Mullagh Lake) was burned.‡

Philip O'Reilly died in 1384. His reign was an untr tranquil one, but, nevertheless, he proved himself a worthy scion of a chivalrous and fighting race. The most eloquent tribute that posterity could bestow upon him was to perpetuate his name in the district, or parish, title of Clannaphillip. It is not quite certain whether the church or monastery of Clannaphillip was founded during his lifetime, but most probably it was. His father had founded Cavan Abbey for the Dominicans in the year 1300,§ and it is reasonable to surmise that Clannaphillip was a branch

* *Vide Journal*, vol. I, p. 249.

† *Four Masters and Annals of Ulster*, sub. anno 1369.

‡ *Vide Journal*, vol. I, p. 118.

§ *Hibernia Dominicana*, cap. IX, p. 286.

house. In 1393 Cavan Abbey passed into the hands of the Franciscans (Conventuals), and in 1502 the Conventuals were in turn replaced by the Franciscans of the Minor Order of Stricter Observance.* Provincial Chapters of the Order were held in Cavan in 1521, 1539, and 1556.

The *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 1510, record that :—

O'Reilly, namely John, son of Cathal, died this year. And it is by him was established the Minor Order of [Stricter] Observance in Cavan.

The *Four Masters* have a similar entry. Tradition says that a monastery existed at Clannaphillip, and there is historical evidence to show that it belonged to the Franciscans.

The Hospital, or church, of Clannaphillip was liberally endowed with church lands. In 1590 it had a larger share than Killinkere. Clannaphillip can hardly have been originally established as a parish church; the earliest records have it included in Killinkere parish. It was, most likely, established as a conventual church, ministered by Friars, and under the patronage of the O'Reillys. This does not preclude the probability of an older ecclesiastical establishment having existed at Clannaphillip; but we have no record of it. At the time of the confiscations—in 1539, under Henry VIII—Clannaphillip belonged to the Abbey of Fore (*ante*).

But during the wars of Elizabeth and in the Penal times the monastery merely existed for brief periods and only at rare intervals could have been used as a residence by the Friars.

The evidence is conclusive that Killinkere was the older foundation of the two, and that after the confiscations the conventual church of Clannaphillip was ecclesiastically united with it. As early as 1406 the rectory of Killinkere was valued at 5 marks—a considerable sum in those days.

The tld. name TERMON, an *alias* for Clannaphillip, would in itself prove that this was formerly church land; the medieval Gaelic *TERMMANN* was generally applied to the lands in the precincts of, and belonging to, churches. In pre-Reformation times the Hospitals, or churches, possessed lands, and we have many records to show that the Friars were pioneers of progressive agriculture. In communication with the Continent they learned new methods, improved the land, and, in the 16th century, the fruitful soil was too attractive to escape confiscation.

* For an account of the origin and organisation of the Franciscan Order—Conventual and Observatine—in Ireland, see an article by Rev. Gregory Cleary, O.F.M., J.U.D., in *Studies*, September, 1927. A very exhaustive and scholarly work on the early history of the Franciscans in Ireland is *Materials for the History of the Franciscan Province of Ireland*, A.D. 1230-1450. Collected and edited by the late Father E. B. Fitzmaurice, O.F.M., and A. G. Little. (Manchester: *The University Press*, 1920).

The functions of the TERMON lands are well described by Joyce.*

In Ireland, as in other Christian countries, many of the churches had the right of sanctuary. A small piece of land was usually fenced off round the church, and the four corners were often marked by crosses† or pillar-stones; this land was regarded as belonging exclusively to the church; and criminals fleeing from justice, or fugitives from their enemies, were safe from molestation for the time, once they had taken refuge either in the church itself, or inside the boundary.

The word *Termon* was originally applied to these *termini* or boundaries, and in this sense it exactly corresponds with the Latin *terminus*; but it was afterwards extended in meaning till it came to signify a sanctuary or asylum; and this is the sense in which it is generally used in Irish writings. It was often popularly used in a still more general way, to denote church lands, or lands belonging to a sanctuary, so that the expression "termon lands" is quite common in Anglo-Irish writings.

This word is still retained in a good many local names, marking the precincts of sanctuaries; and in several of these the spots are almost as much venerated now as they were a thousand years ago, though they no longer afford an asylum to the fugitive.

The word TERMON, usually combined with some qualifying term, enters into placenames in several parts of the country. The qualifying terms usually have reference to the Patron Saint or to the Erenagh (*Διρκεδωννας* or warden). But in the present case the suffix has become obsolete. As we have observed, the name is not recorded on the earlier maps, but was evidently recognised locally as a sub-denomination of Clannaphillip. Arguing from analogy we may conjecture that the missing title had reference to the hereditary Erenachs—the O'Reillys—and that TERMON CLANNAPHILLIP was the complete name.

In the tld. of Cargagh stood one of the few ancient stone crosses remaining in Breiffne. The great majority of such crosses have long since disappeared and we have no record of them. Where now are the ancient crosses which for many centuries stood sentinel over St. Brigid's Well at Raffony, St. Killian's Well at Mullagh, St. Ultan's Well at Killinkere, and St. Patrick's Well at Lurgan? Echo answers "where?", and even from tradition their memory has faded. The Cargagh cross has been concisely described by a great archaeologist, the late H. S. Crawford, M.R.I.A., as "in the form of a pillar 4 feet high, the top of

* *Irish Names of Places*, vol. II, chap. XII.

† *Vide Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History*, vol. IV., p. 386.



**THE LATE FATHER MEEHAN BESIDE THE
CARGAGH CROSS.**

PHOTO BY |

| P. O'CONNELL.

which is missing.”* Portion of the top has since been recovered, and the late Father Meehan, P.P., M.R.I.A., had all the existing fragments collected and set up in the presbytery grounds where it is now to be seen. Its original location was a prominent rath, or fort, in Cargagh tld.†

From the location of the cross it would seem to have been one of the crosses which marked the *termini* (i.e., boundaries) of the church lands of Killinkere. Another cross is said to have been located in the townland of Greaghadosan (both crosses are marked on the Ordnance Map—Sheet 33), but it cannot now be found. The present writer, after a prolonged search, has failed to rediscover it, but hopes that future searches may reveal its whereabouts.

The shaft of the Cargagh cross displays an inscription, crudely sculptured and much worn; this has not yet been satisfactorily deciphered. The inscription seems to be of much later date than the cross and does not reveal skilled workmanship. A detailed description of this cross must be reserved for a separate paper.

* *Journal*, R.S.A.I., June, 1907.

† The accompanying illustration (from a photograph taken in 1925) shows the late Father Meehan standing beside the ancient cross. To his commendable zeal and enthusiasm we are indebted for the preservation of many monuments indicative of Breiffne's historic past. About 1912, when he was C.C. of Mullagh, he had the well of St. Brigid at Raffony renovated and a stone arch erected over it.

The Tomb of Bishop Andrew Campbell.

Dr. Andrew Campbell, Bishop of Kilmore from 1753 to 1769, belonged to a well-known Co. Louth family—the Campbells of Dunany. He was born at Dunany in, or about, the year 1711, and after Ordination on the Continent was appointed P.P. of his native parish of Dunany and Port (Togher) where he laboured until his death. His accomplishments as a musician are well known, and he usually performed his diocesan Visitations in the garb of a Highland piper, which proved an effective disguise. During his absence on Visitation the parochial duties were performed by a Dominican friar.

The burial-place of Bishop Campbell was located by the present writer in the summer of 1929, just 160 years after Kilmore's famous "Piper Bishop" had rested from his labours; the tomb is in the ancient graveyard of Port on the sea coast near Dunany. Port is easily reached by the main road leading from Clogher Head to Dunany Point.

The investigation which resulted in the discovery of the tomb was commenced after I had been informed by my friend the late Mr. Joseph Dolan, M.A., Ardee, who knew the district intimately, that the monuments of the Campbell family, to which the Bishop belonged, were in Port, and that most probably the Bishop had been buried there also. Furthermore, Mr. Dolan, himself, became deeply interested in the research as his own family were closely related to the Campbells of Dunany. Shortly afterwards I visited the secluded ruined church of Port, situated on a sandy plateau overlooking the sea. After some difficulty the Bishop's grave was located south-west of the church; it is marked by a massive *horizontal* slab, resting on small pillars, and the inscription was rendered legible after repeated rubbings. Beginning at the *west* end of the slab there is a lengthy inscription which records that the stone and burialplace belongs to Richard Campbell and Family; then follow, *inter alios*, the names of Thomas, the grandfather, and Patrick, the father, of the said Richard Campbell. But this inscription, although lengthy and detailed, has no record



THE TOMB OF BISHOP ANDREW CAMPBELL, AT PORT, CO. LOUTH.

PHOTO BY]

[P. O'CONNELL.

of the Bishop's name, and I had almost abandoned the search when I observed very faint traces of an inscription near the bottom of the slab, that is, at the *east* end. After clearing away the lichen the following inscription, *reading from the east end*, could be deciphered :—

**Here lies the Body of the Revd. Doctor Andrew
Campbell, Bishop of Killmore, who died Decem.
1, 1769, aged 58 years.**

On account of its position on the slab this inscription is liable to escape detection, especially as the lettering is not deeply sculptured, and also because its direction is opposite to that of the principal inscription. The monument was evidently erected many years before the death of Bishop Campbell, and the inscription to his memory is, therefore, of a later date than the other. The graveyard contains other inscribed monuments belonging to the Campbell family. At the east end of the ruined church is an upright stone marking the grave of the Rev. John MacLennon, O.P., who died in 1769, aged 77, and who seems to have been Bishop Campbell's assistant in Dunany. This Father MacLennon is mentioned in the 1744 list of priests then known to be officiating in Co. Louth.

The accompanying illustration (from a photograph) shows the Bishop's monument. The Bishop's House, and beside it the Bishop's Well are still pointed out at Claristown (or Clarestown) in the parish of Dunany (Togher) where he lived and where many traditions regarding him are still related by the people.

The following interesting tradition regarding the appointment of Dr. Campbell to the Bishopric of Killmore was told to me by the late Mr. Dolan. After the death of Bishop Richardson, O.P., in 1753, a list of suitable candidates for the vacant See, including the name of Dr. Campbell, was submitted to the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome. After due consideration a small list of those fulfilling the necessary conditions was forwarded to James III (James Francis Edward Stuart) who exercised the Stuart privilege of nomination to Irish bishoprics. Reading over the list of names (all of whom were deemed worthy of episcopal rank) James observed the name of Dr. Campbell, and remembering that the Campbells had figured among the most valiant defenders of the Jacobite cause in Scotland, he, thereupon, named Dr. Campbell as Bishop of Killmore.

Notwithstanding the Highland flavour of his name—which appealed so strongly to James III—Dr. Campbell belonged to an old Irish family which had long ago settled in Ulster; the Gaelic name is *MacCáit Máol* which occurs under various local

forms, e.g., MacCawel or MacCaul, MacCaulfield, Campbell, etc. A worthy scion of the Clan MacCATHMAOIL was Dr. Hugh MacCaghwell, born at Saul, Co. Down, about 1571, and appointed Archbishop of Armagh early in 1626, dying at Rome in September of the same year.

Bishop Campbell's *Will*, dated September 30, 1769, was preserved in the Public Record Office, Dublin, and a copy of it made by the late Canon Carrigan of Ossory Diocese, will be found in the *Archivium Hibernicum* (vol. I, p. 185). The document, it may be observed, bears no indication of the episcopal rank of Dr. Campbell, a precaution which may have been expedient at that period, at least in Co. Louth. The Bishop bequeathed half his lands to his sister, Margaret, and her husband, Patrick Lawless, and the other half of his lands to his nephew, Andrew Magrane. He also directed that £5 be distributed among the poor of the parish of Dunany and Port.

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A NOTE ON MOYBOLGE.

From the *Registers* of the mediæval Archbishops of Armagh (preserved in the Public Library of Armagh), covering a period of two centuries (from about 1350 to 1550), we are enabled to gather many interesting particulars illustrating the history of the Ulster dioceses during that period. The Registers of Archbishops Milo Sweteman (*obit.* 1380) and Nicholas Fleming (*obit.* 1416) have been edited by the Rev. H. D. Lawlor, D.D., and are published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* (vol. XXIX, Section C, 8; vol. XXX, Section C. 5). Copies of the Registers, made by the capable hands of the late Dr. Reeves, are now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. The originals are, as Dr. Lawlor observes, generally imperfect and difficult to read.

The publication with notes and translations, of these unique manuscripts would furnish historians with much new materials; the originals with numerous Latin contractions are not always immediately intelligible, and necessitate most careful scrutiny. These sources have, as yet, never been adequately utilised. The identification of the various placenames recorded would, of itself, be a valuable contribution to our scanty knowledge of mediæval topography.

In the *Journal of the Louth Archæological Society*, commencing in the 1926 issue, ΔΗ Ε-ΔΕ ΛΟΥΘΑΝ Ο ΜΥΡΕΑΔΑΙΣ has undertaken the publication of the *Register of Primate Dowdall*. Some extracts relating to Kilmore diocese will be of interest to our members. The following reference to Moybolge occurs under date July 24, 1542:

The Primate collates Patrick Magerrigan [Garrigan] to the perpetual vicarage of the parish church of St. Patrick of *Moybolge* in the diocese of Kilmore, the collation of which belongs to him, *per viam devolutionis*, according to the Statutes of the Lateran Council. The vacancy occurred through the fact that Geffredus Magergan, *'bonae memoriae*, herenech of the villa of Moybolg, held the said vicarage without his being promoted to Holy Orders, *pretextu cujusdam ineptae unionis*.

To be inducted by Patrick Maconaym [O'Connell], Canon of the Cathedral of Kilmore, and Patrick Magerigan, presbyter of the same.

The Garrigans were, of course, the *Evenachs* (ΔΙΡΕΑΝΝΑΔΕ), or wardens, of Moybolg as I have already shown in these pages

(*Journal*, Vol. II, No. 2). As chieftains of the district they provided for the support of the clergy, and for the maintenance of the monastery. The Erenach was, almost invariably, a layman, and the office was hereditary, as its origin would imply. The church of Moybolge was an important ecclesiastical foundation; its history has already been detailed. Elsewhere in this issue I have explained the most likely origin of the semi-mythical legend of the *Cailleach Gearagain*.

A list of the parish priests of Moybolge has already been given in this *Journal* (Vol. II, 226). The above extract from Primate Dowdall's *Register* enables us to supplement the list for the 16th century period.

Tradition points out beside the ruined church the reputed tomb of a Bishop Garrigan; he was, most probably, an Abbot of the monastery. The inscription cannot now be deciphered. Many priests of the Clan figure prominently in the history of the diocese of Kilmore. The late Right Rev. Philip J. Garrigan, D.D., Bishop of Sioux City, U.S.A., who died October 14th, 1919, belonged to a branch of the Moybolge family which, after being expelled from Moybolge, settled in the east end of Lurgan Parish.

It is worth recording that beside the ruined church of Moybolge rest, *inter alios*, the parents and relatives of the Rev. Dr. Michael Muldoon who took a leading part in missionary work in Texas in the thirties of the last century. He was a native of Lurgan parish, where he was born in the last quarter of the 18th century. His early education was received at a local hedge school. On the completion of his studies in Spain, where he was ordained (at Seville, according to the family tradition), he went to Texas, where he was a pioneer in the missionary field and an outstanding personality. At that time Texas was in an unsettled condition, and Dr. Muldoon had to perform his duties under great difficulties; he suffered a few terms of imprisonment and seems to have spent some time labouring in Mexico. Although we have many references to his life and work (for which I am indebted to the researches undertaken by the Right Rev. Monsigneur Richard Brady, Loretto Heights College, Colorado, U.S.A., one of our Life Members, who has kindly supplied me with copies of many valuable documents and extracts from the State Records of Texas and many other sources), yet, his later years are clouded in obscurity. Local tradition in Lurgan would invest Dr. Muldoon with episcopal rank, but this is incorrect. Researches are in progress and it is hoped that further light may be thrown on the closing years of the life of this great (and almost forgotten) Breiffne missionary. Some biographical details are reserved for a later paper.

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Epitaphs in Crosserlough Graveyard.

This ancient graveyard surrounds the site of the pre-Reformation parish church of Crosserlough; the present magnificent parish church is in the immediate vicinity. The history and antiquities of this parish have been detailed in the last issue of this *Journal* (vol. III. No. I, pp. 9-86). The inscriptions are very numerous, and are expressed in many instances in the quaint phraseology of the 18th century. Owing to the loss of the 18th century parochial *Registers* (which, unfortunately, perished in a fire about fifty years ago), and also the more recent destruction of our Census Returns and Public Records, we must regard these inscriptions as the sole remaining source from which the history of the various 18th century Crosserlough families may now be traced. This enhances their interest and value to the genealogist. Some examples of the *old style* of computation will be observed, e.g., —10 ber = December; the Gregorian Calendar was not legally introduced into this country until 1752, but the new Calendar seems to have been adopted by the people before it obtained legal sanction.

The following list is by no means exhaustive; several monuments are now deeply embedded in the earth and many others have been broken. The population of the parish in pre-Famine days was very large. The epitaphs in Kildrumfertan will be dealt with in next issue.

PRAY FOR Ye SOUL
OF PATRICK FLOOD
WHO DIED JANUry
Ye 7th 1764 AGED 70
ALSO For SUSn CU
MUSKY WHO DIED
MAY 26 . 1765
AGED DITO
Erectd by E : F.

PRAY FOR YE
SOUL OF THO
MAS GAFENY
WHO DIED 9 ber
27th 1742 AGEd
68

PRAY FOR Ye
SOUL OF EDMO
ND MAGLAUGH
LEN WHO DIED
9 ber 30th 1737
AGED 50 : CATE
LYNCH DIED
ANo 1748.

PRAY FOR Ye
SOUL OF JAMES
GAFENY WHO
DIED MAY Ye 29
1752 AGEd 35

This Monument was
Erected by Terence
Cooke in Memory of
His Father Connor Cooke
Who Departed this
Life February 15th
1782 Aged 75 Years.

This Stone was
Erected by Laurence
Cook in Memory of
His Son John Cook
Who Died March the
1st 1809 Aged 29 years
Also in Memory of
Their Posterity.

This Stone was
Erected by Cor
mick Cullan &
James Welch for
themselves & their
Successors.

Pray for the Soul
of Bryan McCabe
Who Died 10 ber ye 25
1717 aged 38 years
also for Margaret
McCabe alias Colun
Who died August
ye 1st 1759 aged 79
Erectd by Patrick
McCabe.

PRAY FOR
THE SOUL OF
EDMOND GAFF
NY WHO DIED
8 ber YE 15th 1738
AGED 50 YEARS.

PRAY FOR THE
SOUL OF CONS
TANT SMITH WHO
DEPARTED THIS
LIFE MARCH
1734 AGED 60

PRAY FOR YE SOUL
OF CATHERINE SM
YTH WHO DIED
X ber 6th 1749
AGED 30

PRAY FOR YE SO
UL OF LAUREN
CE SMITH WHO
DECEASED MAY
YE 25th 1757 AGED
42 YEARS

PRAY FOR YE SO
UL OF JUDY SM
ITH WHO DIED
FEBRUARY YE 8th
1758 AGED 45

PRAY FOR THE SOUL
OF JOHN SMITH WHO
DIED NOVEMBER YE 1st
1749 AGED 50. ALSO
FOR ROSE REILY

PRAY FOR [THE SO]
 UL OF TERR[ENCE]
 REILLY DIED MA—
 1741 AGED 65. ALSO [F]
 OR CATHERINE R[EIL]
 LY DECEASED M—
 1737 AGEd 38

PRAY FOR YE
 SOUL OF PATR
 ICK SMITH
 WHO DIED Xber
 YE 25 . 1746
 AGEd 35

This Mounment was
 Erected by Mathew
 Boylan in memory of his
 wife Margaret Boylan alias
 Reynolds who departed
 this life the 26th of July
 1787 aged 49 years

PRAY FOR YE SOUL
 OF CONNER GAFF
 NEY WHO DIED 8 ber
 YE 27th 1744 AGED 46

PRAY FOR YE S
 OUL OF CONSE
 GAFNY WHO D
 IED MAY 1730
 AGEd 63

PRAY FOR YE
 SOUL OF PHI
 LIP BEGGAN
 WHO DIED DE
 CEMBr 7th 1748
 AGED 40

PRAY FOR THE SOUL
 OF JOHN GAFFNEY
 WHO DEPARTED THIS
 LIFE THE 17th OF FEB
 1757 AGED 54 YEARS

PRAY FOR THE
SOUL OF PHILIP KE
LLERY WHO DIED
D DECEMBER YE 19
1766 AGED 73 Yrs

PRAY FOR YE
SOUL OF JOHN
FITZPATRICK
WHO DIED 9 ber
YE 1st 1730
AGED 57 yrs

PRAY FOR YE SOUL
OF OWEN GAFNY WH
O DIED SEPTBr YE 8th
1752 AGED 52

PRAY FOR YE
SOUL OF PA
TRICK FERRE
LY WHO DIED
APRIL 24th 1758
AGED 60 & FOR
MARGt FITZ
PATRICK

PRAY FOR YE
SOUL OF JAMs
FERRELY WHO
DIED 8ber 11
1758 AGED 21 YEARS

THIS STONE
WAS ERECTED
BY TERRENce SMI
TH FOR HIS WIFE
ANN SMITH W
HO DIED JULY
27th 1755
AGED 40
Requiescat in Pace

PRAY FOR THE SO[UL]
OF EDMOND CAFF
RY WHO DIED APR(IL)
7th 1718 AGEd 35

Pray for the Soul of Charles
 Cafry who deceasd Febry ye 15th
 1776 Aged 62 yrs & his son
 Peter Caffry who deceasd
 Aug ye 8th 1774 Aged 24 yrs
 Erected by Terence Cafry
 Requiescant in Pace

Pray for ye Soul of
 Edmond Caffrey
 who deceasd March
 27th 1775 Aged 31 years

PRAY FOR YE
 SOUL OF PAT
 RICK CAFRY
 DIED FEB YE 15
 1732 AGEd 70

PRAY FOR YE
 SOUL OF MICH
 AEL BIRD WHO
 DIED IN FEBRUARY
 1756 AGED 60

PRAY FOR YE
 SOVL OF BRIDG
 ET LYNCH WHO
 DIED JVNE YE 12th
 1744 AGED 47

PRAY FOR YE
 SOUL OF BRYAN
 SMITH WHO DIE
 D MARCH YE 8TH
 1738 AGED 50

PRAY FOR
 YE SOUL OF
 CATHERINE
 SMITH WH
 O DIED AP
 RIL 1742
 AGED 40

THIS STONE AND
 BURIAL PLACE PERTA
 INETH TO PATRICK
 LYNCH AND HIS
 POSTERITY . 1742

Pray for the Soul
 of Hugh
 Daly who departed
 this life A.
 D. 1766 Aged
 34 yrs. Also
 Bridget Da
 ly . Patrick & Ma
 ry . Requiescant in
 Pace. Amen.

This Stone was Erect
 By Jas Lynch in Memory
 of his Father Patric
 K. do. who Died March
 30th 1779 aged 60 yrs
 Also his Mother
 Chatrine Lynch
 Died May 10th 1783
 Aged 66 yrs
 Requiescant in Pace

PRAY FOR YE
 SOUL OF PA
 TRICK LYN
 CH WHO DI
 ED JANUARY
 1710 AGED 45

This Monument is erected by the Rev
 Peter Maguire to perpetuate ye
 Memory of his Father John
 Maguire of Tougher and posterity who
 Departed this Life 9 ber ye 16th 1759
 Aged 82. Requiescat in pace.

This Monument was Erectd
 By Thos Smith in Memory
 of his Dearly Beloved friend
 and Parents, Viz. Tho. Smith
 Depd this life April 24th 1829
 Also Mary Smith alias Brady
 Depd this life 30th Decr 1803
 May they rest in peace. Amen

May the Lord have Mercy on the
Soul of Michael Murry who Depd
This life October 10th 1769 Aged 36 years.
Also his wife Ann Murry who depd.
This life Nov. the 8th 1793 aged 74
Years. Erectd by their Son John
Murry.

PRAY FOR YE SOUL
OF THOMAS COO
K WHO DIED
MAY 1735 AGED
60. ERECTED
BY JOHN COOK

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

May the Lord have
Mercy on the Soul of Phillip
Lynch who Depd this life
May 14th 1810 Aged 59 yrs.
This Monut was Erected by his
Son Peter Lynch of Moylet to
Perpetuate the Memory of him
& his posterity.
Requiescant in Pace.

Erected by Mrs Mary O'Reilly
Meath St. Dublin to Comme
morate her dearly beloved
Husband Charles O'Reilly
who died Augt 5th 1793
aged 54 yrs. Also her two
Sons Thomas and James O'
Reilly. Thomas died Sept
23rd 1827 aged 35 yrs. James
died Decr. 9th 1830 aged 43 yrs.
Whose virtues when living
will Endear their Memory
to Posterity.

PRAY FOR YE SOUL
OF PATRICK COO
K WHO DEPARTED
THIS LIFE DECEMBER
YE 4th 1758 AGED 55
ALSO FOR PHILIP
COOK

Here Lieth ye
Remains of Anne
Smith alias Lynch
died Decbr the 13th
1787 aged 23 years
Engraved & Erected
by her husband

Here lyeth the Body of
Bryan Lynch who Departd
this life July the 20th 1772
Aged 38 years. Also the Body
of his wife Catherine Lynch
Alias Smyth who Departed
this life April ye 14th 1773 Aged
50 years. Erected by their
Son Michael

PRAY FOR THE
SOUL OF EDMO
ND MAGLAUGH
LEN WHO DIED
JAN YE 4th 1740
AGED 90

This stone was Ereed
By Philip Patk and John
McEnroe to Perpetuate
the Memory of their
Father Patk McEnroe
who died April 1796 aged
70 yrs. May they Rest
in peace.

PRAY FOR YE
SOUL OF JAMES
DEGENAN
WHO DIED
APRIL 26th 1758
AGED 40

PRAY FOR THE
SOUL OF BRYAN
COOKE WHO DIED 1749
THIS STONE WAS
ERECTED BY COR
NEY COOKE TO
POSESS HIS
BURIAL PLACE
1756

PRAY FOR
THE SOUL
OF OWEN LY
NCH DIED JU
LY YE 18 1740
AGED 57

PRAY FOR YE SO
UL OF CATHERI
NE CUNY WHO
DIED 10 ber YE 9th
1759 AGED 60

HERE LYETH YE
BODY OF THOMs
LYNCH & LAURENCE
LYNCH WHO DIE
D APRIL 1747. PRAY
FOR THEIR SOULS

PRAY FOR THE SO
UL OF HARRY DA
VEN WHO DIED DE
CEMBr 29. 1771 AGE 68.

This Stone was
Erd. by Thos. McCabe
In Memory of
His father John
McCabe who
Died March 7
1782 Agd 80 yrs

Pray for the
Soul of Mary
Sherdian who
Died Jan 12. 1814
Aged 45 yrs
& Catr' Smyth

PRAY FOR YE
SOUL OF MAR
Y REILLY WHO
DIED MARCH YE
17th 1740 AGE 60

Pray for the Soul of Bridget
Boylan who Depd this
life Octr 1783 aged 19 yrs
Also Francis Boylan who
Depd. this life Nov. 1787
Aged 26 yrs. Erectd by
Matthias Boylan

This Stone was Erected
by Michael McCabe in me
mory of his Father Owen
McCabe who depd this life
the 10th of Feb 1799 aged 76
yrs. Also his Mother Mary M^c
Cabe otherwise McGuara
ugh who depd this life Jan
the 10th 1788 aged 6^o yrs like
wise his Sister Margaret
McCabe who depd this
Life Sept the 20th 1790
Aged 40 years. May
they rest in peace.

PRAY FOR YE
SOUL OF MI
CHAEL SORE
CHAN WHO DI
ED FEBRUARY
YE 14th 1762 AGE —

PRAY FOR YE SOUL
OF CATHERINE MA
GUIRE ALIAS BOYL
AN DIED MAY YE 1st
1745 AGED 91

THE LORD HAVE
MERCY ON YE SOUL
OF EDMOND GIL
ROY WHO DEPARTd
THIS LIFE MAY YE
4th 1764 AGED 94
ERECTd BY HUGH GIL
ROY

PRAY FOR YE
SOUL OF MARY
DOWNS WHO
DIED JULY 19
1761 AGED 16

PRAY FOR THE
SOUL OF FRAN
CIS GAFENY WH
O DIED DECEMBR
9th 1753 AGED 80

PRAY FOR YE SOUL
OF CATHERINE
GILLROY WHO DIED
FEBRUARY YE 12th
1748 AGED 70

PRAY FOR YE SOUL
OF ART GAFN
EY WHO DIED
10r YE 17 . 1742
AGED 75

PRAY FOR YE SOUL
OF NELLY BOYLAN
WHO DIED FEBRU
ARY 1st 1758 AGE 37

PRAY FOR YE SO
UL OF ONNER
McCABE WHO DI
ED FEB 8. 1769
AGE 95

PRAY FOR THE
SOUL OF JUDY
GAFFNEY WHO
DIED SEPTEM
Br. 1770 AGE
31. CONNER
GAFFNEY DIED
NOVEMBER 30
1770 AGE 28

Pray for ye Soul of Patrick
Gallagan who died July 6th
1770 Aged 39 yrs & for John Gallagan
who died Decbr 19th 1778
Agd 19 yrs.

The Lord have Mercy
on the Soul of Rose
Reilly alias Galligan
who departed this life
the 12th of April 1783
Aged 28 years. Erected
by her husband Patrick
Reilly in the year 1784

Pray for ye Soul
of Patrick Galli
gan who died Janu
ary 12th 1751 aged —

PRAY FOR YE
SOUL OF ROSE
FERRELLY WHO
DEPARTED TH
IS LIFE DECEMBR
13TH 1753 AGE 57

Pray for ye Soul of
Rose McVoy who died
April 4th 1765 aged 35 yrs
Erectd by her husband
Charles Gallagan

PRAY FOR YE SO
UL OF BRYAN BA
— DIED 8 BER YE 20
17—9 AGE 60
—S DIED 9 BER 1737
AGE 57

PRAY FOR YE SO
UL OF MARY
COOK WHO DIED
9BER YE 20TH 1744
AGED 28 YRS. ORDERd
BY DANIEL DONOCHO.

Pray for the Soul of
 Peter Coyle who Dep
 arted this life the 4th of
 January 1764 aged 53
 years. Also his son
 Patrick Coyle who died
 the 12th of August 1782 aged
 38 years. Erected by his
 three sons Thomas John
 & Bryan Coyle

PRAY FOR YE
 SOUL OF ED
 MOND FLIN
 WHO DIED
 JULY YE 2nd 1760
 AGED 23

PRAY FOR YE
 SOVL OF NELLY
 SMYTH ALIAS
 BRADY DECEA
 SED APRIL YE 11
 1744 AGE 55*

PRAY FOR THE
 SOUL OF FARE
 L REILY WHO
 DEPARTED THIS
 LIFE 10 ber 11th 1712
 AGED 72†

PRAY FOR THE
 SOUL OF ELI
 ZABETH REILY
 WHO DIED AUG
 THE 3rd 1761 AGED
 80 YEARS

* The same inscription is to be found on a wayside cross which stands in a field about a mile south-west of the old graveyard. See *Journal*, Vol. III, No. I, p. 78.

† This inscription is on a slab in the interior of the ruined church (the dimensions of which may still be traced); the slab was deeply embedded in earth which had to be cleared away before the inscription could be deciphered.

HERE LYETH YE
BODY OF CECILY
McLOVGHLEN DI
ED JANry YE 13th 1735
AGE 70

HERE LYETH YE
BODY OF EDM
COOK DIED JAN
YE 15. 1736 AGE 86
& OF MATT COO
K WHO DIED 8 ber
YE 28 1734. AGE 27

Pray for the Soul
of Philip Callegh
an who departd this
life July 26 : 1768

PRAY FOR YE SO
VL OF DANIEL GA
FENY WHO DIE
D JANVARY YE 21st
1717 AGE 34 YRS

P. O'C.

St. Ultan.

St. Ultan is Patron of Killinkere. As early as the year 1406 we find that the parish was under his patronage (*Papal Registers, supra*). Two patrons are mentioned—SS. Wygyr and Wulstan; the identity of the former disguised under a Latinised, and very probably incorrect form, cannot now be established with certainty. St. Ultan, whose festival occurs on the 4th of September, belonged to the Clan Ua Conchobhair (*i. e.*, O'Connor), a branch of the *Deisi* of Meath. The *Martyrology of Tallaght*,* under September 4th, records the festival of "Ultan Mac Hua Conchobar." In the copy contained in the *Book of Leinster* the entry is thus: ULTAN MAC H-CONCHOBAR IN ARDBREC; the addition of the words "in Ardbrec" would seem to indicate that he was a native of Ardraccan—now a parish in Co. Meath.

The date of his birth cannot be ascertained with certainty, but from the various Acts of his life it must be referred to the later years of the fifth century, probably about the year 476. † St. Ultan became Bishop of Ardraccan and was the immediate successor to St. Bracan, the founder of that once celebrated Abbey. ‡ The Abbey was founded about the close of the sixth century; shortly afterwards the saintly founder went to the Aran Islands where he established a church at Templebraccan, and died about the year 650.

While St. Ultan had charge of the diocese of Ardraccan a terrible epidemic called the Buidhe Chonaill, or Yellow Plague, broke out in Ireland.§ This dread visitation had already spread over England, Scotland and several European countries. All over Ireland the people were carried away in thousands, and famine stalked the land. In order to relieve the distress St. Ultan gathered into the shelter of his monastery at Ardraccan all the orphans requiring food and relief. It is said that at one time he had 150 of them beneath its roof. He seems to have proved very suc-

* Edited by the Rev. Dr. Kelly, p. xxxiii.

† In 467 according to the *O'Clerys' Calendar; Martyrology of Donegal*, edited by Todd and Reeves, p. 235.

‡ For an account of the history of Ardraccan, see Dean Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, vol. I, chap. VII.

§ The Annalists have frequent references to those early plagues, *e. g.*, *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, A.D. 660; *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 633,

cessful in caring for all entrusted to his keeping. The charity and generosity of St. Ultan in those trying times is lauded by our early writers. In the *Felire of Aengus* is the following rann :

In moir FLAITH CENETAIL,
 In DATBLAITHE BECAIN
 AḠAIC MOIR MM MACCAM
 Im ŪILTAN AḠIB BPECCAM.

which may be translated :—“ The great sinless prince, in whom the little ones are flourishing, greatly play the children round Ultan of Ardraccan.”*

Some years ago, in 1919, when the new Children’s Hospital was established in Dublin, it was very appropriately placed under the patronage of the kindly Irish bishop who, thirteen centuries ago, did such heroic work in the rescue of the orphans menaced with famine and plague.† St. Ultan’s Hospital is now recognised as a national institution where the latest scientific resources are utilised in combating infantile disease.

St. Ultan was renowned for his literary work and appears to have been deeply versed in the knowledge of his day. He is said to have written a Life of St. Patrick, and to have composed an Irish hymn in honour of St. Brigid.‡ The *Third Life of St. Brigid* as published by Colgan is assigned to the authorship of St. Ultan.§ An anonymous writer who wrote *St. Brigid’s Life* in verse, refers to *Ultanus Doctor*—Ultan the Sage. It is asserted by various authorities, among them Archbishop Ussher¶ and Sir James Ware,|| that St. Ultan wrote the *Acts of St. Brigid*. Tirechan, who was a pupil of St. Ultan and his successor in the See of Ardraccan, is said to have written his *Acts of St. Patrick* from the dictation of St. Ultan.° These *Acts* are in the *Book of Armagh*.

St. Ultan is said to have been endowed with the gift of prophecy and to have foretold the English invasion of Ireland. According to the O’Clerys he collected the miracles of St. Brigid into one volume.∴

The death of St. Ultan took place at Ardraccan about the middle of the seventh century ; his festival occurs on the 4th of September. Both the *Annals of the Four Masters* and the *Annals of Ulster* record his death A.D. 656, which may be accepted as the most probable date. The entry in the *Four Masters* reads :

* Whitley Stokes, *Transactions*, R.I.A., Irish Manuscript Series, vol. I, Pt. I.

† See *The Book of St. Ultan*—Dublin, 1920.

‡ *Liber Hymnorum*, edited by Dr. Todd.

§ Colgan’s *Trias Thaumaturga*—Tertia Vita S. Brigidae.

¶ *De Primordiis Eccles. Brit.*, cap. XVII.

|| *De Scriptoribus Hiberniae* Book I, chap. III.

° Ware, *ibid* : MacNeill, “ Dates of Texts in the Book of Armagh,” *Jour. R.S.A.I.*, December, 1928.

∴ *Martyrology of Donegal*, edited by Todd and Reeves.

“ St. Ultan Mac Uí-Conchobhair, of Ard-Breacain, died on the 4th day of September after (completing) the one hundred and eightieth year of his reign.”

In the *Annals of Ulster* it may be remarked that “ Obitus Ultain Mic Concubair ” is entered twice, first under the year 656 and again under 662 according to another book—*Secundum alium librum*—in the possession of the compiler. The O’Clerys’ *Irish Calendar*, which also records his death A.D. 656, adds that he reached the age of one hundred and eighty-nine years. The date of his death is variously given by some other authorities: the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* give the date as 653; Ware gives it as 655. Colgan agrees with the O’Clerys, and most other authorities, in assigning 656 as the year of St. Ultan’s death. It may be assumed that he was buried in his monastery of Ardraccan; in the year 784 we read of a *Translation* of his relics at Ardraccan.

The name Ultan, as O’Donovan observes, signifies the “ Little Ulster-man.” There were many Irish saints of the same name—all probably having adopted the name of the great bishop of Ardraccan—but St. Ultan, Bishop of Ardraccan, is entered in the various *Martyrologies* at the 4th of September. On the same date he has been commemorated in Scotland. The same date has been traditionally remembered from time immemorial as the festival of St. Ultan, Patron of Killinkere Parish. This establishes with certainty the particular St. Ultan intended.*

St. Ultan’s Holy Well at Killinkere is situated on a gentle declivity in a secluded part of the townland of Corratinner; a short distance away is the ruins of the ancient parish church of St. Ultan. Bushes and shrubbery surround the Well, giving it an impressive background. Close by is a Mass-rock of the Penal times. The townland was usually known as *TOBARI ULTAIN*, and the older people still retain the name.

O’Donovan, in noting the fact that St. Ultan is Patron of Killinkere, adds that “ there is a well dedicated to him in a townland to which it has given the name of Tober-Ultan [*TOBARI ULTAIN*] which was formerly visited by a great concourse of pilgrims.”† Furthermore, he adds: “ King John [of England] visited *Tiopraid Ultain* in Meath; can it be this place?” But we must give a negative answer to O’Donovan’s query. Ardraccan was also frequently referred to in early times as *Tobair Ultain*; the Holy Well there is in the demesne of the Protestant Bishop of Meath.‡ This Well is a very remarkable one, and is still visited by a large concourse of pilgrims on September 4th. It is quite certain that Ardraccan was the scene of King John’s visit during his sojourn at Trim in the July of 1210.

St. Ultan’s Well at Killinkere is still frequented by pilgrims

*For a comprehensive account of the Life and Writings of St. Ultan see O’Hanlon’s *Lives of the Irish Saints*, vol., ix., Sept. 4.

†*Cavan Letters*, May 17, 1836.

‡Cogan’s *Diocese of Meath*, Vol. I, p. 52.



ST. ULTAN'S RUINED CHURCH, KILLINKERE.

PHOTO BY]

[REV. P. CONWAY.

and Stations are performed on his festival. During the 18th century, and until the death of Rev. John Smith, P.P., in 1810, the festival was kept with great solemnity in the parish. Veneration for St. Ultan has never ceased in Killinkere. It is interesting to record that as a Christian name Ultan has always been popular with the people of the district. Not only in modern times do we find the name sometimes adopted but in the early Baptismal Registers of Lurgan and Killinkere we find proof of its popularity during the last half of the 18th century. This bespeaks a living tradition which has come down to us from very early times and most probably from the days of St. Ultan himself.

It is probable that the original parish church of Killinkere was founded by St. Ultan during his lifetime. The existence of the Holy Well, and the veneration which has persisted down the ages would indicate that he may have visited the place. The Abbey of Ardracran is a comparatively short distance away—about 15 miles. The original parish church of Killinkere, under his patronage, and in close touch with his monastery, would certainly have possessed relics of him. In the parish the tradition of St. Ultan has spanned the great gulf of thirteen centuries, and to-day it is still fresh and undimmed.

KILLINKERE'S RUINS AND TOMBS.

The old parish church of St. Ultan is situated in an elevated position in the tld. of Gallon, and commanding an extensive view over the surrounding district. The history of this venerable sanctuary may be described as the history of Killinkere itself. It was the centre of the religious life of the district, and within its precincts rest that long succession of ecclesiastics who served it in pre-Reformation days and probably, indeed, from the time of St. Ultan himself. Its long period of security from molestation came to an end in 1590 when the *Inquisition* of that year, already referred to, declared it forfeited, together with its termon lands. Other *Inquisitions* and confiscations quickly followed and the church became ruinous and deserted. There is no evidence to show that it was used afterwards. It may have been used surreptitiously for religious services, but its present ruinous state would indicate that it must have been abandoned early in the 17th century.

The western gable, about 20 feet in height, is practically all that now remains of the old church; it is visible for some miles around. This gable displays a window, sloping inward, the inside measurement of which is about 6 feet by 4 feet; it shows no attempt at ornamentation, and is covered with a large, flat stone. The building was constructed of rough stones held together with mortar which in the course of centuries has become almost as hard as the stones themselves. It will be observed that the gable

rests on an unusually wide foundation, which, apparently, was intended to make it more secure. The church measures 60 feet in length by 27 feet in width; its orientation is east to west. Portions of the sidewalls remain, a few feet high but almost covered with debris. Some of the east gable still survives. The church was evidently of the simplest type and appears to have been divided into three parts by means of two transverse walls which may still be observed. The first transverse wall is placed about 27 feet from the eastern gable. The distance between the transverse walls is 22 feet. The western division, only 11 feet in length, was the smallest and may have served as a sacristy. The positions of the doors and windows cannot now be ascertained with certainty. The western gable, with its solitary window, is all that survives to enable us to conjecture the probable age of the building. The style is certainly pre-Reformation, and not later than the early sixteenth century; it, most likely, belongs to the fifteenth century. Those venerable walls, now fast crumbling to decay, have withstood the storms and vicissitudes of centuries, and bear witness to the skill and thoroughness of our early church builders.

No ancient monuments, or inscriptions, survive in the interior of the ruined church. It is obvious that all such monuments must have long since crumbled away, or are buried beneath the accumulated debris. An extensive cemetery surrounds the church. Here are interred the ecclesiastics who for many centuries served the parish; also the unnumbered generations who endowed with energy the Killinkere of ages long passed away. The inscriptions are not numerous, nor are any elaborate tombs to be seen. The monuments of the leading 17th and 18th century families of Killinkere—MacCabs, Smiths, Fitzsimons, etc.—are here. No earlier date than 1728 has been observed. With a few exceptions the monuments are plain vertical slabs without any attempt at elaboration. Some of the most interesting will now be described.

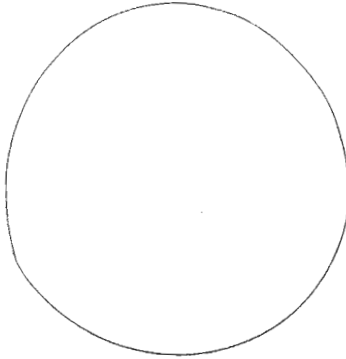
THE MACCABE MONUMENT.

The MacCabs were a powerful clan in East Breiffne and many references to them are to be found in the *Four Masters* and elsewhere. As early as 1413 we find the O'Reillys and MacCabs making an incursion into the Pale, and creating havoc among the English settlers there. The *Four Masters* further tell us that the English overtook them and that Mahon MacCabe, Laughlin MacCabe, and a great many of their people were slain. However, the MacCabs were not of the Ui-Briuin race; they were professional soldiers who came over from the Hebrides in the 12th and 13th centuries, to enter the service of the O'Reillys. This immigration of Hebridean soldiers, as MacNeill observes, formed a new element

in the population of Ireland.* The MacCabes were a fighting race, brave and chivalrous, and their valour in the defence of the Breiffne borders enabled the O'Reillys to maintain their territory intact for a long period. In later days some distinguished members of the Clan MacCabe reflected glory on their native parish of Killinkere.

The most interesting monument in the graveyard is the massive upright slab marking the grave of the parents and relatives of the Rev. Felix MacCabe. It is situated to the north of the ruined church, and is usually called the "MacCabe Monument"; it has a lengthy inscription which furnishes a deeply interesting and valuable record of the MacCabe Pedigree. The MacCabe Coat of Arms, neatly sculptured, is displayed in a circle around which the inscription is arranged. The work has been neatly executed. The inscription reads as follows:—

Arms Regran
to Alexand
Captain
Wallace's
Under ye
of Ireland
fice of
Terry
garde ar
to King Ja
and to James



ted in France
er Macabe
of Cavalry
regiment
great seal
in the of-
James
Athlone
moiries
mes II in 1692
III in 1728

Whose Spouse was Christiana great grand daughter of James Fleming, Baron of Slane. Signed Athlone Sepr 16th 1811 Rev. Felix A.M. Ci-devant Canon of Saint Louis in Lafere, Pastor of Mullagh, nephew of Rev. Alexander Macabe, Pastor of Lurgan, erected this stone in memory of his deceased parents Mary Donogho aged 54, and Patrick aged 83, Son of Mary Plunket, and Bernard, son of John, Son of Alexander, Grandson of Edmund Macabe last chief of the Macabes whose original House was Moynhall County Cavan.

This lucid inscription gives a very clear account of the MacCabe family to which it refers. In the circle (above) is displayed the Arms and motto, viz.: ARMS: a fess wavy between three fishes (salmon) naiant. CREST: a demi-Griffin segreant. MOTTO.: Aut vincere aut Mori (*i.e.*, to conquer or to die). SUPPORTERS: Two battle-axes.†

* *Phases of Irish History*, p. 334: Cf. O'Donovan *Cavan Letters*, 1836.

† For an illustration of the monument see the *Journal for the Preservation of Memorials to the Dead*, vol. X, p. 5.

The monument was erected by the Rev. Felix MacCabe who was P.P. of Mullagh from 1794 until his death in 1816. He was born at Greaghafarna, beside Clannaphillip, studied in Paris, and was a very distinguished man. His uncle, Rev. Alexander MacCabe, was P.P. of Lurgan from 1754 to 1774, and another uncle, Rev. Bartle MacCabe, was P.P. of Killinkere from 1765 to 1794. All those priests, who laboured in strenuous times, are still mentioned with reverence in Killinkere. The date of the erection of this monument is not recorded, but it must have been between the years 1811 and 1816; we may fix 1812 as the most likely date. It is locally related that the stone was sculptured in the graveyard, whence it had been conveyed in a rough unhewn condition. The work was personally supervised by Father MacCabe himself, who came every day to superintend. The inscription was compiled by himself and he was possessed of details of family history which would now have passed beyond recall. James Terry, who is mentioned, was *garde armoiries, i.e.*, Keeper of Arms to James II.

The MacCabes were staunch adherents to the cause of the Stuarts, and in company with the other military leaders of the time were obliged, after tasting the cup of defeat and disaster, to follow their hapless monarch into exile after the Battle of the Boyne. In the nomination of influential persons for assessing and collecting the Poll Tax for King James II, dated April 10, 1690, Alexander MacCabe was one of those specially selected for Monaghan.*

The references to James II and James III, contained in the above inscription, may require a brief note of explanation. Students of history will recall that James II after the Battle of the Boyne took refuge in France where he resided at the Castle of St. Germain-en-Laye, until his death in 1701.† His son, James Francis Edward Stuart (born 1688, died 1766), was thereupon immediately proclaimed King of England by Louis XIV; the Jacobites hailed him as James III, but to the Hanoverians he was invariably known as the "old Pretender." In Scotland, where there remained some influential and powerful adherents to the Stuart cause there were several risings in his favour, especially in 1715, when the Highlanders unfurled the Jacobite standard on the braes of Mar. But it ended in utter collapse although led by James himself in person. Chevalier William Wallace, a Scottish military leader, took an active part in the Rising. But the Stuarts were, in every respect, an unfortunate family, and their rule was ever unstable.‡

* *King James's Irish Army List*, by John D'Alton, p. 35.

† In a recent volume, *James the Second* (London: Faber and Gwyer, 1928; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1929), Mr. Hilaire Belloc presents an excellent picture of the life and character of England's last Stuart King.

‡ Mr. Belloc (*op cit.*) propounds a different thesis. For a critical examination of his views see the *Catholic Historical Review*. (American) January, 1930.

In 1719 James married Princess Maria Clementina of Poland, and went to reside in Rome, where he died. His son, Charles Edward Stuart, is usually called the "Young Pretender." After the Battle of Culloden James seems to have lost hope in the Stuart cause, and lived mostly in retirement, although still recognised on the Continent as *Giacomo III, Re d'Inghilterra*.* But he continued to take an active interest in Irish affairs, as we find him exercising the Stuart privilege of "presentation" to Irish Sees; for instance, Dr. Michael O'Reilly, was appointed to the Primatial See of Armagh in 1749 on the recommendation of *Jacobus Rex*. Again Bishop Andrew Campbell was presented by him (according to tradition) to Kilmore in 1753.

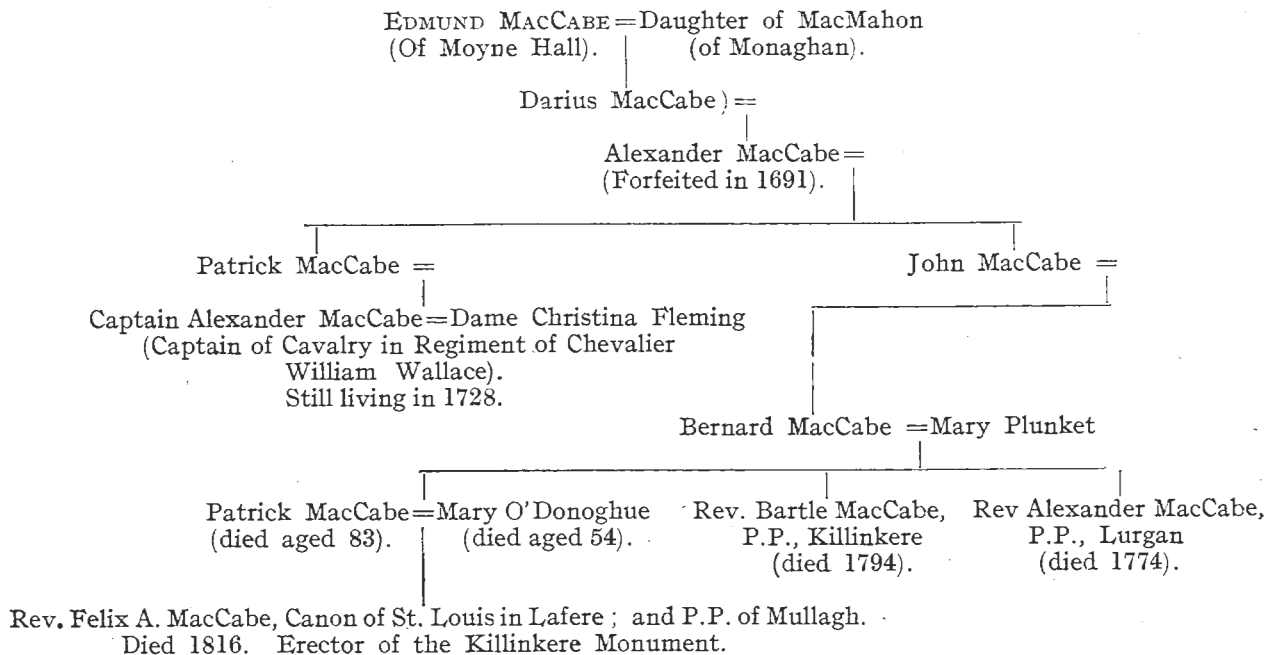
The *regranting* of the family Coat of Arms to Alexander MacCabe was merely the formal recognition of the social status of the family, the establishment of which was a *sine qua non* to military advancement in the aristocratic France of pre-Revolution days.

The inscription on the MacCabe Monument enables us to compile the MacCabe Pedigree, although not in detail. Fortunately, we are able, from other sources, to elaborate the Pedigree in much greater detail. In the course of his exhaustive researches, in the preparation of his *King James's Irish Army List*, the late John D'Alton obtained a Genealogy of the MacCabes extracted from the Archives of King James II, kept in Paris. This Genealogy had been officially certified by "Jaques Terry, Athlone, seul Genealogiste, Juge de Blazon, le Garde armorial de sa Majeste, Jaques Second, Roi de la Grande Britagna," and was drawn up at the instance of Sieur Alexander MacCabe, theretofore a Lieutenant of Horse in the Regiment of Chevalier William Wallace, for the expedition of Scotland, his brevet bearing date 21st April, 1692, signed by King James and countersigned by Lord Melfort, Secretary of State.

We have made [says the Herald or Keeper of the Arms as quoted by D'Alton] an exact search in the memorials of our office, for the genealogy and armorials of said Alexander, and we have found that himself is sojourning in Vitez, in Normandy; is married to Dame Christine Fleming, daughter of Richard Fleming, Esq.; who is son of Christopher, son of James Fleming, Lord Baron of Shane; that said Alexander was the son of Patrick, the son of Alexander, son of Darius; which Darius was the son of Edmund MacCabe, the last chief of the MacCabes who enjoyed the family estates in Cavan, and his spouse was the daughter of the great MacMahon of the County of Monaghan, where Edmund possessed many lordships down to the time of Elizabeth; their chief house being then Moyne-Hall, from which have shot out many branches.

* The very unfavourable delineation of his character depicted in Thackeray's *Esmond* is totally opposed to the historical facts of his career. Thackeray here allows his personal prejudices to obscure his concept of history.

THE MACCABE GENEALOGY AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE PEDIGREE OF THE MACCABES
EXTRACTED FROM THE ARCHIVES OF KING JAMES II, KEPT AT PARIS, AND BY THE
INSCRIPTION ON THE MACCABE MONUMENT AT KILLINKERE.



The document then certifies the armorials to be :

VERT, a fesse wavy, between three salmons naiant argent.
 CREST, a demi-griffin segreant. MOTTO, "aut vincere aut mori," as borne by the MacCubes, for many previous ages in Ireland ; and confirms them to said Alexander and his lawful posterity in his escutcheons triumphal as well as funereal ; dated on the 9th day of February, in the *first* year [*i.e.*, 1701] of the reign of James the Third, at the castle of St. Germain-en-Laye.

A subsequent testimonial, dated at Versailles, 25th February, 1721 [*recte* 1728], "being the 28th year of the reign of our most high, most puissant, most serene Prince James the Third, etc.," seeks to further verify this Pedigree.

It will be observed that the family Pedigree which is only briefly recorded on the Killinkere Monument is very fully detailed in the Paris Genealogy ; in both cases the details are in absolute agreement, but, as would naturally be expected, the lapidary inscription was only intended to be brief. Again, the Genealogy deals only with the descent of Captain Alexander MacCabe. From the inscription we can trace the descent of the Killinkere branch of the family. By collating the information supplied from both sources we are enabled to compile the Genealogy of this great Breiffne family. The Pedigree will be more easily understood from the family tree (opposite).

Moynes Hall, so called from Thomas Moynes, Protestant Bishop of Kilmore, who died in January, 1629, lies a few miles to the south of the town of Cavan, in the Parish of Annagelliffe. In a Chancery Inquisition it is called Lisreagh, *alias* Oughill, *alias* Yoghill, *alias* Moynes Hall ; the 1609 Map of Loughree Barony has "Lisreagh." This was the established seat of the Clan MacCabe for many centuries, and the site of "MacCabe's Castle" is still pointed out near the present Moynes Hall House. Edmund MacCabe, "the last chief of the MacCubes," held his estates intact until the reign of Elizabeth. Early in the reign of James I portion of the estate passed into the possession of the Moynes (or Moynes) family ; the broken tombstone of Sir Roger Moynes may be seen in the old Abbey graveyard of Cavan. After the so-called Restoration the MacCubes regained some of the Lisreagh or Moynes Hall property. Darius (a Latinised form of the Gaelic name *ḶḶḶḶḶ*),* son of Edmund, was the father of Alexander, who lived in the established seat of Moynes Hall until 1691. According to a well attested tradition this Alexander purchased the castle of Stradone, with sixteen townlands in Co. Cavan, from

* As is pointed out by *Ἀν τ-ἄειρ πᾶσις ὁ ὕψις ἐν Στοιμῆ Ζαῶ-εἰς ἢ Ζᾶλ*, many foreign names found in Ireland at present are merely modern substitutions (or Latinisations) for Irish names which they are supposed to translate. Alexander is a substitute for the Gaelic *Ἀλεξάνδρ*. Felix for *Ἰερόλυμῶ* (the Patron of Kilmore Diocese), Darius for *ḶḶḶḶḶ*, etc.

John Fisher, a Cromwellian officer for £800. However, he forfeited all in 1691, having in that year fought at the head of his clansmen at Aughrim, It is believed, traditionally, that he fell in that battle. At any rate, some members of his family departed to France with Sarsfield never to return. His grandson was the Captain Alexander who was so signally honoured by James II, in 1692 and James III in 1728.

Of the family of the Alexander MacCabe who forfeited in 1691 some remained in Co. Cavan and settled in Killinkere. His son John, was the great-grandfather of Father Felix who had the monument erected.

We have already observed the obvious concurrence with the matter and form of the inscription and that of the Genealogy extracted from the Archives of St. Germain-en-Laye. Manifestly, they have a common origin. What then is the source from which this interesting chapter of family history has been gleaned? The answer is obvious when we remember that Father Felix completed his studies in Paris, to which he went in 1783. He was certainly interested in, and acquainted with, the history of his family. At that time there must have survived many links with the reign of James III whose death took place in 1766. We must remember also, that when Father Felix was in Paris less than a century had elapsed since the Battle of Aughrim when the MacCabes had their estates confiscated; hence the tradition was certainly very recent. It is most probable that he had access to the Archives at St. Germain-en-Laye and made a copy of this Genealogy which the researches of D'Alton rediscovered many years later. In preparing the inscription for the MacCabe monument he evidently summarised the details given by the Genealogy, and added the details concerning the descent of his own branch of the family. The inscription is a masterful summary, *multum in parvo*, of the family record, of which he was, naturally, very proud.

It is most likely that the descendants of Captain Alexander MacCabe were still living in France during the lifetime of Father Felix, and that he was personally acquainted with them. They may have been connected with, and very probably residing in, the town of La Fere (about 80 miles north-west of Paris) where Father Felix held the Canonry of the Church of St. Louis. Whether they survived the holocaust of the French Revolution, and their subsequent history, the present writer has, as yet, been unable to ascertain. How much of the Archives of James II were destroyed during the Revolution it is now impossible to estimate, but it is certain that a systematic search through the remaining papers would throw some light on the subsequent history of Captain Alexander.* The manuscript of the Genealogy ought to be

* The Reports of the *Irish Manuscripts Commission* (the first of which is due to appear in the near future) will do much to render accessible to students or Irish history the rich stores of historical materials which have lain for centuries in Continental libraries.

easily accessible. The present writer has examined the Indexes in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, and finds that the existing French State Records would yield, if carefully sifted, much valuable information concerning the Irish exiles of the Jacobite period. The task would be an exacting and arduous one, but the results would be of first rate historical interest.

Captain Alexander MacCabe was living, according to the Genealogy, at Vitez in Normandy. The year of his death is not recorded, but it was probably about 1728, in which year the Pedigree was verified at Versailles. He was evidently buried at Vitez. An examination of the civil and ecclesiastical records of the town of Vitez, presuming that such records survive, would, no doubt, discover additional information concerning himself and his family.

His wife, Lady Christiana Fleming, belonged to the noble family of Slane. In 1642 we find James Fleming of Slane and Stahalmock, Co. Meath, in the list of those attainted. The lords of Slane fought on the side of James II at the Battles of the Boyne and Aughrim and, like the MacCabes, had to seek safety in France. In 1703 the castle and lands of Slane passed into the hands of the Conyngham family. The Flemings owned extensive estates in Cavan, including Cabra Castle near Dunaree, at Kingscourt.

The MacCabe monument in Killinkere is of much historic interest and its inscription preserves for us an interesting chapter of Breiffne history. The family is now represented by the MacCabes of Gallon, who live in the immediate neighbourhood of the old church.*

OTHER INSCRIBED MONUMENTS.

Just outside the southern wall of the ruined church is a massive horizontal slab, resting on pillars, and displaying the Smith Coat of Arms. This belongs to the once influential family whose resi-

* The present worthy representative is Mr. Andrew MacCabe of Gallon, who, at the age of 95 retains all the mental and physical agility of youth. He is a veritable storehouse of historical lore, and is a man of very wide reading both in Irish and European history. In all matter pertaining to the history of his native Killinkere, Mr. MacCabe takes a lively interest. The present writer is indebted to him for much valuable information concerning the district. Mr. MacCabe's grandfather was a first cousin of Rev. Felix MacCabe, and his father was born in 1794—the year of Rev. Bartle MacCabe's death. A tree is known by its fruit; Mr. MacCabe's family have achieved distinction in their various professions in Church and State. One of his sons was a Doctor of Medicine in Pittsburg, U.S.A., and another is the Very Rev. Francis MacCabe, LL.D., V.F., Pittsburg, U.S.A., a life member of this Society.

dence was at "Cherrymount" (tld. of Loughan) near Moynalty, Co. Meath. The rather quaint inscription runs as follows:—

**This monument was erected by
Philip Smith of Monalty, Esq., in memory
of his Father Edwd. Smith who nev
er broke his word nor wronged man
kind and died in June 1785 aged 73 years.**

**Also in memory of
Eleanor Smith alias Fitzsimons daughter of
John Fitzsimons of Cavan in the
County of Cavan wife of the above
Philip who died a good Christian an
effectionate wife and a tender mother
in August 1771 in the 89th year of her
age.**

This family belonged to Killinkere. About 1750 the above Edward Smith is said to have joined the Established Church and obtained the Cherrymount estate. The family is now extinct.

An upright stone, at the north-east corner of the church, marks the grave of the Rev. John O'Reilly, P.P., Moybolge, who died Sept. 9, 1811. He was a native of Beagh, beside Killinkere. The inscription reads as follows:—

**This Monument was Erected
by the Revd John Reilly Pastor
of Moybolog in Memory of his
Father Philip Reilly of Beagh who
Died on the 12th of June 1780
Aged 73 years. Also his Brother
Thos. Reilly of Virginy who Died
on the 15th of January 1795 aged
33 years. Also his Mother
Elinor Reilly alias Fitzsimons who
departed this life January the 10th 1806
aged 76 years. Here lieth the body of the
above Rev. John Reilly who departed
this life Sepr the 9th 1811 aged 65 years.
Requiescant in pace.**

We have already noted that Rev. John O'Reilly was appointed P.P. of Moybolge some time previous to 1797.* Local tradition in Moybolge parish has it that he was transferred to Killann (Bailieboro') early in the last century; but this is highly improbable as the above inscription only refers to him as P.P. of Moybolge. The date of his death—1811—indicates the year of the succession of the Rev. Thomas Blake—clarum et venerabile nomen—to the pastorate of Moybolge and Kilmainhamwood.

* *Journal*, vol. II, p. 225.

Underneath a massive horizontal slab, at the southern side of the graveyard and near the entrance gate, rest two well-known priests of Kilmore diocese, viz., Rev. Alexander MacCabe, P.P., Lurgan (1754-1774), and his brother, Rev. Bartle MacCabe, P.P., Killinkere (1765-1794).^{*} They were uncles of Rev. Felix MacCabe (see *MacCabe Pedigree*). The inscription has long since been worn away and is now indecipherable. The grave was held in great veneration and was visited by large numbers of people every year. Clay was taken away for cures, and this accounts for the cavity underneath the stone. Many cures are said to have been effected. The worn condition of the surface of the stone, together with the fact of its being considerably sunk in the earth, are indications of the great numbers of people who visited the grave in the last century.

The grave is often referred to locally as the "Priests' Grave," and is said to be also the place of burial of some of Father Bartle MacCabe's predecessors in Killinkere.

In the interior of the ruined church, near the east end, may be seen an inscribed horizontal slab now much broken. This marks the family burial ground of Rev. Thomas O'Reilly who was P.P. of Mullagh from 1852 to 1857. He erected this monument and intended to be buried here with his relatives. But his parishioners, who held him in great esteem, decided otherwise, and he was buried at Mullagh.

North of the church, but without any monument to mark his grave, rests the Rev. John Smith, who was P.P. of Killinkere from 1794 to 1810. Alongside rests his brother, Rev. Charles Smith, C.C., Castlerahan, who met his death by drowning in the Laragh River, about the year 1798, when on his way to visit Dr. Charles O'Reilly, Bishop of Kilmore, who then lived at Cootehill. Both are interred here with their relatives. Around these ruined walls rest many of the early pastors of Killinkere whose names have long since passed into the oblivion of the long Night of Time.

THE MONASTERY OF CLANNAPHILLIP.

There is a persistent tradition that a monastery, or college, under the control of the Friars, existed in the tld. of Clannaphillip close by the site of the present Catholic church. A celebrated school was here to which students flocked from all parts of the world ; so says tradition. Furthermore, we are assured that two princes of the royal house of Spain were here together. In a field near by we are pointed out the place where wooden huts were erected as residences for the students. All traces of this monastery have long since disappeared, and no records exist which might help us to elucidate its history. Of its having existed there can be no

^{*} *Journal*, vol. II, p. 42.

doubt, and tradition, although hardly correct in every detail, may be assumed to contain many grains of truth. The church was probably of wood, and no trace survives. But tradition has outlived both monastery and church. In the neighbouring tld. of Carricknamaddoo there is still pointed out the site of the Friars' House; close by is the Friars' Rock, and also the Friars' Well, alongside which Mass was celebrated in the Penal times.

After the period of the confiscations, when the church lands of Clannaphillip were seized, the Friars were scattered and could no longer return to their former possessions. They sought security and refuge in the tld. of Carricknamaddoo then almost inaccessible by reason of its marshes and rocks. For centuries afterwards they managed to eke out a precarious existence here, where they ministered to the spiritual needs of the people during the dark years of the Penal code. From the *Commonwealth Documents* we find that in 1663, the Rev. Neale O'Gowan was "guardian of the friers in the Convent of Carrickmermadderie,"* and, together with Primate Edmund O'Reilly, was alleged to be engaged in a series of conspiracies "in order to a deseign of leavying a warr Here in Ireland." But the various allegations were obviously mere inventions. We find that Rev. Neale O'Gowan was arrested in 1663. It is clear from this document that a monastery existed in Carricknamaddoo during the latter half of the 17th century. But during the reign of Queen Anne, when the Penal Laws were rigorously enforced, the Friars were again forced to live in secrecy, and for nearly a century afterwards we find them celebrating Mass on the Massrocks and in the lonely glens of the parish.†

Although no records of it have survived yet it is practically certain that the monastery of Clannaphillip was an important educational establishment in the centuries immediately preceding the *Inquisition* of 1590. That no record of it survives is not a matter for surprise. Like the other monasteries of the time its work was unostentatious, but its students were able to compare favourably with those who graduated in the great Universities on the Continent.

* *Journal*, vol. II, O. 290.

† The announcement has just been made that an important series of twelve volumes of 17th century Irish Franciscan literature, chiefly preserved at Louvain, is in process of preparation. These volumes, which will be named *Analecta Franciscana Hibernica*, will be reprints of some of the classic publications produced at Louvain together with some hitherto unpublished writings. One of the volumes will deal with the writings and translations of Friar Philip O'Reilly, the Irish Provincial, and a great friend of Owen Roe O'Neill; he died at Prague in 1680. Another volume will be a translation into Irish, from Italian, by Father Thomas MacGauran, who was in Cavan in 1702 and in Strabane in 1714. The *Analecta*, which will be published with notes and translations, will include the great masterpieces of 17th century Gaelic prose, and will also augment our too scanty knowledge of the lives and works of the Franciscan Friars of the time.



CARRAIS AN ALTOIR. **MASS-ROCK IN THE TOWNLAND OF CARRICKNAMADDOO.**
PHOTO BY] [REV. P. CONWAY.

MASS-ROCKS AND CHURCHES.

For two centuries after the suppression of the parish church of Killinkere (in the present tld. of Gallon), no Catholic church existed in the parish. During this period Mass was celebrated furtively, as the many Mass-rocks testify. Prominent by reason of its being one of the chief centres of open-air worship is *CAPIPAIS AN AITOIPI* (i.e., the Altar Rock), situated in the tld. of Carricknamaddoo, on the lands of John Smith. This place is well authenticated. A neighbour of middle age informed Father Small (*Anglo Celt*, Feb. 15, 1913) that he had distinct recollection of his grandfather—who died in 1884, aged 103—relate that when a child he was carried by his parents at break of day to hear Mass at this rock, and that a piece of oaten bread was given him to keep him quiet lest he might attract the attention of passing soldiers.* So accurate was the old man's memory that he could tell the names of the later priests who officiated at *CAPIPAIS AN AITOIPI*—one of them was a Father Brady, from Upper Laragh; another was a Father Terence Fitzsimons, a native of Killinkere. On a high rock near at hand, in James Brady's land, a sentinel was placed to keep guard.

Close at hand in the same tld., on the farm of Patrick Cooney, there is another very prominent Mass-rock which bears the significant title of *CAPIPAIS NA M'ORACAIR*, i.e., the Friars' Rock. Beside it is a little well, called *TOBAR NA M'ORACAIR*, from which water was taken for aspergical purposes. Near the top of the rock is pointed out the site of the Friars' House. Here the Friars lived after being driven from their home in Clannaphillip. Tradition tells how on one occasion the soldiers suddenly invaded the secluded glen, but the alarm was given and the friars escaped down among the rocks of Carricknamaddoo. The rocky nature of the tld. with its many rugged hills and deep glens rendered it an admirable refuge in Penal times, and the absence of passable roads increased its security. These Mass-rocks are preserved with great reverence by the people. The procession and evening devotions at *CAPIPAIS AN AITOIPI*, on Ascension Thursday, 1908, due to the energy and enthusiasm of Rev. Terence Small, then C.C., will long be remembered in Killinkere. The sermon on that occasion was delivered by the great pulpit orator, Rev. John Coyle, C.S.S.R.

In the tld. of Derryham is a quite little valley through which a stream flows. A small hillock which rises over the stream

* Rev. T. Small, the present worthy pastor of Moybolge and Kilmainhamwood and a member of this Antiquarian Society, was C.C. of Killinkere from 1902 to 1914. In the columns of the *Anglo-Celt*, Feb.-May, 1913—he has done great service in collecting and compiling the traditions and details of the history of the parish. He relates many interesting anecdotes of the pastors and people of Killinkere in the 18th and 19th centuries. To his enthusiasm and interest in local history we owe the preservation of valuable historical materials which the apathy and indifference of another generation might have allowed to pass into oblivion.

is locally known as Tullaghlay.* Alongside the stream, and protected from view by a long low ridge on either side, is another well-known Mass-rock; the road which runs through Derryham leads quite close to it. Before the road was constructed a more adaptable spot for purposes of security could hardly have been chosen. The Mass-rock, evidently a temporary altar, was situated alongside the stream. However, it is evident that the place could only accommodate a small congregation. Tradition tells us that the little congregation was surprised on one occasion by the soldiers and that the priest—A Franciscan Friar—was murdered on the spot. The tradition is well authenticated. A handsome iron cross has been erected some years ago by the young men of Killinkere to mark the spot. Another cross has been erected over *CAPIPAIS AN AITIOIR* in Carricknamaddoo.

There is a well-known Mass-rock in the tld. of Corratinner, near the parish church in Upper Killinkere. It is called *CAPIPAIS MÓIR*, and is on the farm of Nicholas Comey. It is even now difficult of access, and we may well imagine how much more difficult it must have been in those days when no passable road existed in the locality. Local tradition tells that the Bishops of Kilmore often celebrated Mass here, also that an Archbishop of Armagh officiated on one occasion on this rocky hillside. Close by is St. Ultan's Holy Well, which we have already described. Until the death of Rev. John Smith, P.P., in 1810, the Feast of St. Ultan (Sept. 4) was celebrated with great solemnity in the parish, and large crowds assembled at the Holy Well.†

During the last quarter of the 18th century, when the Penal Laws were being gradually relaxed, we find the Catholics of Killinkere venturing out from their hiding places among the rocks of Carricknamaddoo and Corratinner. In the year 1780 a little mud-wall *BOITEAC* (*i.e.*, a hut, or roughly constructed

* This is the local pronunciation; probably *TULAC LAOIS*, *i.e.*, the hill, or pasture, of the calves.

† On some stones around the well inscriptions, comparatively modern, will be observed. On the smooth face of the rock a short distance above the well, and alongside the path leading up to the Mass-rock, the following inscription occurs:—

PRAY
FOR
LAUGHLIN
SMITH WHO
DYED MARCH
THE 24th
1779

The practice of making such wayside inscriptions was quite a common one at that time, and many examples are to be met with in various parts of Breifne. From the occurrence of the inscription just noted we may infer that the well and Massrock were places of pilgrimage in 1779, at a time when no Catholic church had, as yet, been erected in the parish.

It is to be regretted that some modern sculptor, in a moment of genuine but misdirected enthusiasm has inscribed some misleading and purely imaginative dates (*e.g.*, 1605) on the surrounding rock-surfaces.

edifice) was erected, through the exertions of Rev. Bartle MacCabe, in the tld. of Corratinner, just alongside the entrance gate to the present church. Its position was east to west. This humble structure served the parish until 1829 when, on the advent of Most Rev. Dr. Browne to the diocese as Bishop, the present parish church was built under the supervision of the Rev. John Fitzsimons, P.P., and the Rev. John Brady, C.C. (who afterwards died in the Parish of Moybolge in 1842 and rests in Tievurcher church). The contract price for its erection was £330 (a large sum in those days). It was entrusted to Messrs. Cuffe and Brady, of Virginia, and so expeditiously did they carry out their work that the first Mass was celebrated in it on Christmas Day, 1829. In 1842 the training of a choir was undertaken by Rev. Patrick Cullen, C.C., assisted by Mr. Williams a well-known musician of his day.

In this church are interred two well-remembered pastors—Rev. John Fitzsimons, who died Feb. 13, 1847, and Rev. Bernard MacCabe, died Sept. 11, 1902.

In the grounds adjacent to the church rests the late Rev. Joseph B. Meehan, P.P., M.R.I.A., the eminent scholar and antiquarian, who died October 18th, 1926. The present writer had the privilege of being intimately acquainted with him, and will always retain the happiest memories of the many pleasant days spent in his company. His splendid library was always at the writer's disposal, and his valuable help and advice on historical matters always cheerfully rendered. *Ar láim deir Dé go raib a anam.*

About 1785 another little mud-wall church—*Doitead*—was erected in the lower division of the parish. It was situated at Termon cross-roads in the field now occupied by Peter Lynch. This humble structure was built of mud and sods, covered over with rushes and open at both ends so that the people kneeling around in the field could see the priest celebrating Mass. Some of the older residents relate that their fathers, when young men, frequently knelt in the rain and storm outside this humble little chapel. This church served its purpose until 1810 when a more commodious thatched church was erected by the Rev John Fitzsimons, P.P., close beside the site of the old monastery of Clannaphillip. For many years this church, which occupied the site of the present one, served the district, and was occasionally enlarged and improved.

When the Rev. Charles O'Reilly, late P.P. of Laragh, came to Clannaphillip as C.C. in Jan., 1864, he set about collecting funds for the erection of a new church, but it was not until July, 1870, that he was able to put his plans into operation. The new church was built by Mr. Carolan, Shercock, from designs supplied by Mr. Ryan, Dublin, one of the most eminent architects of his day. However, owing to unforeseen circumstances, Father Charles was only able to complete the shell of the church, leaving to the Rev. Peter Galligan, P.P., the task of providing a handsome High Altar,

flooring and seating accommodation. It is worthy of mention that the generous parishioners of the Clannaphillip district bore the entire cost of the church.

A handsome white Carrara marble slab, on a background of black Kilkenny marble, was erected in 1912 near the High Altar by the Rev. T. Small, then C.C. On this slab are inscribed the names of ten of the deceased pastors of the parish. There are mural tablets to the memories of Rev. Peter Galligan, P.P., who died in 1883, and Rev. Thomas Smith, P.P., who died in 1885. A cemetery used for interments since about 1862, surrounds the Church. On the outside of the sacristy wall may be seen a curiously sculptured head resembling a wrinkled old woman. This is most probably belonging to the old monastery.* Tradition says that it represents the "Cailleach Gearagain," or female monster which St. Patrick is supposed to have banished from Moybolge.†

* This sculptured head may be regarded as the sole remnant of the Monastery of Clannaphillip which has come down to our time; it very fittingly finds a place in the wall of the present church. It is a very interesting object of antiquity, but we can only conjecture what personage it is intended to represent. Of its great age there can be no doubt, and it is now much worn, evidently having been rescued from the debris of some old church.

† The curious legend of the *Cailleach Gearagain* has retained all its weird significance from generation to generation around Moybolge. I have already summarised it in these pages (*Journal*, vol. II, p. 196). But this, apparently, wildly exaggerated and fanciful legend cannot be dismissed as entirely devoid of foundation. Tradition tells us that St. Patrick visited Moybolge. In his missionary travels through Ireland he had frequently to destroy or exorcise idols or pagan divinities; for example, he destroyed the idol *Cromm Cruaich* of Magh Sleacht (beside Templeport), and there are reasons for believing that he exorcised the "two demons" (ὑά ετιαρ) of Dromahaire. The *Cailleach Gearagain* legend is conclusive evidence that Moybolge was the scene of a similar exorcism. Our presumption is that the prominent hill of Moybolge was, in pre-Patrician times, the site of a pagan ceremonial station where some pagan divinity was adored, and which was destroyed by St. Patrick. The tradition definitely tells us that an exorcism was performed, and furthermore, the fact that the central figure is called a "*Cailleach*" suggests immediately that the divinity was a *female*. Hence, we may accept the story as substantially true. Again, St. Patrick always founded a church beside the spot where he destroyed a pagan divinity; Moybolge was no exception, and the ruins of St. Patrick's church crown the famous hill.

It was inevitable that the legend should have undergone many minor variations, but, as I have shown, the principal facts are substantially preserved. The well-known family of mac Gearáin (usually written *Garrigan* or *Gargan*) were for many centuries the Erenachs of Moybolge, and gave many priests to Kilmore diocese. The antiquity of the family in the district (dating, probably, from the days of St. Patrick) would have suggested (to an enemy of the Garrigans, I presume) the probability of the *Cailleach*, or female divinity, having been an eponymous ancestor; this accounts for the form of the name by which tradition remembers the divinity. The Garrigans are still numerically strong in Breifne, although many, indeed, of the "ninety-nine generations" (of the legend) have already crossed the famous stream at Moybolge.

The visitor who stands on the summit of the conspicuous Moat of Moybolge and surveys the surrounding plains of Cavan and Meath cannot fail to realise that such a prominent and commanding position was admirably adapted for the effective display of an awe-inspiring idol in Pagan times.

For many years in the beginning of the last century we find no mention of a curate in the parish till the name of Rev. Patrick Farrelly, a native of Mullagh, occurs in the early twenties. Transferred to Knockbride he was succeeded by Rev. John Brady, a native of Drung, already referred to. Father Farrelly was re-transferred from Knockbride to Killinkere in 1835. In 1839 he purchased a farm and built a house in Derryham, being thus the first priest, in recent times, to live in the Clannaphillip district. In 1841 he went to Annagh East as P.P. Down to 1878 there was no curates' residence, but in that year Rev. Edward O'Reilly, C.C., purchased the house and farm surrounding the church, and the curates have now a convenient residence.

The Protestant parish of Killinkere is co-extensive with the Catholic parish. The church for the erection of which the Board of First Fruits granted £900 as a gift, and £1,200 as a loan, in 1817, is in the tld. of Beagh. The same board, in 1816, gave £325, and lent £1,050 towards the erection of the glebe house. According to Lewis* the rectory is inappropriate in the representatives of Richard, Earl of Westmeath: the vicarial tithe rent-charge was £360. The glebe contained 331 acres of profitable land, with about 47 acres of bog. The Protestant parish of Mullagh belongs to Killinkere; the incumbent was allowed £55 per annum by the vicar. Part, also, of Killinkere was added about a century ago to the district of Billis, to the incumbent of which curacy the vicar paid £45 per annum.

THE OLD PAROCHIAL REGISTER.

The old Parish Register of Killinkere is one of the most valuable and interesting records we possess of the ecclesiastical history of the parish during the last half of the 18th century. From its pages we can gather a vast amount of valuable information concerning the pastors and people of the time which is not to be found elsewhere.

The Register is divided into two parts—Matrimonial and Baptismal portions—and the entries in both are in excellent Latin. The Baptismal part commences rather abruptly in May, 1766, and ends in January, 1790. For many years the Register remained in a house in Killann parish where, in all probability many of its leaves were lost. Another portion of the Register was similarly located in Lower Killinkere. The late Father MacCabe, P.P., on his appointment to the parish in May, 1888, immediately got posses-

* *Topog Dict.*, s.v., "Killencare."

sion of both portions, had them strongly bound together, and added on some large fly-leaves at the back many interesting historical facts relating to the parish. The earlier portion of the register was kept by the Rev. Bartle MacCabe, P.P., of Killinkere and Mullagh. It may be noted that his brother Rev. Alexander MacCabe, P.P., of Lurgan, commenced to keep his Register in 1755. Both these pastors, educated on the Continent, were very thorough in the keeping of parochial records, for which future historians will feel very grateful.

The names of the townlands are given, and in this way we can trace back for many generations the families of Killinkere. The names of some of the pastors of Kilmore are preserved. For instance we find in the Baptismal portion *sub anno* 1767 mention of Rev. John O'Reilly, P.P., Lavey, and also under same year "Rev. Felim MacCabe, a Kilmore priest." *Sub anno* 1768 a Brother Andrew Smith is mentioned—very probably a Franciscan Friar.

Turning to the Matrimonial portion we find preserved the names of many of the bishops and priests of the time. Like the Baptismal portion it begins rather abruptly in 1766, thus showing that an earlier portion has been lost. Under that year we find a reference to Rev. Anthony Smith, P.P., Laragh, and V.G., Kilmore. *Sub anno* 1768—May 28th—is recorded a matrimonial dispensation granted by Dr. Andrew Campbell, Bishop of Kilmore. Dr. Maguire, Bishop of Kilmore (1770-98) is frequently mentioned.

On each Catholic marriage a licence has to be procured from the Protestant Rector, and a fee paid. This explains the number of entries of payments to the Rev. Dawson Crow. For example *sub anno* 1778 we find—"Paid William Kirke the sum of one pound fifteen shillings for the use of the Reverend Dawson Crow this 5th day of February, 1778, being in full of all the marriage dues until this day." This William Kirke was the Protestant parish clerk. Several entries of a similar nature are to be found. These payments were made under duress and owing to the poverty of the people were a great hardship.*

From 1790 until 1842 the records have, unfortunately, been lost. In the latter year they begin again and have since been kept with unfailing regularity. The old Registers are of very great historical value and we hope that some competent Kilmore historian will carefully study them and so preserve for posterity an invaluable record of Kilmore history covering a period for which the details are already only too scanty. The old Registers of Lurgan (1755-1795) and Castlerahan (1751-1776) will also help to fill many a lacuna when the history of Kilmore diocese is being collected and written.

* For an account of similar exactions in Co. Westmeath see Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, vol. II, p. 456.

SUCCESSION OF PASTORS.

The earliest reference to a pastor of Killinkere, so far discovered, is in the *Papal Registers* under date March, 1406, when Rev. Donald Oqueorgan was assigned the parish church of KILLINCHEIR. It is clear from the statement, already quoted, that he had charge of both Mullagh and Killinkere. We learn that at that time, although the rectory had been void for a long time, the parish was governed by a perpetual vicar.

For a long period of nearly three centuries afterwards we have no record of the pastors of the parish. That the parish in the troubled years which followed the Reformation was well served with pastors there can be no doubt; but their names cannot now be ascertained. Coming down to the year 1663 we find that a Franciscan monastery was then in existence in the tld. of Carricknamaddoo, and that the Rev. Neale O'Gowan was Guardian.* The documents purporting to describe the activities of Father O'Gowan have already been discussed in these pages. He appears to have attracted the attention of the authorities at the time and was arrested by Sir Patrick Hamilton on warrant dated August 17, 1663. The Friars served the district and we may assume that Father O'Gowan had charge of the parish. His subsequent fate is uncertain.

In 1704 the Rev. Michael O'Clery was registered at Cavan as P.P. of Killinkere.* He was then aged 66, and was ordained in 1670 at Rossmuckagelew [Rossmakilla], Co. Louth, by Primate Plunket. He lived in the tld. of Drumanespick in the parish of Killann, but bordering his own parish. His sureties (for £50 each) were Philip Reilly of Laragh and John MacFadden of Carnilinchy. After 1709 the priests had to live in hiding, and for over half a century afterwards Mass had to be celebrated in secret. In a secluded glen in Drumanespick the people still point out the site of Father O'Clery's house. Close by, in the river separating the tlds. of Drumanespick and Monaghanoose, is a well-known rock still known as "Father O'Clery's Mass-Rock." He seems to have been a much revered pastor, and his memory is still green after the passage of two centuries. The year of his death is not recorded, but as his name does not occur in the 1715 list it is fairly certain that his death had occurred before that year. He probably died about 1710 and was buried either in Gallon or Moybolge.

The name of his immediate successor cannot now be traced. The Penal laws were then being rigorously enforced and the pastors had to remain in secrecy; *E loco refugii nostri* was their

* *Journal*, vol. II, p. 290; Rev. W. P. Burke's *Irish Priests in the Penal Times* (1660-1760), p. 2. It is likely that an exhaustive search through the *Carte* manuscripts in the Bodleian, Oxford, would discover further details.

† *Registry of 1704*—Dublin. Printed by Andrew Crook, 1705.

usual address. Tradition tells how Friars travelling in disguise ministered to the people in those dark days. Mass was celebrated on the Mass-Rocks of Carricknamaddoo and Corratinner and in the little valley of Derryham where, we are told, one of the Franciscans met his death.

Towards the close of the first half of the 18th century we find the Rev. Bernard Smith officiating as pastor during a period of intensive persecution. He was actively at work in 1750 as we learn from the list of Kilmore priests in the *Relatio Status* of Most Rev. Laurence Richardson, Bishop of Kilmore, dated June 9 of that year, and preserved in the Archive of the Congregation of the Council, Rome.* Father Smith died in or about 1763 or 1764. His *Will*, which was preserved in the Public Record Office, Dublin, was dated 1761.

Rev. John MacKiernan succeeded. From an entry in the old Parochial Register of Lurgan we find that he was already officiating as pastor of Killinkere in February, 1765.† Father MacKiernan died towards the close of the same year, and early in the following year—1766—we find Rev. Bartle MacCabe pastor of both Killinkere and Mullagh. In this year he commenced to keep his Register which preserves for us much valuable information concerning the parish during the period of his pastorate.

The parishes of Mullagh and Killinkere were amalgamated about this time owing to the scarcity of priests and the difficulties of ecclesiastical administration which arose in the Penal times. Rev. Edmund Gargan was pastor of Mullagh in 1750 (Dr. Richardson's *Relatio Status*) and was still actively performing his parochial duties in 1759 as we learn from an entry under that year in the Matrimonial Register of the neighbouring parish of Lurgan.‡ He must have passed away soon afterwards for we find from a later entry in the same Register that the Rev. John MacKiernan was pastor of Mullagh in May, 1762. Again, we find, as already noted, that Father MacKiernan was also pastor of Killinkere in February, 1765. It is evident from these entries that the amalgamation of the parishes took place about 1763, or 1764, and most probably after the death of Rev. Bernard Smith.

Father MacKiernan was probably a Franciscan. There can be no doubt that he was identical with the Rev. John McKernan, a Friar who was reported, in 1744, to be living surreptitiously in the parish [barony ?] of Castlerahan but with "no certain place of abode."§ Evidently, he ministered to the people of the surrounding parishes at a time when there was a scarcity of priests. He was one of the many Friars who travelled around in disguise and assisted the pastors in times of stress and strain.

* *Archivium Hibernicum*, vol. V., p. 134.

† *Cf. Journal*, vol. II, p. 41.

‡ *Cf. Journal*, vol. I, p. 162; vol. II, p. 42.

§ Report of Samuel Moore, High Sheriff of Cavan, dated March 21, 1744; *Burke's Irish Priests in the Penal Times*, p. 291.

Although he did not escape the vigilance of the spies in 1744 yet he contrived successfully to evade pursuit. On the death of the Rev. Edmund Gargan—about 1760 or 1761—he was appointed to the parochial charge of Mullagh, and a few years later, on the death of Rev. Bernard Smith, the parish of Killinkere was also assigned to his charge. After a strenuous career, during which he experienced the full blast of the Penal code, he passed away towards the end of 1765. He was buried, most probably, in Gallon.

Rev. Bartle MacCabe, who succeeded, was born at Broomfield, beside Virginia, in, or about, the year 1729; he was the son of Bernard McCabe and Mary Plunket (*MacCabe Pedigree*, supra). Having received his early education at home, in one of the many hedge schools of the period, he contrived to go to the Continent where he pursued his studies in the famous college of Louvain. After Ordination he returned to Ireland and towards the end of 1765 was appointed P.P. of both Killinkere and Mullagh. Father MacCabe was a worthy scion of the great Breiffne family from which he sprang. He was a man of unbounded energy and zeal, and combined high intellectual attainments with a thorough administrative capacity. Coming to the parishes at a time when the long night of the Penal Code has seriously undermined ecclesiastical administration he set about the arduous work of reorganisation. He lived in the tld. of Raffony, in Mullagh Parish, as this was the most central position from which to administer the large area assigned to his spiritual care. The years in which he lived and worked were strenuous ones, and the tasks allotted him necessitated a man of his stamp. For many years he had no assistant priest, if we except an occasional Friar who visited the parish at irregular intervals, and the duty of attending to the two parishes—hilly and with almost impassable roads—fell to his lot.

An old resident of the district—Mrs. O'Reilly of Grousehall who died about 1905 at the age of 95—described to Father Small the method of parochial visitation at Christmas and Easter adopted by Father MacCabe. He travelled on horseback, carrying his vestments and his scanty bed-clothes, and taking the tlds. in regular succession. On his arrival, generally late in the evening, at the house where he intended celebrating Mass and performing the Station next morning, a large bundle of straw was ignited on the nearest hill as a signal of his arrival. Very often he slept on a clean bed of straw in a corner of the farmhouse covered with the bed clothes that he invariably carried in a pocket of the saddle. Then, when with patience and sympathy he had attended to the spiritual needs of the locality, he proceeded to the next. For almost thirty years he continued his rounds in the same manner. His brother, Father Alexander, who was P.P. of Lurgan from 1754 to 1774, and who was also an energetic pastor, performed his duties similarly.

When the Penal laws had been slightly relaxed, and were no longer so rigorously enforced, Father MacCabe set about the erection of small thatched chapels. The mudwall structures of Corratinner and Clannaphillip, which we have described, were erected during his pastorate, and in them he celebrated Mass on Sundays and Holydays. The parish of Mullagh was then badly in need of a church, so he had a thatched edifice erected in the tld. of Cornakill. It was characteristic of him that, despite his arduous duties and the trying times in which he lived, he did not fail to keep his register in perfect order and to enter every detail of parochial importance. His brother, Father Alexander, did likewise and the pages of both their Registers preserve for us invaluable details of diocesan history.

A chalice belonging to Father MacCabe is still in use in Mullagh parish church; it bears the inscription: PROCURAVIT BARTHOLOMEUS MACCABE PASTOR DE MULLAH A.D. 1768. The old leather case in which it is still kept is evidently the original one in which it was probably smuggled in from the Continent. Another chalice in use in Clannaphillip church has the inscription: QUOTIES IN HOC CALICE CONSECRAYERIS, TOTIES IN ANIMAE MEAE MEMORIAM FECERIS BARTHOLEMEUS MACCABE PASTOR DE KILLINKERE, A.D. 1779.

The old Register is in his handwriting and reveals his literary accomplishments. The memory of Father MacCabe is as fresh to-day in Killinkere as if only a few years had elapsed since he ceased his labours.

Some years previous to his death the Catholic population had begun to increase, and, as the heroic old priest was feeling the effects of toil and age, two curates were appointed to assist him; one was his nephew, Rev. Felix MacCabe, and the other was Rev. John Smith—both natives of Killinkere. At length in the late summer of 1794 he passed away. *Siste viator*: at the southern side of the ancient churchyard of Gallon, and near the entrance gate, is a massive horizontal slab, with its inscription long since worn away. Why is this "Priests' Grave" held in such veneration by the people? Because here rest, *inter alios*, after their arduous labours, the Rev. Bartle MacCabe and his brother Rev. Alexander MacCabe, pastor of Lurgan.

On the death of Father MacCabe the parishes were again separated and allotted as follows: Killinkere to Rev. John Smith, and Mullagh to Rev. Felix MacCabe.

The career of the Rev. Felix MacCabe, who was appointed P.P. of Mullagh in 1794, is an interesting one and deserves to be recorded. This great ecclesiastic—for great he was—was born, as I have already stated, in the tld. of Greaghnafarna, Lower Killinkere, in the early fifties of the 18th century; he was the son of Patrick MacCabe and Mary O'Donoghue, and grandson of Bernard MacCabe and Mary Plunket. Of his early years we have very



THE MacCABE CHALICE.—A.D. 1768.

PHOTO BY]

[P. O'CONNELL.

few biographical details, except that he attended a local hedge-school and seems to have studied the classics under the tuition of one of the Friars (probably the Rev. John MacKiernan) who was living in the district. The greater part of his early education was received at the hands of his uncles, Fathers Bartle and Alexander.

Seeking ecclesiastical training in France he entered the College of St. Nicholas-du-Chardonnet, in Paris, as a student in June, 1783.* Here he pursued a brilliant in Theology and after his Ordination was raised to the dignity of Canon. In the inscription on the Killinkere monument (already described), which he himself had erected, he is referred to as "Ci-devant [*i.e.*, former] Canon of Saint Louis in Lafere"; this place is, obviously, the town of La Fere, twelve miles N.W. of Laon in the Department of Aisne, S.E. France.† He was probably a chaplain to some of the French noble families of the time, and supported himself in this way as did many of the Irish priests on the Continent during the 18th century. At the outbreak of the French Revolution when France was plunged into one of the most sanguineous cataclysms in the world's history, and the churches and colleges were wrecked or confiscated, Father Felix had to fly from France.‡ He witnessed the terrible and unbridled excesses which characterised the *Reign of Terror* and the sights of the orgies of that period left an indelible impression on his memory and formed the theme of many of his sermons. What a pity that he never compiled his autobiography!

Returning to Killinkere he served as curate for a few years under Father Bartle. On the death of the latter he was appointed to Mullagh. He lived in the tld. of Raffony, which had been for so many years the residence of his uncle. At that time the parish church of Mullagh was in the tld. of Cornakill; its ruins may still be seen on the left of the road leading from the "Gates of Mullagh" to the church of Crossreagh. The older people of the district, whose fathers well remembered Father Felix, tell how he had prayers recited after Mass every Sunday to protect against the triple scourge of which he was a witness in Paris—war, with its concomitants, famine and pestilence.

The Killinkere monument which we have already described, was erected by him, about 1812, to mark the burial-place of his

* The records of this college contain the following entries relative to other students from Kilmore Diocese:—May, 1771, entered Francis Maglane; October 13, 1771 entered Hugh O'Reilly.

† La Fere is in the Diocese of Soissons and Ecclesiastical Province of Rheims. The date of the appointment of Father Felix to the Canonry could, most probably be discovered from the diocesan records of Soissons, or from the local records at La Fere. Many of these records, however, perished during the Revolution.

‡ For a vivid account of the Revolutionary period, see Hilaire Belloc's *French Revolution* (Home University Library).

parents and relatives. He was a man of high intellectual attainments, a great classical scholar and one of the best known and most accomplished priests of his day. Many of the leading ecclesiastics of the time enjoyed his friendship and paid him visits. In the record of *Visitations** of the Most Rev. Dr. Plunket, Bishop of Meath, dated July 23, 1805, we find that Dr. Plunket, in company with the Right Rev. Dr. Dillon, Bishop of Kilmore, dined at Mullagh with Father MacCabe. On all matters, civil and ecclesiastical, Father Felix was a leading authority, and his vast experience and untiring energy were devoted to the welfare of his people. Tradition remembers him as a man of medium stature, not tall, very neatly dressed, an impressive preacher, a brilliant conversationist, and presenting a very dignified appearance.

Among the pages of the old Register of Lurgan will be found a Latin letter (dated January 29th, 1800) from him to the Rev. Francis O'Reilly, the then P.P. of Lurgan. It is to be regretted that his Register of Mullagh Parish has been lost. After his death it remained at Raffony in the house in which he had lived, and the people, unaware of its great historical value, utilised its priceless pages for papering goods in a shop!! Thus passed away, beyond hope of recovery, an invaluable chapter of Kilmore diocesan history, and the historian of the future will search in vain for the details of the pastorate of the great Father MacCabe. It is to be feared that many an invaluable parochial Register perished in the same manner. The papers and correspondence of Archbishop Troy, of Dublin, were rescued from a grocer's shop, as also were many valuable documents belonging to Primate Curtis!

Father MacCabe died on December 10, 1816, and was buried in the old churchyard of *Teampull Ceallaigh* (locally known as "Kelly's Church") at Mullagh. His relatives are buried in Killinkere where evidently he intended to be buried also; but the people of Mullagh insisted that he should be interred in the parish which he had served so faithfully and well. One hundred and fourteen years have rolled away since this great ecclesiastic was laid to rest in *Teampull Ceallaigh*; still his name lives in the respect and memory of the people. No monument marks his grave but the spot is pointed out by the older people, a few perches south-west of the ruined church. It is said that some of his predecessors rest in the same tomb.

Rev. John Smith, who succeeded to the pastorate of Killinkere in the autumn of 1794 was born in the tld. of Greaghnacunnia. The Smith family to which he belonged came originally from the Parish of Lavey. Expelled from their lands in the early 18th century they came to Killinkere and settled down in Greaghnacunnia and Corratinner. Even here they did not escape the unwelcome

‡ Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, vol. III, p. 340.

attention of the mandarins of the day ; tradition relates that late one summer's evening their home was almost surrounded by mounted troopers from Virginia coming to seize them. Fortunately, the inmates contrived to escape into Corratinner bog where the troopers' horses were unable to pursue them.

Having received his elementary education at home he went to the sunny land of Spain to the world-famed Irish College at Salamanca, where he had a brilliant college record. The Irish College of his day is said to have contained at one and the same time every one of the four future Archbishops of Ireland. After Ordination he returned to his native Killinkere as assistant to Father Bartle MacCabe. This would have been about 1782 in which year we find the first mention of his name in the old Parochial Register as officiating in the parish.

Every year during his pastorate he celebrated the Feast of St. Ultan, Patron of the Parish, with great solemnity. The neighbouring priests assisted at the devotions in the church, the people attended in large numbers, and in the evening the customary Stations were performed around St. Ultan's Well.

Father Smith lived in the tld. of Coolnacola, where he died in the year 1810. He was interred with his relatives, in Gallon graveyard, north of the old church and near the MacCabe Monument. His grave is unmarked but the older people point out the green sward under which he rests.*

Alongside rests his brother, Rev. Charles Smith, whose tragic death is often referred to by the people. He was C.C. of Castlelahan, and when on way to visit Dr. Charles O'Reilly, Bishop of Kilmore, who then lived near Cootehill, intended to visit Rev. Michael Smith, P.P., Laragh Lower. The river was swollen by a recent heavy rainfall, which had undermined the wooden bridge which then spanned the river some distance above Laragh House. On attempting to cross it the planks gave way, and both horse and rider were precipitated into the roaring torrent. Father Charles was drowned and it was only after a considerable time that his body was found in the river near Laragh House, in the spot where stones were afterwards quarried for Laragh Protestant Church. The horse escaped and made his way back some ten miles from the Laragh river, and when Father Charles's aged mother arose the following morning she discovered the riderless horse standing at the door. This happened about the year 1798.

Some remarkable incidents pertaining to the recovery of the body of Father Smith are related by the older people of Killinkere and Laragh. For some time before the body was recovered, tradition tells us, a bright light was frequently seen hovering over

* From the 1801 list of Kilmore priests given in *The Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh*, vol. IV, p. 118, we find that he was a Secular—as was also Rev. Felix MacCabe—and no curate is entered in either Killinkere or Mullagh.

the spot where the remains were afterwards found. Again, we are told the Pyx which he carried in his vest pocket was untouched by the water and quite dry, although his body had been immersed for a month in the river. Such are the traditions which have survived concerning the fate of Father Charles Smith.

Rev. John Fitzsimons succeeded in 1810. Born in the tld. of Beagh, Upper Killinkere, in July, 1777, he was the son of George Fitzsimons and Mary O'Reilly. Ordained in 1803, he was appointed C.C. of Killinkere and spent the rest of his life in the parish. Father John, as he is yet affectionately called, was a typical priest of the old school. Old people who remember him, draw a vivid picture of his appearance. He was tall and very muscular, wore a silk cravat, knee-breeches, with brightly burnished brass buttons, cloth gaiters, and handsome silver-buckled shoes. At the time of his accession to the parish the church accommodation was of a wretched character, there being only two small mud-wall churches already described; he immediately set about remedying this state of affairs, and erected a large thatched chapel at Clannaphillip which served its purpose till 1870. He built a more substantial and ambitious parish church at Killinkere in 1829 which still serves the parish.

Father John was noted for his witty answers in Gaelic—the every-day language of the people at that time. He was matchless at repartee and many of his replies and sayings are yet remembered by the people. He did not live to see his flock decimated by the Great Famine and emigration; his death took place on February 13, 1847, and he was buried in the parish church of Killinkere.

Rev. Terence O'Reilly succeeded. He was a native of Bailieboro' and in his early years, owing to lack of means to pursue his ecclesiastical studies, he taught a classical school in Kilmainhamwood and among his pupils were the sons of the Protestant rector. Having studied for the priesthood he had the distinction—together with the Rev. Patrick Brady, afterwards P.P., Knockbride—of being ordained by the Most Rev. Dr. James Warren Doyle—the famous "J. K. L."—Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. Father Terence's first curacy, 1826, was in Moybolge, for while there we find him deputed to meet Most Rev. Dr. Browne at Kells on his first coming to take charge of the Diocese of Kilmore in June, 1827. A little later the scene of his ministrations was changed to Drumkeeran, for we find him there as C.C. to the well-known Father Tom Maguire of controversial fame. Later on he is C.C. of Mullagh with Rev. Thomas O'Reilly, P.P., whose sudden and tragic end in 1857, soon after the Hughes' Election, caused a very painful shock. Afterwards we find him in Killann as C.C. with Rev. Philip O'Reilly, P.P., and then in February, 1847, as P.P., Killinkere. As a young man he was a noted athlete. On his first coming to the parish he lived in Upper Termon, but he afterwards purchased a farm at Greaghafarna, where he built a house which

was his residence during the remainder of his days. His pastorate extended over the long period of 31 years and six months, and he died July 3, 1878.

Rev. Charles O'Reilly succeeded; he was a native of Bailieboro'. Ordained in Rome, his first curacy was in Drumreilly Lower from which he was transferred to Killinkere as C.C. in Jan., 1864. The old thatched church of Clannaphillip was then in a dilapidated condition, so Father Charles—whose stay in Rome had developed a deep interest in church architecture—immediately raised a district cess and when sufficient funds were on hands he erected the present church of Clannaphillip. He was very popular with the people and was possessed of great energy and zeal. In April, 1881, he was transferred to Laragh Parish in succession to the Rev. Thomas Brady, who went to Drumgoon. He died in Laragh, after a pastorate of 22 years, and a handsome monument marks his grave beside Laragh Church.

Rev. Peter Galligan succeeded in 1881. He belonged to Crosserlough, where he was born in 1837. Ordained in 1863 he ministered in Cavan, Castlerahan, and Killesher, from which he was transferred to Killinkere. He immediately set about the completion of the interior of Clannaphillip Church, and provided the handsome High Altar. His pastorate was a short one; his death took place on Dec. 21, 1883, and he rests in Clannaphillip Church where a mural tablet has been erected to his memory.*

Rev. Thomas Smith succeeded. A native of Tullyco, Laragh, where he was born in 1826, he was ordained in Paris in 1856, and laboured as C.C. in Cavan, Maudabawn, Ballintemple, and Knocknanny, from whence he was promoted to the pastorate of Drumreilly Lower, and in Jan., 1884, to Killinkere. There was much poverty in the parish at the time and Father Smith was always ready to assist. His pastorate was all too brief, for he passed away on April 21, 1885, and was buried in Clannaphillip Church. A mural tablet to his memory was erected by his nephew the late Rev. Patrick Smith, P.P., Moybolge and Kilmainhamwood.

Rev. Peter Smith succeeded. He was P.P. Curlough, and was transferred to Killinkere in a dying state—a last attempt to prolong his life, as it was considered that the air here was drier than in Curlough. He was not destined to live long in Killinkere, and passed away on August 7, 1886. Father Peter is better remembered in Upper Laragh, which was his first curacy, and where he spent 16 years.

Rev. James Murray succeeded. He was a native of Crosserlough and was promoted to Killinkere from Annagh, where he had acted as Adm. to Father Dunne, P.P. His pastorate was brief, for he died suddenly, on Jan. 9, 1888, and was buried at Clannaphillip.

* In this *Journal*, vol. II, p. 309, the period of his pastorate is erroneously entered as "1883 to 1886": it should read "1881 to 1883"

Rev. Bernard MacCabe succeeded. Born in the tld. of Raffony, Mullagh Parish, in 1839, he was ordained in 1864 and having laboured as C.C. in Kilmore, Cavan, Shercock, Drumgoon, and Laragh, he was appointed P.P. Glenade. Transferred to Killinkere on the death of Rev. James Murray he began to work with his accustomed zeal. Owing to the deaths in such rapid succession of so many preceding pastors a number of very necessary parochial works had been neglected. In the Clannaphillip district the school buildings were in a poor condition, but very soon two fine schools, Lurganure and Derryham, were erected. The state of education in the Lisnagirl district called for prompt and vigorous measures. No Catholic school existed there, and Father Bernard determined to provide one. There was much opposition, a site was refused by the then owner of the soil, and prolonged legal proceedings followed. The case was carried to the Privy Council, where Father Bernard, assisted by the people of the district, won a splendid victory; a fine school was then erected.

The want of a suitable parochial residence was long felt in the parish, and a handsome presbytery was built in 1890 close to the parish church. Afterwards he erected a bell, at a cost of £70, in Clannaphillip. His work in the parish will long be remembered. He died Sept. 11, 1902, and was buried in the parish church, where a mural tablet commemorates him.

Rev. John O'Reilly, who belonged to Lurgan Parish, succeeded. He had been C.C., Knockninny, was transferred to Killinkere in Dec., 1888, and laboured for 13 years as C.C. in the Clannaphillip district. His death took place on Jan. 18, 1919, aged 78 years, and in the 52nd of his sacred ministry. A handsome monument marks his grave beside Lurgan parish church.

Rev. Patrick Osborne, a native of Mullagh Parish, succeeded. He was transferred to Mullagh on the death of Rev. Luke Carroll on February 14, 1923.

Rev. Joseph B. Meehan, M.R.I.A., succeeded. Born in Manorhamilton, Co. Leitrim, on December 6, 1863, he had a brilliant scholastic career. Ordained in 1886 he served for some years as Professor of English and Classics at St. Patrick's College, Cavan. An able writer, and a perfect master of English, he was the author of numerous works and contributed to many of the leading reviews. A record of his many activities would furnish materials for a lengthy article. He was the founder of this Antiquarian Society, and was editor of this *Journal* until his death. His death took place on October 18, 1926, and a handsome monument marks his grave beside Killinkere Parish Church. He was an enthusiastic antiquarian, and his passing away, at a comparatively early age, was an irreparable loss to Breiffne. A fuller account of his life and writings is reserved for a separate article.

Rev. Michael Dolan, who had been C.C., Crosserlough and Kildrumfertan, succeeded in 1927. He is a worthy member of this Society.

The Succession of Pastors, tabularly arranged, would read as follows :—

LIST OF KILLINKERE PARISH PRIESTS.

1406	—	—	Rev. Donald Oqueorgan.
—	1663	—	Rev. Neale O'Gowan, O.S.F.
—	1704	—	Rev. Michael O'Clery.
—	1750	1763 (circa)	Rev. Bernard Smith.
1763	—	1765	Rev. John MacKiernan.
1765	—	1794	Rev. Bartle MacCabe.
1794	—	1810	Rev. John Smith.
1810	—	1847	Rev. John Fitzsimons.
1847	—	1878	Rev. Terence O'Reilly.
1878	—	1881	Rev. Charles O'Reilly.
1881	—	1883	Rev. Peter Galligan.
1883	—	1885	Rev. Thomas Smith.
1885	—	1886	Rev. Peter Smith.
1886	—	1888	Rev. James Murray.
1888	—	1902	Rev. Bernard MacCabe.
1902	—	1919	Rev. John O'Reilly.
1919	—	1923	Rev. Patrick Osborne.
1923	—	1926	Rev. Joseph B. Meehan, M.R.I.A.
1927	—	—	Rev. Michael Dolan.

I wish to express my indebtedness to the Rev. T. Small, P.P., Moybolge and Kilmainhamwood, for much useful information relating to the lives of the pastors.

PHILIP O'CONNELL.

Report of Meetings.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1928.

The Eighth Annual Meeting of the Breiffne Antiquarian and Historical Society, was held in the Town Hall, Cavan, on Thursday, 24th May, 1928. Dr. F. P. Smith, D.L. (President) occupied the chair.

The other members present were :—Very Rev. P. V. Rudden, St. Patrick's College, Cavan ; Rev. P. MacNiffe, do. ; Rev. R. J. Walker, B.A., Ballintemple ; Miss Godley, Killegar ; Miss Bridie M. Smith ; W. H. Halpin, Solr. ; E. J. Smyth, Hibernian Bank ; H. Maguire, Ulster Bank (Hon. Treasurer) ; T. S. Smyth ; W. Reid, solr. (Hon. Sec.).

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Rev. R. J. Walker, a vote of sympathy with the Hon. Secretary on the death of his brother, the late Mr. J. G. Reid, solr., Castleblayney, was passed in silence, the members standing. Mr. Reid thanked the members for their sympathy.

The balance-sheet was presented by the Hon. Treasurer, and considered satisfactory.

On the motion of Rev. R. J. Walker, seconded by Mr. T. S. Smith, Dr. F. P. Smyth was unanimously re-elected President, and Rev. P. O'Reilly, P.P., Knockbride, Vice-President. Mr. E. G. Smyth was appointed Hon. Auditor, and the outgoing Committee were unanimously re-elected.

It was proposed to arrange for a Summer Meeting and visit Trinity Island, Loch Uachtar, etc.

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

At the conclusion of the Annual Meeting the Seventeenth General Meeting was held. There was a large attendance of members together with some visitors.

The following papers were read and discussed :—

- I.—*The Corporation of the Borough of Cavan, Part II.* By T. S. Smyth.
- II.—*A Breiffne Captain of Cavalry in the Service of France : the Career of Captain Alexander MacCabe.* By P. O'Connell, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I.
- III.—*Notes on the Reynolds Family of Lough Rhyne, County Leitrim.* By H. Fitzgerald Reynolds, Cardiff.
- IV.—*The Abbey of Fenagh.* By Miss A. M. Godley.

EXHIBITS.

1.—Original Records of the Corporation of the Borough of Cavan: Book containing entries relating to Elections, Corporate and Parliamentary; Corporation Meetings, etc.—1696 to 1840. Book containing entries relating to the Law and Court, Town Court, Market, Jury and Inquests—1771 to 1826.

[The Books were kindly lent by the Hon. Mrs. Burrowes, Lismore, Crossdoney].

Exhibited by Mr. T. S. Smyth, who furnished a detailed explanation of the contents of the various sections.

2.—Bronze Coin of the Roman Empire, time of Diocletian (284—305 A.D.). Found on Fair Green Hill, Cavan. Exhibited by Mr. Thomas Ellis.

The Acting Director, National Museum, Dublin, to whom the coin was submitted in January, wrote:

This is a coin of the Roman Empire, and is somewhat late, perhaps in or about the third century. The head on the obverse belongs to a common type, but the inscription is not legible to us, and consequently we cannot identify the subject. On the reverse is a figure of Fortune holding a helm in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left. This design is found on coins as late as Diocletian. It would be of interest to know the exact circumstances under which the coin was found, but after five or six years there is little hope, probably, that these will be remembered very definitely. The commercial value of the coin is, probably, not more than a shilling or two.

IRISH PLACENAMES.

Rev. Father MacNiffe proposed that the Society should secure for its Library the typewritten volume of O'Donovan's *Cavan Letters*, which was, together with the volumes for the other Irish counties, being prepared in Dublin.

Miss B. M. Smith seconded the motion, which was referred to the Committee.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1929.

The Ninth Annual Meeting was held in the Town Hall, Cavan, on Wednesday, July 31st, 1929. Dr. F. P. Smith (outgoing President) was in the chair. The following members were present:—Rev. R. J. Walker, B.A., Ballintemple; Mrs. B. M. Smith-Brady, F.R.S.A.I., Ballyhaise; Messrs. Hugh Maguire (Hon. Treasurer); E. J. Smyth (Hon. Auditor); E. T. O'Hanlon, *Anglo-Celt*; P. J. Brady, M.R.I.A.I., Ballyhaise; P. O'Connell,

M.Sc. (Editor of the Society's *Journal*); W. H. Halpin, solr., Cavan; T. S. Smyth; Bernard Whelan; R. Halpin, Ford Lodge; D. Smith, Kevitt Castle; A. E. R. MacCabe, solr.

RESIGNATION OF HON. SECRETARY.

The Chairman read a letter from Mr. Reid (Hon. Sec.), expressing regret that pressure of work prevented him from devoting all the time he would wish to the affairs of the Society, and tendering his resignation. Mr. Reid intimated that he would still continue to take a keen interest in the work of the Society.

The Chairman said that they regretted very much the resignation of Mr. Reid, but as he was very much overworked there would not be much use in asking him to reconsider his decision. Mr. Halpin concurred, and it was decided to accept Mr. Reid's resignation. On the motion of Mr. P. J. Brady, seconded by Rev. R. J. Walker, the resignation was accepted and tribute was paid to Mr. Reid's work for the Society.

THE NEW HON. SECRETARY.

On the motion of Mr. P. J. Brady, seconded by Mr. Halpin, Mrs. Smith-Brady was unanimously appointed Hon. Secretary. She returned thanks for the honour conferred on her and accepted the position in the interests of historical research.

THE COMMITTEE.

On the motion of Mr. P. J. Brady, seconded by Mr. Halpin, Dr. Smith was unanimously re-elected President for the coming year, with Rev. P. O'Reilly, P.P., Vice-President.

The following were appointed a Committee:—Rev. Dr. Comey, Adm., Cavan; Rev. R. J. Walker; Messrs. T. O'Reilly, Loughduff; Philip O'Connell; E. T. O'Hanlon; R. V. Walker, Clones; A. E. R. MacCabe; W. H. Halpin, and W. Reid, with the officers.

The Hon. Treasurer presented the balance sheet, which was considered satisfactory. It was decided to issue a reminder to members whose subscriptions were now due.

The following new members were elected:—Dr. Plunkett, Kilmaleck, and Mr. O'Higgins, County Accountant, Cavan.

THE LIBRARY.

The Chairman, Messrs. O'Connell, MacCabe and the Hon. Secretary were appointed as a deputation to the County Council with a view to securing a room in the County Courthouse for storage of the Society's books and exhibits. The Chairman

explained that the Society had many valuable records, books, manuscripts, exhibits, etc., which necessitated permanent housing. It was suggested that the County Council be requested to make arrangements for housing the Society's books in the proposed new Technical School.

Mr. O'Connell proposed that the Society's books be catalogued and classified, and agreed to help in making an inventory of the volumes.

THE JOURNAL.

Mr. O'Connell said that the *Journal* issued in August, 1928 (vol. III, No. 1), included the two years 1927-28. The next issue, which was due for publication in the Summer of 1930, would include the years 1929-30. The *Journal* was well received and the Society had several important papers for publication in future issues. Breiffne was a fruitful field for historical research and the pages of the *Journal* would contain everything of permanent value that could be collected appertaining to the history and antiquities of Cavan and Leitrim. With increased membership the Society intended to publish the *Journal* annually.

EIGHTEENTH GENERAL MEETING.

A General Meeting was then held at which there was a large attendance.

The following papers were read and discussed :—

- I.—*Some Memoirs of Count Alexander O'Reilly, extracted from the Archives of the State of Louisiana.* By Mrs. B. M. Smith-Brady, F.R.S.A.I.
- II.—*Early Records of Trinity Island, Loch Uachtar.* By P. O'Connell, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I.
- III.—*St. Mogue—A Study.* By Henry Morris.
- IV.—*Kilmore Clergy Lists.—Part V.* By Rev. H. B. Canon Swanzy, M.A., M.R.I.A.

In her paper Mrs. Smith-Brady traced the career of Count Alexander O'Reilly, who was born at Baltrasna in 1722. After a brilliant career in the Spanish army he was appointed Captain-General of Louisiana, where he raised the Spanish flag and took possession of the colony for Spain. The State Archives of Louisiana furnished much new materials concerning him.

An interesting discussion followed, and Mr. Halpin pointed out that the last of the O'Reillys of Baltrasna married Matthew O'Connor, and one of their sons is now a distinguished military officer.

Mr. O'Connell said that a complete account of Count O'Reilly's Spanish activities could only be compiled after an exhaustive

examination of the Spanish Archives ; but it would take years to make a satisfactory search through the records in Madrid. The Spanish form of the name " Orelle " was liable to obscure its identity. Historical research of this kind would only yield its full measure of results when adopted as a National work with Government support ; the field was very extensive and would necessitate an examination of the State Records of every country in Europe where Irish exiles had settled in the 17th and 18th centuries. The recent establishment of the Irish Manuscripts Commission is an encouraging sign that the rich stores of Continental Archives will soon be made accessible. New chapters in Breiffne history will then be revealed.

In his paper on the early history of Holy Trinity Priory, in Loch Uachtar, Mr. O'Connell showed that it was founded A.D. 1237 for the Premonstratensian Canons, or White Canons of St. Norbert ; its founder was Clarus Mac Mailin O'Mulconry, Archdeacon of Elphin, and it was colonised from Loch Cé (famous for its *Annals*), Co. Roscommon. In 1249 Cathal O'Reilly granted Trinity Island to the Canons and for over three centuries the Priory was a famous seat of learning. The later history of the Priory was reserved for a future paper.

Mr. Morris's paper on the Life of St. Mogue dealt very fully with the forms of the Saint's name and the sources from which we derive our knowledge concerning him. The Saint's traditional Irish name is *Maedog*, but he is sometimes called Aedan—a form which is very incorrect. The place of his birth is " Mogue's Island," in Brackley Loch, in Templeport Parish. A short distance away is " Dorragh Hill," which was, as shown by Mr. J. P. Dalton, M.A., the site of the famous idol Cromm Cruaich. The district is still teeming with traditions of St. Mogue.

The Clergy List (1618-1874) for the Parish of Kildallan, contributed by Canon Swanzy, was read by Mr. O'Connell. The list was originally compiled from the Public Record Office by the late Rev. W. A. Reynell, B.D., and afterwards annotated by Canon Swanzy. Since the originals are no longer in existence, these extracts are of very great historical interest, and yield much information concerning Cavan, especially during the early 18th century. Canon Swanzy has very kindly promised to place the entire lists at the disposal of the Society for publication. Some instalments have been already published.

All the papers read at the meeting were referred to the Editorial Committee and will be published in the *Journal*. It was decided to appeal to the members to help the Society by paying their subscriptions promptly, and also by endeavouring to extend the membership. By making the Society financially strong the Editorial Committee will be enabled to issue a much larger *Journal* every year. In this way the publication of the many important papers which the Society possesses will be expedited.

NINETEENTH GENERAL MEETING.

A General Meeting was held on Thursday, November 28, 1929, at the Town Hall, Cavan. Mr. W. H. Halpin, Solicitor, presided, and there was a good attendance of members.

The following papers were submitted to the meeting :—

I.—*A Breiffnian Genealogy Extracted from the Archives of King James II.* By P. O'Connell, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I.

II.—*Kilmore Clergy Lists—Parish of Killann.* By Rev. H. B. Canon Swanzy, M.A., M.R.I.A.

III.—*Irish Ecclesiastical Art before the Anglo-Norman Invasion.* By Rev. P. MacNiffe, B.A., B.D., B.C.L.

A lengthy discussion followed in which several members took part. The papers were referred to the Editorial Committee for publication in the *Journal*.

A resolution of sympathy was extended to the Hon. Secretary, Mrs. B. M. Smith-Brady, on the death of her husband, the late Mr. Eugene Brady, N.T., Ballyhaise. Resolutions of sympathy were also extended to the relatives of the late Rev. Peter Finlay, S.J., Dublin; Right Rev. Monsignor Hugh Brady, P.P., Crosserlough; and Very Rev. B. Gaffney, P.P., Lurgan, members of the Society.

The Hon. Secretary was directed to secure a copy of O'Donovan's *Ordnance Survey Letters* (Cavan and Leitrim) for the Society's Library.

A discussion took place regarding the best steps to take so as to still further increase the Society's membership and to ensure that the historical interests of both Cavan and Leitrim would be fully represented in the publications of the Society. The Hon Secretary agreed to do the necessary circularising work so as to make the Society representative of every Barony and Parish in the historic Kingdom of Breiffne.

Obituary.

REV. E. D. CROWE, M.A., Rector, Cavan, passed away at Weston-Super-Mare, England, on January 11, 1928, in his 63rd year. A native of Bray, Co. Wicklow, he graduated Senior Moderator in Experimental Science, and M.A., T.C.D., where he was a distinguished scholar. In 1904 he was appointed Rector of Cavan, where he ministered for twenty-four years. He took an active interest in the affairs of the County, was Chairman of the Cavan Pension Committee and a regular attendant at the meetings of the Technical Committee, and was a valued member of this Society. Together with the late Father Meehan, he was one of the founders of the Society, was Vice-Chairman in 1920 and Chairman in 1921-22. In 1920 he contributed a paper on "Some Poets of County Cavan." In 1927 his health began to fail and he went to the residence of his half-brother, Mr. Crowe, at Weston-Super-Mare where he died. His demise came as a deep personal loss to all who knew him; and to his wife, son, and three daughters the members of this Society will extend very genuine sympathy.

The death of DENIS CAROLAN RUSHE, B.A., of Monaghan, removes one of the ablest historians of our day. He belonged to Monaghan, was Secretary to Monaghan County Council, and the history of Monaghan was his special study during a long and active life. His *History of Monaghan in the Eighteenth Century* was followed (in 1921) by his *History of Monaghan for Two Hundred Years, 1660-1860*. In these excellent volumes Mr. Rushe details in masterful fashion the history of his native county. An enthusiastic collector of local lore he had enough humour to make his subject always lively. He was a frequent contributor to historical magazines, and his articles always revealed careful research. The *History of Monaghan for Two Hundred Years* is a veritable mine of information concerning the county, its people, and its economic and social history. One of the best things Mr. Rushe has done is the publication and preservation of the Hearth Tax Rolls for 1663 and 1665; it is given as an Appendix. For this alone he deserves the praise of every Monaghan man. Mr. Rushe took a lively interest in this Society and was a great admirer of this *Journal*. Before his death he had collected materials for a larger work on Monaghan, but cost of publication forced him to postpone the project. We hope that his literary executors will soon take steps to have his valuable papers published.

CHEVALIER W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD, Mus.D., K.S.G., died at his residence, Rosemount, Enniscorthy, on August 6, 1928. This Society, of which he was an honorary member, was indebted to him for some valued contributions. Born at Lismore, Co. Waterford, November 1, 1859, he held a foremost place in Irish life as a historian, musician and lecturer. He was organist of Enniscorthy Cathedral from 1895 until his death. His father was a native of Kilmore Diocese and was born in 1832 at Five-mile-bourne, near Dromahaire. Dr. Grattan Flood's grandfather is buried in Sligo Abbey.

The Chevalier was widely noted for his musical writings, particularly church music, and was the composer of two Masses, numerous motets, and hymns. He was the leading Irish authority on church music and only a few months before his death he composed and published the music of the hymn "Christ Our King," which, in the opinion of musical experts, is ranked as a classic. Among his best known works are:—*The History of Irish Music*; *The Story of the Bagpipe*; *History of the Diocese of Ferns* (1916); *Early Tudor Composers*; *The Story of the Harp*; *The History of Enniscorthy*; *Introductory Sketch of Irish Musical History*; *Memoir of John Field of Dublin, Inventor of the Nocturne*; *Memoir of William Vincent Wallace*, etc. He contributed articles to the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, *The Dictionary of National Biography*, *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, *The Musical Times*, *The Musical Antiquary*, *The Quarterly Magazine of the International Musical Society*, and many other magazines and periodicals. At the time of his death he was preparing a new and enlarged edition of his *History of the Diocese of Ferns*, and was also actively engaged in finishing a *Life of O'Carolan*, "the last of the bards," a work which is promised for publication in the near future.

Dr. Grattan Flood was the editor of Moore's *Irish Melodies*, *The Spirit of the Nation*, and *Selected Airs of O'Carolan*; he was also editor of the standard *Irish Hymnal*. His magazine articles and musical compositions would fill several bulky volumes, and we hope that such a collection will one day be published. His recreation consisted of research work, endeavouring to trace the origin and history of old songs and tunes. He seems to have been the first to show the extent to which Shakespeare utilised Irish airs and phrases. (See *History of Irish Music*, Chap. XVII).

The Breiffne Antiquarian Society, in which he took a deep interest, is indebted to him for his ever-ready help and advice. The history of Kilmore diocese, the home of his ancestors, had a special appeal for him, and in the first issue of this *Journal* he wrote a short article on the Episcopal Succession from 1231 to 1560. Another article on the same subject appeared from him in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (Dec., 1922). Early in 1928 the editor of this *Journal* approached him with a request for an

article, and Dr. Grattan-Flood sent a further article on the Episcopal Succession in the 17th and 18th centuries. The sketch was a brief one and the distinguished author passed away before its completion, leaving the article to be finished by less capable hands. His death was a national loss, and this Society will deplore the passing away of a valued friend. Many of those who never had the pleasure of meeting him were familiar with his voice on the broadcasts. A movement has just been initiated to erect a monument to him in Enniscorthy.

VERY REV. BERNARD GAFFNEY, P.P., V.F., Lurgan, died at the Parochial House, Achadh Ladhair, on August 5th, 1929, at the age of 77. A native of Corlislea, in the parish of Kildrumfertan and Crosserlough, he received his elementary education at the well-known Latin school of Ballymachugh, and completed his studies at St. Patrick's College, Cavan, where he was ordained to the priesthood on Feb. 10, 1884. In 1903 he was appointed P.P., of Lurgan, where he laboured until his death. Possessed of great intellectual attainments, he was an accomplished writer and was the author of some religious poems which he published, together with some short stories, in a little volume entitled *Fact is Stranger than Fiction* (printed for private circulation), which might be called his Memoirs. He was one of the pioneers of the Gaelic League, and could preach equally well in both Gaelic and English. Native language and literature found in him an ardent patron, and he followed closely the work of this Society of which he was a valued member. During the years 1917, 1918, and 1919, he contributed several articles to the *Irish Independent* over the nom-de-plume of "Lex." His kindness and charity endeared him to the poor and he gave lavishly and spontaneously. To all who had the privilege of his acquaintance the memory of his many splendid traits and genuine sense of humour will long remain.

REV. PETER FINLAY, S.J., whose death took place in Dublin on October 21, 1929, was one of Ireland's most distinguished scholars and theologians. He was born in Cavan on February 15, 1851, and was educated at St. Patrick's College. At the age of 15 he entered the novitiate of Milltown Park, and in 1868 went to France where he studied for a year in the College of St. Acheal, Province of Champagne. In 1881 he was ordained at the College of Tortosa, in Spain.

The late Father Finlay earned a world-famed reputation as a lecturer and theologian; he was a gifted linguist and could debate with equal facility in English, Latin, French, German and Spanish. He held, uninterruptedly, the chair of Scholastic Theology for over 40 years at Milltown Park, and was the author of many books. In his earlier years he spent some time as a Professor

in the Collegium Maximum of Woodstock, in the Province of Maryland, New York.

In the midst of his arduous professorial duties he never ceased to follow with interest the work of this Society, of which he was a life member. His death deprives Ireland of one of her greatest philosophers, and one whose intellectual attainments shed lustre on the county of his birth.

RIGHT REV. MONSIGNOR HUGH BRADY, P.P., V.F., Crosserlough and Kildrumferton, passed away on November 2, 1929, at the age of 78. He was born in the Parish of Castletara, and after a distinguished course in Cavan Diocesan Seminary was ordained in February, 1877. Appointed Professor of Mental Philosophy in St. Patrick's College, Cavan, he was associated with the college for 21 years; he was President from July, 1886, to November, 1898. His professorial work revealed all the earnestness and enthusiasm of his student days. In 1898 he was appointed P.P. of Knockbride from whence he was transferred to Crosserlough in 1910. He was a great educationist and a profound classical scholar. To the end of his life his interest in the classics never waned, and in the pages of Horace and Livy he continued to enjoy those intellectual feasts which only the gifted few may taste. He was ever generous to every charitable object and the members of this Society will deeply regret the passing of such a sincere and cultured friend.

The news of the death at a comparatively early age of JOSEPH DOLAN, M.A., M.R.I.A., of Ardee, Co. Louth, which took place on January 23, 1930, was received with feelings of widespread regret. He was wellknown throughout Ireland as a great and enthusiastic antiquarian, a brilliant classical scholar, an ardent industrial revivalist, and, at the same time, a successful merchant and an up-to-date practical farmer. To a man of his very many splendid qualities it is impossible to pay adequate tribute, but those who were acquainted with him and who knew his intrinsic worth can hardly as yet realise the poignant tragedy of his early demise. He died in the midst of his labours and the loss to Irish history and archaeology is, indeed, incalculable.

His early education was received at Tullabeg, where he was an exhibitioner in all the grades. But the expansive mind of Joseph Dolan was untrammelled by the narrow outlook and monotonous groove which characterised the old Intermediate system; his vision was a wide one with an active interest in national and scientific progress. After a brilliant course in the late Royal University, he graduated Bachelor, and shortly afterwards M.A. in Ancient Classics. He was a fluent Gaelic speaker, and in later years made a close study of Irish economics, the influence of which manifested itself in his manifold activities in his native town of Ardee.

The work of Mr. Dolan in the field of Archaeology is already familiar to our members. He was Chairman of the Louth Historical and Archaeological Society, and was editor of its *Journal*. In the pages of that *Journal* will be found a great collection of his scholarly and critical contributions to the history of Co. Louth. His standards were exacting and his wide reading of Irish history rendered his judgments on historical matters of first-rate value. He was, perhaps, the greatest living authority on the history of Co. Louth, and his wonderful library was stored with rare volumes on antiquarian subjects. It may be remarked that Joseph Dolan was to Co. Louth what the late Rev. Joseph B. Meehan (who was his intimate friend) was to Breiffne, and what the late Denis Carolan Rushe was to Co. Monaghan. The *Journal* of the Louth Society under his able editorship maintained a high and scholarly standard and its pages constitute a monument to his cultured mind and unbounded enthusiasm. That this high standard of literary work and historical research was maintained and combined with his ordinary work as a busy merchant and farmer was characteristic of every phase of his active and fruitful career. Not only was he a great worker but he inspired with an effective enthusiasm all who came under his influence. All local enterprises, historical, economic or civic, evoked his enthusiasm, and received his full support. To localise national effort was his policy, and his work in, and for, the prosperous town of Ardee bore fruit in his own lifetime.

As a member of this Society the late Mr. Dolan was always ready to assist, and the work accomplished by the Society pleased him very much. He took a deep interest in this *Journal*, and always eagerly studied its pages. The present writer must acknowledge his indebtedness to him for his able assistance in the summer of last year (July, 1929) in locating the tomb of Bishop Andrew Campbell of Kilmore (1753-1769) in the graveyard of Port, Co. Louth. On that occasion the writer enjoyed the hospitality of Mr. Dolan with whom it was always an intellectual treat to spend an evening discoursing in his library. For some years his health was indifferent but only his intimate friends were aware that he was all too soon approaching the Valley of the Shadow; nevertheless, he continued to work to the end with unabated vigour. We shall not soon look upon a man of his stamp again. His death deprives Ireland of one of her most gifted sons whose intellectual achievements and honesty of purpose reflected credit on his native County of Louth.

PETER S. COONEY, proprietor, Grand Hotel, Sligo, who died in February, 1930, was a native of Cootehill district, and was for many years a commercial traveller in the north-west. He was a well-known figure in the commercial life of Cavan, Leitrim, and Sligo, and enjoyed deserved and widespread popularity. His

travels developed a taste for historical subjects, and he studied the history of every castle and abbey which he observed during his visits to the various towns. A real antiquarian of the open air type he had no patience with that exotic system of education, now happily obsolete, which would concentrate its gaze on, perhaps, the Great Wall of China while blindly ignoring the history and architectural beauties of the Abbeys of Sligo and Dromahaire. He was eminently practical, and while disclaiming a critical knowledge of history—the vague generalities which are, only too often, mistaken for genuine history, made no appeal to him—yet, took an intelligent interest in the monuments of our historic past. That the study of history should begin at home, and that the history of Breiffne civilization was of vastly greater interest to the people of Breiffne than the history of some foreign, semi-barbaric land, was fully recognised by Peter Cooney long before its significance was grasped by the educational experts.

RIGHT REV. W. R. MOORE, D.D., Protestant Bishop of Kilmore, Elphin and Ardagh, and a Life Member of this Society, died suddenly at Derrylin, Co. Fermanagh, on February 23, 1930.. He was born on August 5, 1858, and was son of Mr. William M. Moore, Solicitor, Dublin. Educated at T.C.D., he secured the Mathematical prize in 1878 and graduated B.A. in 1881.

In 1882 he was appointed to the curacy of Templemichael, Co. Longford, where he remained for three years, and was curate of Donnybrook, Co. Dublin, in 1885-86; Rural Dean of Fenagh, 1891-99; Archdeacon of Ardagh, 1896-1915. On the death of Dr. Elliott in 1915, the Rev. Dr. Moore was elected to the Bishopric.

Dr. Moore was of broad mind and very highly esteemed throughout the diocese. He was a keen sportsman in his younger days, and in 1881 he won the University Lawn Tennis Championship. When this Society was founded he readily assented to become a life member and always continued to take a lively interest in its welfare. By his death the Society loses one of its earliest supporters.

*List of Life Members and Members at
the end of the Year 1929.*

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[N.B.—Change in address should be duly reported to the Hon. Secretary.]

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Historical Society



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EDITOR'S FOREWORD.

This issue completes Vol. III of the *Journal*. The previous number, for the years 1929-'30, was published in 1931. Owing to a variety of circumstances, over which the Committee had no control, there has been a delay in the publication of the present issue; but, as our members are aware, its publication is entirely dependent on the Treasurer's favourable report—an all-important factor which also determines its size. In the meanwhile, however, the activities of the Society have been continued, and historical investigations have been pursued in many parts of Breiffne. At the meetings of the Society many valuable papers have been contributed: these are reserved for future issues which will be enlarged and illustrated—as far as the Treasurer's report will permit.

All who may be interested in the objects of the Society and wish to become members should communicate with the *Hon. Secretary*, Mrs. B. M. Smith-Brady, F.R.S.A.I.

The Society is primarily concerned with the history and antiquities of Breiffne, and with the preservation of all unpublished records, civil and ecclesiastical, pertaining to this ancient kingdom. Since the loss of the Public Record Office the existing parochial records have an especial interest and value, since they are now the sole repositories of parochial and diocesan history, and contain a great collection of information, genealogical and topographical, which is now unobtainable elsewhere. For reference purposes, and to facilitate genealogical research, a complete catalogue of the surviving parochial registers is very desirable. In the pages of the *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol. III, such a scheme has already been attempted; but the returns there are very incomplete—only 16 parishes are represented in the Kilmore section, and the information even for these is quite unreliable—and a new scheme is necessary. The Editor of this *Journal* will be glad to receive from the custodians of parochial registers details of same, date of first entry, periods during which entries are missing, etc.

The deciphering of monumental inscriptions, especially those belonging to the 18th century, and earlier, is an important item of historical research, and is a work which demands considerable skill combined with no small degree of patience. The Editor wishes to thank those who have forwarded to the Society some interesting collections of inscriptions, evidently copied with great care, and to assure them that their lists will appear in later issues.

For the convenience of members who are having their volumes bound, the following are the volumes and numbers of the *Journal* which have now been issued:

- Vol. I, No. 1—1920.
- „ No. 2—1921.
- „ No. 3—1922.
- Vol. II, No. 1—1923.
- „ No. 2—1924.
- „ No. 3—1925-'26.
- Vol. III, No. 1—1927-'28.
- „ No. 2—1929-'30.
- „ No. 3—1931-'33.

The *Journal* is issued free to members. Back numbers, except Vol. I, No. 1, which is out of print, may be had from the *Hon. Secretary*, price 7/6 each, by post, 8/.

Literary communications, items of historical interest, books or periodicals for review, and inquiries relating to the publications of the Society should be addressed to:

PHILIP O'CONNELL, M.Sc., 30 Δρο να Σπίεμε, Clonmel.

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THE CAVAN INQUISITION OF 1609,

With Notes and Annotations.

By PHILIP O'CONNELL, M.Sc., F.R.S.A.I.

INTRODUCTION.

Towards the close of the 16th century, and during the early part of the 17th—that is, during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.—there were held in several counties throughout Ireland certain Inquiries, or investigations, relative to ecclesiastical property, with the object of ascertaining the values of the benefices belonging to the several Dioceses; in the State Papers of the period these judicial inquiries are usually known as *Inquisitions*.

The churches and their appurtenances had already been confiscated, and these *Inquisitions*, which were conducted by Commissioners of the English Crown, were for the purpose of securing more detailed information concerning the property of the Irish Church. The Reports of these *Inquisitions*, preserved among the State Papers and Patent Rolls of the time, are now of great historical value, furnishing, as they do, detailed accounts of the termon lands with the parochial and diocesan revenues as existing before the great upheaval of the 16th century. They afford, moreover, valuable historical data illustrating the mediaeval parochial system which obtained until the disastrous reign of Henry VIII., when *delenda est Carthago* became the slogan which seemed to inspire the disruptive policy of State.

The accuracy of these *Inquisition* returns may best be judged from the general agreement between the data furnished at various periods and compiled from different sources. It is evident from an examination of the different Reports that the Commissioners entrusted with the task of compiling these returns performed their work with considerable accuracy. Copyists' errors occur occasionally, or perhaps the faded manuscript may not have been always quite legible, but these may easily be detected and rectified.

On September 25, 1609—VII. James I.—an *Inquisition* concerning the Church property in Co. Cavan was held at Cavan,

and the Report of this *Inquisition*, which will be given with explanatory notes in the succeeding pages, specified the revenues of the several parishes with the extent and values of the termon and mensal lands. An earlier *Inquisition* held at Cavan on September 19, 1590, had already issued a Report, but which was merely a preliminary survey giving only a list of the termon lands with their acreages and values. The information collected by the *Inquisition* of 1609 is presented in greater detail and includes particulars of the lands possessed by the several parish churches—lands which had been granted by the native chieftains many centuries earlier for the support of the clergy and the maintenance of the churches. In the present paper I have collated the data of the 1590 *Inquisition*—extracted by me from the original manuscript which was preserved in the Public Record Office, Dublin—with that of the document of 1609—which is printed among the Patent Rolls of that year—and the general agreement between the two documents is manifest.

It will be apparent that many of the placenames occurring in the text are, if not actually obsolete, at least partially disguised under archaic or Latinised forms thereby rendering their identifications not immediately obvious. Evidently the Commissioners who compiled these returns were strangers to our Gaelic orthography and relied on phonetic renderings—a source of error in name forms not quite unknown even in our own time. The influence of Latin is apparent in many cases although the name forms are not quite so obscure as those occurring in Roman documents of an earlier period, for example in the Papal *Annates*. Errors due to copyists who were unacquainted with Gaelic orthography inevitably lead to very obscure and unintelligible forms. The identification of the various placenames occurring in mediaeval documents is a work of paramount importance if the historical values of these records are to be adequately realised. In elucidating the topography of the Cavan *Inquisitions* I have consulted, *inter alia*, the 17th century townland maps—the Jacobean Plantation Map of 1609 and the *Down Survey* compiled under the direction of Sir William Petty in 1654-55. These maps are indispensable for the exact location of the many placenames which have since become obsolete. It is true that in many respects these maps are very imperfect: in the case of the 1609 map the orientation is very defective; but they prove very useful guides especially in cases where the original manuscripts may be partly illegible and the orthography doubtful. The *Fiants* of Elizabeth's reign furnish many 16th century forms of local and personal names, but the orthography is generally so defective that identification is very often a matter of considerable difficulty, and conclusions cannot be drawn with certainty from these lists. The *Fiants*, however, preserve many names which are now obsolete and which may be generally located by referring to the maps

just mentioned. The 15th and 16th century forms of many Cavan names, particularly parish titles, occur in the comprehensive *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*—Record Series, edited by W. H. Bliss; but many of the names are disguised under Latinised spellings. I have consulted *De Annatis Hiberniæ*—Vol. I., Ulster—which is such a fruitful source of information on mediaeval parochial history. The *Annals*—Four Masters, Loch Cé, Clonmacnoise, etc.—as well as the *Martyrologies* are invaluable sources for the authentic forms of early Gaelic names and are usually decisive on questions of Gaelic etymology. The *Registers* of the mediaeval Archbishops of Armagh, covering the period 1350 to 1550, have occasional references to Cavan parishes, and the information obtainable from these precious manuscripts is also invaluable especially as the parochial records for the same period have long since been irrecoverably lost.

Discussion on the derivation and orthography of the placenames occurring in the *Inquisition* is not within the scope of the present investigation, and must be reserved for another occasion; but if the original Gaelic names are to be accurately reconstructed and effectively restored there must be in every case an exhaustive inquiry into all the original sources with a careful examination of the earlier recorded forms. In these days of Gaelic restoration, and of de-anglicisation, it is essential that “modernisation” of Gaelic names should be discouraged; neither should considerations of grammatical accuracy be entirely disregarded. In researches of this nature a knowledge of local topography is absolutely essential, especially in the location of placenames which have become obsolete. It may be necessary to remind teachers and students of history whose *vade mecum* is O’Donovan’s *Ordnance Survey Letters* that the great topographer is most unreliable in dealing with Co. Cavan, and that many of the opinions advanced in these *Letters*, written by him in 1836, were either entirely abandoned or drastically revised in his later and more mature writings. The views expressed in the *Ordnance Survey Letters*, which consist of a collection of rough notes and never intended for publication in their present shape, must, therefore, always be accepted with reserve. Since O’Donovan’s time a vast amount of historical materials, which were quite inaccessible to him, have been made available, and these throw new light on many of the problems which to him were enigmas.

A Survey of Co. Cavan taken at Cavan on September 6th, 1608, before Sir John Davies, Sir Edward Blany and William Parsons, Surveyor-General, is preserved in *MS. Rawlinson A. 237*, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. In this manuscript, which has recently been made accessible through the activities of the Irish Manuscripts Commission, the particulars of the ecclesiastical lands in Ulster are specified in detail, but considerations of space will not allow of an extended discussion of these particulars in the

present paper. For purposes of comparison, however, I refer to this source as *Rawlinson MS.*

In mediæval times the prevailing land denomination in Co. Cavan was the *Poll*, a unit which is mentioned frequently in the various *Inquisitions*; in Monaghan, Fermanagh, and elsewhere, it was called the *Tate*. The *Poll* was a unit of variable extent depending on the nature and fertility of the soil; hence it was not a fixed standard. In the *State Papers* of 1610 the *Poll* is defined as a unit of 25 acres. An earlier document of 1571 specifies it as containing 30 acres arable with 20 acres pasture and mountain. In 1601 another authority sets it down as equivalent to 60 acres arable. The unprofitable land, bog, wood, marsh, mountain, etc., was included with the arable land, but was definitely excluded for survey purposes. Different surveyors might not be unanimous in their opinions as to what constituted arable, or unarable, land. Everything would depend on the particular locality. In Co. Cavan, according to *Rawlinson MS.*, a *Poll* was a parcel of 24 acres of arable land, and this may be accepted as its definition in the 1609 *Inquisition*. In the *King's Project* for the Plantation of Ulster, reprinted in Harris' *Hibernica* (p. 117), a *Poll* is defined as 24 acres which agrees, substantially, with the estimate given in *Rawlinson*.

In Co. Fermanagh the *Tate* contained 30 acres: in Co. Armagh it was reckoned as 100. The *Poll*, or *Tate*, was commonly known as the Ballyboe—*Ḃaite Ḃó*, i.e. cow land; it was supposed to be able to support about twenty cows. The Ballyboe enters largely into our placenames. Sixteen Ballyboes comprised the Ballybet—*Ḃaite Ḃiataig* i.e. the townland of the victualler. The Ballybet was the principal land unit within the *Tuath* or *Tricha Céd*, the "Cantred" or "District." The *Tricha Céd* usually comprised thirty Ballybets. According to the calculations of Dr. Reeves the extent of a Ballybet would have been about 1000 acres (Reeves and Hardinge, *Memoir on MSS. Mapped Townland Surveys in Ireland*, Trans. Royal Irish Academy, Vol. XXIV). But this estimate is based on the assumption that the measurements were absolute, including both arable and unarable land. We know that this was not the case and that the unarable land was not included for the purpose of survey, a fact which invalidates the conclusions of Dr. Reeves.

Poll, *Tate*, and Ballyboe, are synonymous terms, but the acreage was in every case dependent on local factors and varied with the circumstances in the particular county. Owing to the exclusion of the unprofitable land from the surveys it is now scarcely possible, with any degree of certainty, to equate these ancient land measures with those of the present day. In certain districts where there was an absence of waste and unprofitable lands approximate relations may be established. It is generally recognised that at the time of the Plantation of Ulster the variable

extent of the Poll, and the rather arbitrary method of its determination, was duly taken advantage of by the unscrupulous Commissioners and purposely complicated in the interests of the Planters who had obtained grants of lands in Ulster. The adoption of the so-called "Irish Plantation Measure"—which still survives in Co. Cavan—at a somewhat later period and for the same purpose is a familiar fact of history.

The Poll and its sub-divisions, the Gallon, Pottle and Pint, enter largely into the placenames of Co. Cavan. The following inter-relations have been established :

$$1 \text{ Poll} = 2 \text{ Gallons} = 4 \text{ Pottles} = 8 \text{ Pints.}$$

The opening paragraph of the 1609 *Inquisition* specifies clearly the relations existing between these ancient land measures. The Pint, however, does not enter so frequently into placenames as do the larger divisions ; as "point," it forms a few terminations.

In 1699 the *Carvagh*, which consisted of, approximately, 35 acres, was adopted as the unit of taxation in Co. Cavan. The whole County was estimated to contain 8,000 *Carvags*, averaging 1,000 per Barony for 8 Baronies—Loughtee being regarded as two, Upper and Lower. Tullyhaw was reckoned as $551\frac{1}{2}$ *Carvags* ; Loughtee Lower, $924\frac{1}{2}$; Loughtee Upper, $1,776\frac{1}{2}$; Tullyhunco, $701\frac{1}{2}$; Clanmahon, $916\frac{1}{2}$; Clankee, 874 ; Tullaghgarvey, 1,498 ; Castlerahan, $757\frac{1}{2}$. The mode of applotting the *Carvags* was determined by Act of Parliament, and the system was an intricate one. The *Carvagh* system was, as far as I have been able to ascertain, peculiar to Co. Cavan, where it survived until the beginning of the 19th century. But the *Carvagh* was a taxation unit rather than a unit of measurement. The word "carvagh," signifying a share, still survives in the popular idioms of Cavan speech, also in some townland names.

The mediaeval system of tithes devised for the support of the secular clergy is clearly illustrated in the statement of the 1609 *Inquisition*. It will be observed that the tithes were paid both in money and in kind. Payments were generally made in marks, or fractions of a mark ; the mark was value 13s. 4d. in the money of the time. Besides money payments it may be noted that payment, or partial payment, was also made in "breads" (*i.e.* loaves), "beefs" (*i.e.* cattle), butter, and the labour of workmen. Two-thirds of the tithes were paid to the parson (*i.e.*, the parish priest) and one-third to the vicar (*i.e.*, the curate). Attached to the residence of the parson was a division of land, called glebe-land, for his personal support. In all the larger parishes there were chapels of ease with termon lands attached. Special provision was made for the repair of the churches and certain passages in the *Inquisition* make it abundantly clear that the secular clergy and the Erenachs,—the lay superintendents of the parochial property—were to maintain their own parish churches at their own charge and out of the revenues of their own benefices and termon lands.

But that the parishioners usually gave voluntary help is also specifically stated. The proxies were usually paid to the Bishop in coin.

The system of obligatory tithes was universally recognised in the Middle Ages and the practice only ceased in Ireland when the confiscations of the 16th century deprived the Church of its property and diverted its revenues into other channels. From the information which is furnished by the *Inquisition* we must infer that every parish provided a regular income for the maintenance of its clergy. The cost of living was then comparatively low and the purchasing power of money was very great. It is scarcely possible now to deduce the comparative values of the money in circulation in those times, but it may be remarked that in England in 1378 the Archbishop of Canterbury considered a salary of five marks a year adequate for a chaplain.

The churches appear to have been generally maintained in good repair, and the 15th century witnessed the restoration of many churches and abbeys. It was an age of church-building and restoration, and many of our ancient churches, now in ruins, belong to that period. In 1427 Pope Martin V granted an Indulgence, under certain prescribed conditions, to all who should assist in the repair of the church of Holy Trinity Priory, Loch Uachtair. The entries in the Papal *Annates* enable us to understand more clearly the status of the clergy and the general scheme of ecclesiastical administration in the 15th and 16th centuries, that is, during the centuries preceding the *Inquisition*.

In the great majority of the Cavan parishes two-thirds of the tithes were paid to either of the great Abbeys of Ceanannus (Kells) or Fore, in Meath Diocese, to which these parish churches belonged. From the statement of the *Inquisition* we are furnished with elaborate details of the revenues paid from the Cavan churches to these Abbeys, and especially to that of the Fore. As early as the year 1306 the revenues of the Bishop of Kilmore amounted to 10 marks while the revenues accruing to the Abbeys of Ceanannus and Fore, from lands and property in Kilmore Diocese, amounted to 5 and 11 marks, respectively. The Prior of Drumlane received the comparatively small sum of 3 marks, and the rector of Annagh a similar amount. The *Inquisition* of 1609 indicates in detail the revenues of the several parish churches and, in practically every case, specifies the particular Abbey—Ceanannus, Fore, or Drumlane—of which the church was a dependency. The parish churches in the eastern part of Co. Cavan belonged mostly to Ceanannus, as did also a few in the extreme west, e.g. Killinagh, as well as Killesher in Co. Fermanagh. But the great majority belonged to Fore.

The origin of these payments from the parish churches of ancient Breiffne to the two great Abbeys of Meath must be sought for in the early centuries of Christianity in Ireland when the

influence of these Abbeys extended over Meath and Breiffne. Both Ceanannus and Fore were Bishoprics, and Ceanannus survived as an episcopal seat until the early years of the 13th century. The links binding Ceanannus and Drumlane were very strong. But with the advent of the Anglo-Normans in the 12th century and the consequent establishment of the Pale—that artificial barrier of political partition—far reaching changes were soon effected. Both Ceanannus and Fore passed directly under Anglo-Norman influence resulting in drastic alterations in their monastic constitutions; in Ceanannus, for example, the Irish monks were expelled by de Lacy and, as I have described elsewhere, forced to establish a monastery for themselves. A continuance of Irish patronage under such conditions could hardly have been enthusiastically extended. After the Anglo-Norman upheaval, as might be expected, we find the native Irish denouncing these imposts as unjust and resisting payment of them. The legality of these ecclesiastical taxes had already become a burning question in the early 15th century; but the dispute was one of long standing. Mediaeval documents supply ample evidence of this controversy, but the dearth of original sources of our mediaeval ecclesiastical history must leave many of the details somewhat obscure. The records both of Ceanannus and Fore have practically all perished, but the extant Armagh *Registers* contain a few significant references.

In the *Register* of Primate Fleming there is an entry, sub anno 1410, relative to a complaint from the Prior of Fore that certain clerics and laymen “detain the tithes, oblations, and obventions of churches appropriated and united to the Priory.” The following year has a similar entry referring to a further complaint from the same Prior regarding the nonpayment of tithes from the parish church of Disertyncill—*Disert Fincheall*, which I have identified with Kildrumsherdan—the rector of which, Donat Ogown (O’Gowan), disputed the Prior’s right to the tithes. The Cavan clergy may have concluded, with sound logic, that the rights of Ceanannus and Fore to demand imposts from ecclesiastical property in Breiffne had lapsed since these Abbeys had been compelled by conquest rigidly to adhere to Anglo-Norman conventions and to regard as “enemies,” and ignore the rights of, those who lived in the country beyond the narrow and arbitrary confines of the Pale. Situated as it was on the borders of the Pale Breiffne suffered severely from Anglo-Norman aggression as is evidenced by the many entries of raids and burnings in our *Annals*: under such circumstances it is not unreasonable to assume that neither the clergy nor the laity of Breiffne should have evinced any enthusiasm for the continued payments of tithes towards the maintenance of these Abbeys which were now the border strongholds of Anglo-Norman power and influence and from which the native Irish were practically excluded.

TEXT OF THE INQUISITION.

Finding—that the Bishop of Kilmore is seised in fee, in right of his See, in the barony of Cavan alias Loughtee, of the 3 polls of land in the town and fields of Kilmore,* each poll containing 2 gallons, each gallon containing 2 pottles, and 16 polls making a ballibet, and of the several rents and duties out of the 7 polls of the termon lands of Kilmore, namely, out of MacConnyn's † poll, 6/8 or 20 breads, with butter in proportion, 8 day labourers, and the sixth part of cess coyny and other charges. Tullagh ‡ poll, 6/8, 12 breads, 4 mashers of butter and 8 days' workmen; Brenerin § and Droumlawnagh, || 1½ polls, 2/-; Tonaghmore, ¶ 3 polls, 40 pence; Snawnurger, ° ½ poll, 40d.; and also the termon lands following:—Urney, 1 poll, 40 pence; and that the half-poll of termon land called Lurganboy,** in the parish of Urney is not liable to rent; Annagh, 1 poll, 3/4, and 3 reaping hooks; Cloneyst, †† 2 polls, in the parish of Annagh, 1 mark and six reaping hooks; Castleterragh, ‡‡ 3½ polls extending into the parish of

* Kilmore, the ancient *sedes episcopalis*, is certainly identical with the *Cill Mor Duilhruibh* of St. Feidhlimidh. Elsewhere I have collected the evidence for this. The 1590 *Inquisition* credits Kilmore with 6 polls of termon land. "Kilmore contayning 6 polls lyeing neere the parish [church] of Killmore"—*Rawlinson MS.*

† A mediaeval Breiffne form of the present writer's surname.

‡ Lully, a townland in Kilmore parish; "Lolly"—1609 map.

§ Breandrum; "Brenrin" 1654 *Down Survey*.

|| Droumlawnagh.

¶ Tonymore (or Tonaghmore), a townland adjoining Kilmore. "Tonaghmore by Kilmore"—1590 *Inquis.* "Tonaghmore containing 3 polls lyeing neere the aforesaid church [of Kilmore]"—*Rawlinson MS.*

° Slanore. This was the site of a monastery founded by St. Colman (or Columbanus), a contemporary of St. Colmcille. Adamnan's life of St. Columcille has *Snamh Luthir*, i.e., the swimming place of Luthir, a chieftain of pre-Christian times. In an ancient *Life of Feichin of Fore*, edited by Colgan, the same form of the name occurs. The present form of the name is a metathesis.

** The townland of Lurganboy lies immediately to the south-west of the town of Cavan and includes the portion of the present town stretching south-west of the river. "Larganboye, ½ poll"—1590 *Inquis.* "Liorganboy and Anaghkeiliff [Annaghgeliffe] contayning 1 poll lyeing near the parish church of Anaghkeiliff the rectory of this is appropriat to the said Abbay of Fowre [Fore]"—*Rawlinson MS.* "Annaghgalve, ½ poll"—1590 *Inquis.* †† Clonosey, near Belturbet. "Cloncosa, 2 polls"—1590 *Inquis.* "Clonose"—1609 map. "Cloncse"—*Down Survey.* "Clonossan containing 2 polls lyeing near the chapple of Clonossan which belongeth to the church of Anagh"—*Rawlinson MS.* A cemetery now marks the site of the church of Clonosey.

‡‡ Castletara. "Casheltarra, 3½ polls"—1590 *Inquis.* "Cashiltiragh containing 1 poll lyeing near the parish church of Cashiltiragh"—*Rawlinson MS.* The 1609 map has "Cosmtarrin," which approximates very closely to the Gaelic spoken form of the name the origin of which is accounted for by a curious local legend which I have discussed elsewhere.

The ancient territory of *Cuil Brigháin*, the patrimony of the MacBradys, comprised the present parishes of Castletara and Laragh. This explains why the parishes were canonically united in the early 15th century, as shown in Roman documents. See *De Annatis Hiberniae, sub annis 1428 and 1430.* Castletara was dedicated to St. Patrick; Laragh to St. Brigid.

Laragh, 4s. ; Laragh 2½ polls (1 acre of glebe excepted), 9s. 4d. ; Tirlahode and Clebarni,* 8d. each, in the same parish ; Lawy, † 2½ polls, ½ mark and 2 reaping hooks ; Annaghgelliffe, ½ poll, 2s. 8d. ; Denn, 8 polls, being the mensal lands of the See, 1 mark and 12 reaping hooks ; Dromlahan, ‡ 30 polls, 3 marks and 20 reaping hooks, out of which 30 polls O'Reilly, time out of mind, receives 30 shillings per annum ; and also out of Tomregan, § 6½ polls, 3 marks and 8 reaping hooks ; and Balliclanphillip, ¶ 3 polls, 16 pence, which 3 polls are in the said barony of Loughtee, in the parish of Moylagh, || which extends into the barony of Castlerahan—that in the barony of Loughtee are the following parishes, viz. :—Kilmore parish, the vicarage collative and the parsonage impropriate to the late prior of Four, the tithes are paid in kind, ⅓ to the vicar and ⅔ to the said late prior, except the ⅔ out of the 8 polls of Lavallymdorsher° and the 4 polls of Killmor which are paid to the bishop ; Urney parish, the impropriation, vicar and tithes are as in Kilmore parish except that the bishop receives ⅔ of the tithes out of the 3 polls of the termon lands of Urney,** Derriloane and Derrignons†† ; Anagh‡‡ parish,

* Tirlahode and Clifferna, in Laragh parish. In 1575 died "Nicholas Oge, son of Gilpatrick MacBrady who was official (i.e. Erenach) of Cliathbhearna" —*O'Reilly Pedigree*. "Cleferne"—1609 map. The *Down Survey* has "Cleferne," with the ruined church indicated in the townland. "Tirlahode containing 1 polle" : "Cleuerny containing 1 polle"—*Rawlinson MS*. The site of the ancient church of Clifferna is surrounded by a cemetery, the burialplace of many of the chieftains of the MacBradys.

† Lavey. "Lawye, 2½ polls"—1590 *Inquis*. "Leimeigh containing 2 polls lyeinge neere the parish church of Leimeigh the rectory is appropriat to the said Abbay of Fowre"—*Rawlinson MS*.

‡ Drumlane, which was Cavan's richest ecclesiastical foundation. "Dromdaghan [*recte* Droumlaghan] 32 polls lyeinge neere the church of Droumlaghan there belongeth to this church a chaple called Baigan"—*Rawlinson MS*. Bolgan was an *alias* for Drumlane. "Dromlane 32 polls"—1590 *Inquis*.

§ The name is derived from the great university of *Tuaim Dreucuin* which was in this parish. "Tomregin, 6 polls"—1590 *Inquis*. "Tomregan containing 6 polls lyeinge neere the parish church of Tomregan the rectory of this church is a messall of the Lord Bishop of Killmore"—*Rawlinson MS*.

¶ Clannaphillip, or Termon, in Killinkere parish.

|| Mullagh.

° This denomination included the townlands of Killyvally and Togher ; the title is now obsolete.

** "Urnye 3 polls"—1590 *Inquis*. "Urny contayning 3 polls lyeinge neere the parish church of Urny the rectory is appropriate to the said Abbay of Fowre except the teithes [*recte* tithes] of three polls which is messall to the said bishop"—*Rawlinson MS*. In 1595 Edm. Barrett received from Queen Elizabeth a grant, *inter alia*, of "the termon or hospital of Cassheltorra [Castletara], containing 3½ polls of land, with the tithes, Co. Cavan (rent 18s.) ; the termon of Urney, 3 polls (15s.) ; the termon of Rallimacchinche alias Ballim'hugh [Ballymachugh, in Ardagh diocese], (4d.) ; the termon of Larrae [Laragh], 3 polls (15s.) ; the termon of Annaghgallev [Annaghgelliffe], ½ poll (2/6) ; the termon of I,erganboy [Lurganboy, beside the town of Cavan] ½ poll (2/6), with the tithes of all these lands [in] Co. Cavan, devolved to the Crown by Act of Parliament"—*Fiants of Eliz.*, 1 July, 1595.

†† Derrylina and Derrygoss, townlands beside Urney.

‡‡ "Annaha, 1 poll"—1590 *Inquis*. "Anagh contayninge 1 poll lyeinge neere the chapple of Annagh the rectory is appropriat to the Abbay of Foure in Meith [*recte* Meath (diocese)]"—*Rawlinson MS*.

containing 4 ballibetags, the parson and vicar collative, the tithes are paid in kind, $\frac{1}{3}$ to the vicar and $\frac{2}{3}$ to the parson, except $\frac{2}{3}$ of the two polls of Clonayse* which are paid to the bishop, and the parson to pay 20s. and the vicar 12s. proxies to the bishop; Castleterragh parish, 45 polls, the parsonage presentative by MacBrady and the vicarage collative, the tithes are paid in kind, $\frac{2}{3}$ to the parson and $\frac{1}{3}$ to the vicar; Laragh† parish, $3\frac{1}{2}$ ballibetags, part extending into the barony of Tullaghgarvie, the parish is impropriate to the late prior of Four [Fore], and the vicarage collative, the tithes are paid in kind, $\frac{1}{3}$ to the vicar and $\frac{2}{3}$ to the impropriator, save the poll of land called Laragh, $\frac{2}{3}$ of which are paid to the bishop, and 1 great acre of glebe land belonging to the vicarage; Lavy‡ parish, 2 ballibetags, Ballyboughy, Launche and Ballymycharne,§ the parsonage impropriate to the late prior of Four, and the vicarage collative by the bishop, the tithes are paid in kind, $\frac{1}{3}$ to the vicar and $\frac{2}{3}$ to the parson except the tithes of Gallonyrork, $\frac{2}{3}$ of which are paid to the bishop to whom the vicar pays yearly 6s. proxies; Annaghgelliffe parish, containing 3 ballibetags, the parsonage impropriate to the late prior of Four, and vicarage collative, the tithes are paid as in the preceding parishes, except those of the half poll of Annaghgelliffe, $\frac{2}{3}$ of which are paid to the bishop to whom the vicar pays 12s. proxies; Denn|| parish, containing 2 ballibetags, the parsonage impropriate as in the former parish, and the vicar collative by the bishop, the tithes are paid as in the preceding parish, except the 8 polls of Denn, $\frac{2}{3}$ of which are paid to the bishop, to whom the vicar pays 12s. proxies; Dromlaghan parish, containing 92¶ polls, the parsonage is impropriate to the late abbey of Dromlaghan,

* Clonosey. The adjoining townland of Parisee was also termon land; the name is παρρησιον, i.e., parish land; "Parsagh"—1609 map, and *Down Survey*.

There was also a church at Killoughter in Annagh parish; its site, now marked by a cemetery, is on the summit of a hill. It was already in ruins in 1609 when the Plantation map was being compiled; on that map it is marked "Killoughter." It is mentioned in the *O'Reilly Pedigree* and was an O'Reilly foundation.

† "Larra, 3 polls"—1590 *Inquis.* "Larragh containing 2 polls dim. lyeinge neer the chaple of Larragh"—*Rawlinson MS.*

‡ Lavey. According to *Rawlinson MS.* an annual fair—evidently the survival of an ancient pattern—was held at Lavey on July 14.

§ The three townland names here mentioned are long since obsolete; they are not recorded on any of the early maps, and were most probably sub-denominations of the townland of Lavey. The forms given in the text are evidently corrupt. Gallonyrork may have been identical with the present townland of Knockanoark.

|| "Dynn, 8 polls"—1590 *Inquis.* The *Down Survey* has the "2 Poles of Denn." The 1609 map has the form "Dine." "Denn contayning 8 polls lyeing neere the parish church of Denn the rectory is appropriat to the said Abbay [Abbey] of Foure except the tithes of eight polls which is mensall to the said bishop [of Kilmore]—*Rawlinson M.S.*

¶ This may refer to the total acreage of the parish; otherwise it should read 32, as already noted.

and the vicarage of Bolgan alias Dromlaghan collative, the tithes are paid in kind, and the tithes of 30 polls of termon land and 7 polls of abbey land and $\frac{2}{3}$ parts of the remaining tithes are paid to the abbey, and the remainder to the vicar who is to pay the bishop $\frac{1}{2}$ mark; Tomregan parish containing 2 ballibetaghs, the parsonage belongs to the bishop as his mensal lands, and $\frac{2}{3}$ part of the tithe, and $\frac{1}{3}$ to the vicar who pays 3s. 4d. proxies to the bishop, and is collative; and in the same barony are the abbey lands of the late abbey or priory of Trinity Island,* situate near the Toagher,† with $4\frac{1}{2}$ polls of land called Clanlaskan, Derrie, Blencupp and Dromore, and the poll of Snaulugher and Killevallie and $\frac{1}{2}$ poll of Trinity Island—the bishop claims a rent of 3s. 4d. out of the half poll of Snaulugher, and claims the land as his mensal; and there is also the late abbey or house of Franciscan friars of Cavan‡ with a piece of land adjoining thereto called the Moore, 1 poll, and also the late monastery or priory of Dromlaghan with 7 polls of land, viz. :—Dirregerreghan,§ Dromgress,|| Dromheriff,¶ Ardony,° Dirrevehan,** and Gortahagh,†† and the poll of the Garriaghies and Ouragh,‡‡ that the bishop is entitled to the several rents and duties out of the following lands in the

* The Priory of Holy Trinity was founded A.D. 1237, on an island in Loch Uachtair, for the Premonstratensian Canons, or White Canons of St. Norbert. The ruins present some interesting features. Elsewhere I have summarised the history of this Priory.

† Togher.

‡ As I have shown elsewhere this monastery was founded A.D. 1300. With regard to "the Moore" mentioned in the text it was evidently the name applied to the parcel of land attached to the monastic buildings. I take it that the word is Gaelic; máin, i.e., a wall or enclosure. Clearly in the present case the term was applied to the monastic enclosure. The town of Cavan now extends over the former monastery precincts, and the designation "Abbey Lands" still survives on the Ordnance Survey maps; the name also commonly occurs in old Cavan leases.

§ Derrygeeraghan. "Derihiregan"—1609 map; "Derygerahan"—*Down Survey*; "Dyrrykyrekhan"—*Fiants of Eliz.*, 1570.

|| Drumgessh. "Dromgosca"—1609 map; "Dromgesse"—*Down Survey*; "Drumghes"—*Fiants of Eliz.*, 1570.

¶ Drumherriff. "Dromheriue"—1609 map; "Drumherivis"—*Down Survey*.

° Ardonan. "Ardouan"—1609 map; "Ardonan"—*Down Survey*; "Ardonan"—*Fiants of Eliz.*, 1570.

** Derryvehil. "Derynehel"—1609 map; "Dyrremehill"—*Fiants of Eliz.*, 1570.

†† This townland name is now obsolete; it was formerly applied to the southern portion of the present townland of Drumlane. "Gartugam"—1609 map.

‡‡ The "Garriaghies," i.e., "gardens," no longer a distinct denomination, occupied the northern portion of Drumlane townland. "Ouragh" is now Uragh. "Anurah"—1609 map; "Oragh"—*Down Survey*; "Nahowrye"—*Fiants of Eliz.*, 1570.

The townland of Kilnacranagh was also included in the parcel of lands which belonged to the Abbey of Drumlane.

barony of Tolcha : * Killnelynagh, † 2 polls, 3s. 4d. ; Killaghduffe, † 1 poll, 1s. ; Templeport, § 6 polls, 10s. and $\frac{2}{3}$ part of a beef, and out of the two polls adjoining the chapel of Kilfert || in the parish of Templeport, 1s. ; and in the same barony are the following parishes : Killnelynagh parish, containing 3 ballibetagh, in Largin ¶ 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ballibetagh and in Dubbally ** 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ballibetagh, the vicar is collative and the tithes are paid in kind, $\frac{1}{3}$ to the vicar, $\frac{1}{3}$

* Tullyhaw ; sometimes known as the Barony of Lissanover from the MacGauran stronghold in the townland of that name.

† Killinagh. "Killeynagh, 1 poll"—1590 *Inquis.* "Killeyne containyng 2 polls"—*Rawlinson MS.*

‡ Killaghduff, now a townland near Swanlinbar and in Kinawley Parish. The 1590 *Inquis* has "Templedowa," which is also the form given by Archdall (*Mon. Hib.*) in his list of the Cavan Hospitals. "Killadough containyng 1 polle lyeing neere the parish church of Killadough, the rectory is appropriate to the said Abbey of Kels [Kells]"—*Rawlinson MS.* In the lists of churches and rectories in Co. Cavan belonging to the Abbey of Ceanannus, or Kells, and enumerated in the various *Inquisitions* of James I., are specified, *inter alia*, Killin [Killann], Knockbride, Castlerahan, Templeport, Killinagh, and Crodragh. I take it that Crodragh is identical with Killaghduff, that is, with the Cavan section of the present Parish of Kinawley. Kinawley—which lies wholly in Co. Fermanagh—and Killaghduff were distinct Parishes in the early 17th century. The church of Killaghduff is now ruinous.

§ "Templeport, 4 polls"—1590 *Inquis.* In Papal documents of the 15th century the parish is called "Inisbrechiruigy alias Tempullapuyrt"—*De Annatis Hiberniae, sub anno 1426.* "Templeporte containyng 6 polls lyeing neere the parish church of Templeporte the rectory is appropriate to the said Abbay [i.e. Abbey] of Kels"—*Rawlinson MS.* The parish of Templeport was originally the most extensive in the Diocese of Kilmore. St. Mogue was born here circa 555.

|| Kilnavert in Templeport parish. "Kilfert, 2 polls"—1590 *Inquis.* "Killfeart containing 2 polls lyeinge near the chapple of Killfeart which belongeth to the church of Templeporte"—*Rawlinson MS.* The present parish church (Catholic) of Templeport is at Kilnavert and, as has been shown elsewhere, without doubt occupies the site of the original church of Magh Sleacht founded by St. Patrick. St. Mogue's church was on his native island in Templeport Lake, but this was later on abandoned in favour of a more convenient site on the mainland and beside which the Protestant church of Templeport now stands. It may be accepted that Kilnavert is the earliest church site in Co. Cavan.

¶ Largin, or Lergy—Λεργιαρ, i.e. a hillside—was the older name of the townland around the present village of Blacklion. Rev. Dr. Hogan (*Onom. Goed.*) incorrectly equates *Lerga* with *Redlion*.

** Dubally—Dub Daité i.e. the black townland—is no longer in use as a distinct townland name, but is still applied to the district beside the village of Dowra in Killinagh parish. Iron was mined here in the 17th century. Boate in his *Ireland's Natural History*, chap. 16, gives an account of the various iron-works then in operation in Ireland, that is, in the period 1640-50. "The third sort of Iron-mine," he states, "is digged out of the mountains, in several parts of the Kingdome; in Ulster . . . in the County of Cavan, in a place called Douballie, in a drie mountain." Probably the district received its name from the colour of the crude ore. This district is rich in iron, as Boate further observes: in the "County of Leitrim, on the East side of the said Lough [Allen], where the mountains are so full of this metall, that thereof it hath got in Irish the name of Slew Neron [Sliabh-an-Iaraind], that is, Mountain of Iron." As the present time attempts are being made to redevelop the great mineral wealth of the mountains around Loch Allen.

to the bishop, and $\frac{1}{3}$ to the late Abbey of Kells, and the vicar pays 3s. 4d. proxies to the bishop; Killaghduffe parish, $\frac{1}{2}$ ballibetagh, the parsonage is inappropriate to the late abbey of Kells and vicarage collative, the tithes are paid in kind, $\frac{2}{3}$ to the said abbey, and $\frac{1}{3}$ to the vicar; Templeport parish containing 7 ballibetaghs, viz. :—Ballymacgauran, Aghauenagh, Cowleg 14 polls, Gortnecargy, Cloynlough, and Tullagh,* the parsonage, vicarage, and tithes are disposed of as in the former parish, and the vicar pays to the bishop $\frac{1}{2}$ mark proxies and $\frac{1}{3}$ of a beef for his visitation; and that the said bishop in the barony of Tolchonchoe† is seised in fee of the yearly rent of 1 mark out of the termon land of Kildallan,‡ 2 polls—and also 2s. out of Shancrohen,§ 1 poll in the parish of Killeshanragh,|| and that the two polls of Marchill,¶ in the said parish, are his mensal lands—and out of the several parishes following, namely, Kildallan parish, containing 2 ballibetaghs and 15 polls, the parsonage is inappropriate and the vicarage collative, the tithes are paid in kind, $\frac{1}{3}$ to the vicar, $\frac{2}{3}$ to the late dissolved abbey of Dromlahan, except the $\frac{2}{3}$ part of 2 polls of termon land which are paid to the bishop, and to whom the vicar pays 3s. 4d. proxies; Killeshanrah parish, containing 5 balli-

* These denominations are in the neighbourhood of the present village of Ballymacgauran; "Cowleg" is now Coologe.

† Tullyhunco: Τεσλλιας Δοννχάδα, i.e., the territory belonging to the tribe or family of Donnchadh. The MacKiernans were the hereditary chieftains of this territory.

‡ Kildallan, 2 polls"—1590 *Inquis.* "Kildallan containing 2 polls lying neere the parish church [of] Kildallan the rectory is appropriate to the Abbey of Dromlahan"—*Rawlinson MS.* The old church of Kildallan, founded by St. Dallan, was situated in rather an unusual position occupying as it does the interior of a still more ancient rath the circumference of which may still be traced. A remarkable ash tree of immense size—or rather two ash trees which in a curious manner have become intertwined for a height of about twelve feet, their branches then separating—occupies the site of the church and forms a great canopy over the surrounding cemetery. Elsewhere I have collected some notices of the life of St. Dallan, who was a relative of St. Mogue.

§ Shancroaghan, a townland beside Killeshandra. "Seaneroe, 1 poll"—1590 *Inquis.* "Shancroghan containing 1 polle"—*Rawlinson MS.*

|| Killeshandra: Cill a Sean Raëa, i.e., the church of the old rath. This furnishes another instance of a church having been erected within the enclosure of a rath (cf. Kilnavert and Kildallan). The ancient church and rath, the circunvallation of which is still partly *in situ*, occupied a picturesque position on the shore of the lake. The present ruin, which preserves some interesting features, is chiefly a "restoration" of the early 17th century; but some of the walls and windows belong to the mediaeval church.

In the *Papal Registers* (Boniface IX.) sub anno 1398 this parish is called "Kilincenra alias de Ieallacuncuga": the latter name is a Latinised form of Tullyhunco, the Baronial title. A later reference, sub anno 1439, has "parrochialis ecclesie Sancte Brigide Kilnascanarach." The *Rawlinson MS.* refers to "the parish church of Killshandraght the rectory is appropriate to the said Abbey of Dromlaghan." That Killeshandra was a dependency of Drumlane is manifest from the references in the 15th century *Papal Registers* which also preserve the names of some of its ancient pastors.

¶ Marahill. "Markill, 2 polls"—1590 *Inquis.*

betaghs and 1 poll, the parsonage impropriate as in the former parish and vicarage collative, the tithes are paid in kind, $\frac{1}{3}$ part to the vicar, except the tithes of Marchill which are paid to the bishop, and $\frac{2}{3}$ part of the tithes to the late Abbey of Dromlahan, and also $\frac{1}{2}$ mark proxies—and that there is a chapel of ease called Clone* with 15 polls of land in Enishmore parish within the diocese of Ardagh extending into the Co. Longford—and that the said bishop of Kilmore is entitled to the rents issuing out of certain parcels of land in the barony of Clonmahon alias Drumloman, viz.: the termon land of Ballytemple, † 2 polls, 1s. 8d.; Kill in the parish of Kill alias Killdromfert, ‡ 7 polls, 3s. 4d.; Crosselough, § 4 polls within the same parish, in the barony of Castlerahan, 3s. 4d.—that the bishop of Ardagh, in right of his see, is entitled to the rent of 1s. 6d. out of the poll of land of Ballymachugh, 6d., both in the parish [*recte* barony] of Granard and Co. of Longford—that the bishop of Kilmore, in right of his See, is entitled to 1s. 8d. rent, issuing out of the $\frac{1}{2}$ poll of termon land of Kilbride, || in the parish

* Cloone, a townland adjacent to the village of Gowna and in the Parish of Colmcille East, or Scrabby; it is on the Longford border and in Ardagh Diocese. The church of Cloone was picturesquely situated on the shore of Loch Gowna. The 1590 *Inquis.* has "Clona, 1 acre." In Archdall's list of the Cavan Hospitals (i.e. parish churches) it is given as "Clone" (*Mon Hib.*). The *State Papers* of 1606 have "Cone"—an obvious misprint. A passage in the *Rawlinson MS.* has "Cloine contayning a quarter of a poll lyeing neere the chapple of Cloine which chapple belongeth to the church of Killshauragh [Killeshandra]." In the early 18th century list of Cavan townlands, compiled in connection with the Carvagh system of taxation, the place is called "Cloon and Arnagh"; the latter is now the townland of Arnaghan, which is separated from Cloone by the townland of Mulrick. The present Protestant church of Gowna occupies the site of the ancient church of Cloone. In the adjoining cemetery are some interesting monuments. A massive horizontal slab, with Coat of Arms and a lengthy inscription, marks the resting place of Rev. Farrell MacKiernan, P.P. of Colmcille, who died November 12, 1741. On the island of *inir móin* in Loch Gowna may be seen the ruins of St. Colmcille's church.

† Ballintemple. "Ballientemple"—1590 *Inquis.* "Ballen Temple containing 2 polls lyeinge [near] the parish church of Ballentemple the rectory is appropriate to the said Abbey of Fowre [Fore]"—*Rawlinson MS.* The ancient church, which has long since been uprooted, was dedicated to St. Patrick. In a Papal document of 1471 (*De Annatis Hiberniae*) it is called "Ballempaill."

‡ Kildrumfertan. Vide *Journal*, Vol. III, pp. 9-86.

§ Crosserlough. Vide *Journal*, Vol. III, pp. 9-86.

~|| Kilbride was a dependency of Drumlane. The present union of Kilbride, which belongs to the Diocese of Meath, comprises three ancient parishes, formerly distinct, viz., Kilbride, Castlecarr and Killeagh. Kilbride is in Co. Cavan, but Castlecarr and Killeagh are in Co. Meath. "Kylbryde, one-half poll"—1590 *Inquis.* "Kilbridy and Balinthugh [Ballymachugh] contayning 1 polle lyeinge neere the parish church of Temple Kilbridy the rectory [is]

of Kilbride, and that the chapel is claimed as the parish church within the diocese of Kilmore, but that said chapel and termon land are claimed to be parcel of the parish of Castlecorr,* to which the tithes are and have been paid for many years; and in the same barony are the following parishes, viz.: Ballitemple, containing 3 ballibetags, the parsonage impropriate and the vicarage collative, the tithes are paid in kind $\frac{1}{3}$ to the vicar and $\frac{2}{3}$ to the prior of the Abbey of Four [Fore], and the vicar to pay 12 shillings proxies to the bishop; Kill alias Killdrumbert parish, containing 6 ballibetags, the parsonage, vicar and tithes are paid as in the former parish, except the $\frac{2}{3}$ part of the tithes of the termon land of Kill which are paid to the bishop, to whom the vicar pays 12s. proxies—that the chapel of ease of Dromloman,† with 3

appropriate to the Abbey of Dromlaghan [Drumlane]. There is a vicar [*recte* vicar] endowed. This rectory is granted to Sir Lucas Dillon in fee farm together with the whole Abbey [i.e. Drumlane Abbey]"—*Rawlinson MS.* The ruined church of "Kilbridy" is marked on the 1609 map of Clanmahon, and also on the *Down Survey* (1654) map of the same barony. The northwest extremity of the present townland of Kilbride is marked "Ballanagrosse" on the *Down Survey*. It is the "Ballynagrosse" of the Commonwealth Grants, and was then recognised as a distinct denomination. The name, now apparently obsolete, signifies the "townland of the cross," evidently referring to a termon cross which may have stood there. The old church of Kilbride has been long since uprooted; a cemetery marks its site.

Kilbride signifies the church of St. Brigid. By a curious error O'Donovan equates the *Cuil Brighdin* of the Annals with Kilbride. As I have already shown, *Cuil Brighdin*, which received its title from the MacBrady family, was an alias for Castletara.

Some remains of an early church are on Church Island in Loch Sheelin. As I have shown elsewhere, this island is identical with the *Inis Uachtair* of the Martyrologies, where St. Carthach founded a church. Vide *Journal*, Vo. III., p. 66.

* In Co. Meath. The site of the early church is shown in the townland of the same name. The older title of this parish was "Tippermessan," by which name it is known in a list of the parishes in the deanery of Fore, compiled in 1302. The list will be found in Sweetman's *Calendar of Documents* under that year. A list of the Meath parishes, given in the *Register* of Primate George Dowdall, has "Tibermassan alias Castel Ccr."

† Dromloman parish in Ardagh diocese. "Dromloman, 1 poll"—1590 *Inquis.* "Dromloman alias Bracklagh containing 1 polle lyeinge neere the chapple of Dromloman"—*Rawlinson MS.* The 1609 map of Clanmahon shows "Dromloman" as a distinct townland and with the ruined church marked. It is the "Bracklagh gleab" of the *Down Survey*. Bracklagh is now the name of the townland, but Dromloman is applied to the parish and district. This is another example of a townland name having lost its original application and now being applied to a larger district. It is clear, however, from the reference in *Rawlinson* that as early as 1608 Bracklagh was already recognised as an alias for Dromloman. The identity of the St. Loman, who gave his name to the church, has not been established with certainty; probably he was St. Loman of Trim.

ballibetaghs in said barony, are parcel of the parish of Granard, in the Co. of Longford; and that the chapel and 1 ballibetagh of Ballymachugh* are in said parish, barony and county; and that the small parcel of land called Drombarden, † within said ballibetagh, is parcel of the possession of the late dissolved Abbey of Kells—that the said bishop of Kilmore is entitled, in right of his See, to the rents issuing out of the several termon lands following in the barony of Castlerahan, viz.: Castlerahan † 2 polls, 1s. 4d.; Clonchychuy, § $\frac{1}{2}$ mark per annum and $\frac{1}{2}$ mark visitation; Lurgan, || 2 polls, 1s. 11d.; Ranetaven, ¶ 2 polls, 3s. 4d.; Rahone, ° 1 poll, 1s. 4d.; Killenkerrie, ** 2 polls, 1s. 8d., which 5 polls are in the parish of Mollagh—and that in the said barony are the several following parishes: Castlerahan, 2 balli-

* In Ardagh. The 1590 *Inquis.* has a corrupt form "Ballymacknight." The church is not shown on the 1609 map. The *Down Survey* has "Ballymchue." The site of the old parish church is in Lavagh townland; the original edifice has been demolished and a modern church (Protestant) occupies the site. In the adjoining cemetery the inscriptions on some 18th century tombs of the O'Reillys, Sheridans, and other local families, may be deciphered. As in the case of Dromloman, just referred to, the title Ballymachugh is no longer applied to any particular townland but is retained as the parish title (cf. Tomregan, Munterconnacht, Moybolge, etc.). In the 1700 list of Cavan townlands, compiled in connection with the Carvagh system, both "Bally M'Hugh" and "Lavagh and part of Aughacreevy" are entered as distinct denominations. The same list, however, has no entry of Dromloman as a distinct townland. The present exotic "Bellsgrave" was originally part of the church lands of Ballymachugh. $\Theta\alpha\iota\tau\epsilon\ \mu\alpha\kappa\ \Delta\omicron\delta\delta\alpha$, i.e. the town of the sons of Aodh. Aodh, or Aedh, was a popular Christian name among the O'Reillys; but the particular Aodh whose name survives in the parish title may have belonged to an earlier period.

† The name is now obsolete; it is not shown on the early maps but was evidently a sub-denomination of Lavagh.

‡ "Castlerahin, 2 polls"—1590 *Inquis.* "Castle Rahen containing 2 polls lyeinge neere the parish church of Castle Rahen the rectory is appropriate to the said Aboey of Kells"—*Rawlinson MS.* See *Journal*, Vol. II., No. 3

§ Clonkeiffy, a townland in Castlerahan parish. "Clonkyaghvoy, 4 polls"—1590 *Inquis.* "Clonechewoy containing 4 polls"—*Rawlinson MS.*

|| "Largann, 2 polls"—1590 *Inquis.* "Lurgan contayninge 2 polls lyeinge neere the parish church of Lurgan the rectory and vicaradge [recte vicarage] are appropriate to the said Abbey of Kells"—*Rawlinson MS.* See *Journal*, Vol. II., No. 1.

¶ Rantavan, a townland in Mullagh parish. In early documents it is sometimes given as an *alias* for Mullagh. "Ramtavin, 2 polls"—1590 *Inquis.* "Rahwentaven containing 2 polls lyeings neere the chapple of Rahetaven which said chapple belongeth to the church of Killinkire"—*Rawlinson MS.* See *Journal*, Vol. I., No. 2.

° Raffony, now a townland in Mullagh Parish. "Rahawna"—1590 *Inquis.* "Rahawnagh containing 1 polle"—*Rawlinson MS.* In 1605 the church lands of "Rahony," which were then vested in Brian O'Connell, were declared forfeit to the English Crown, and the church fell into ruin. The ruined church measures 57 feet in length by 20 feet in breadth. Elsewhere I have given an account of this ancient foundation.

** Killinkere. "Killinkire contayning 2 polls lyeinge neere the parish church of Killinkire the rectory is appropriate to the aforesaid Abbey of Powre"—*Rawlinson MS.* See this *Journal*, Vol. III., pp. 249-335.

betaghs; Lurgan, 3 ballibetaghs; Munterchonagh* parish, 3 ballibetaghs; parsonages and vicarages impropriate to the late dissolved Abbey of Kells, the whole of the tithes are paid in kind, and the said Abbey is to maintain curates; Mollagh, containing 5 ballibetaghs and 5 polls, whereof 8 polls, viz.: the 3 polls of the termon land of Balliclanphillip and the 5 polls of Lissany-more† are in the barony of Loughtee, the parsonage impropriate to the late prior of Four, and the vicarage collative, the tithes are paid in kind, $\frac{1}{3}$ to the vicar, excepting thereout the 5 polls in the barony of Castlerahan and the 8 polls in the barony of Loughtee, and the $\frac{1}{3}$ of the tithe of the said 8 polls are paid to the bishop of Kilmore as his mensal lands, also $\frac{2}{3}$ of the tithes of the 5 polls in the barony of Castlerahan, and the vicar pays 12s. proxies—and that the 8 polls of the lands of Magherodone,‡ in the parish of Lurgan, belonged to the late Abbey of Kells—and that said bishop is entitled to the several rents following, issuing out of lands in the barony of Clonky, viz.: Moybolge, § 4 polls 20s.;

* Munterconnacht. "Monterconnaught, $\frac{1}{2}$ poll"—1590 *Inquis.* "Monterconnogh containing dim. polle lyeinge neere the chapple of Munterconnogh"—*Rawlinson MS.* I have already dealt with the history of this parish; see *Journal*, Vol., II., No. 3.

† A townland in the district of Clannaphillip, or Termon, at the western extremity of Killinkere Parish. Clannaphillip, as I have shown elsewhere, was an O'Reilly settlement, and was often adopted as an *alias* for Killinkere.

‡ Magheradoone, usually abbreviated to Maghera, a district comprising about half a dozen townlands, and extending along the eastern shore of Loch Ramor in the south-east of Lurgan parish. *Maðame óin* = the plain of the forts. *Dán* was the term applied to a fortified residence. Zeuss—*Grammatica Celtica*—glosses it "firmus, fortis." The term is found in all Celtic languages as well as in Latin; it is the Welsh *Din* occurring in many of the placenames of Wales. Cf. *dunum* in the early Latin names of cities.

The monastery of Kells had extensive property in Magheradoone. In 1542 it was reported that "four messuages, sixty acres of arable, four of meadow, two of wood, and fourteen of pasture, with the appurtenances, in Maghlendonc" belonged to the Monastery of Kells. *Messuage* is a Latin term meaning a dwellinghouse with offices and lands attached, for the household uses of those who had care of the property. The *Rawlinson MS.* has: "Eight polls of land called Magheryndowne belonging to the said Abbey of Kells. This Monastery lands is in the tenure of Capten (*sic*) Gerott Fleming by force of Lettres pattendes [i.e. letters patent] of fee farme." The *Down Survey* has "Maheridowne," and in this form the name is still locally remembered. In 1539 the property of Kells monastery was confiscated including, *inter alia*, "Maghelendon, now in Cavan County"—*Patent Rolls*, 6 James I. It then passed into the possession of Garret Fleming of Cabragh, in Enniskeen Parish. The church which served the district of Magheradoone in pre-Reformation times was on an island in Loch Ramor. A causeway connecting this island with the mainland can still be traced. The church is shown, in ruins, on the 1609 map.

§ Moybolge, now united with Kilmainhamwood. "Moybaigne contayning 4 polls lyeinge neere the parish church of Moybogne the rectory is appropriate to the said Abbay of Kells"—*Rawlinson MS.* According to the latter authority an annual fair was held at Moybolge on St. Patrick's Day, the feast day of the Parish. An entry in the *Diary* of Friar Turlough O'Mellan, dated September, 1646, refers to the fact that the English of the North attacked the people of Oirghialla (Oriel), drove them to the woods of Drumduin (Drumgoon), burned the houses and haggards up to the woods of Killann (Cill Anna), and plundered the district of Moybolge (*muige bolge*). I have already detailed the parochial history of Moybolge in this *Journal*.

Eniskine*, 2 polls, 3s. 4d. ; Killan, †, 1 poll, 4s. ; Knockbride, † $\frac{1}{2}$ poll, 2s. ; Lisleagh, $\frac{2}{3}$ poll, in the parish of Knockbride, 9d., and Drumgone, 2 polls, 1s. 8d.—and that in said barony are also the following parishes, viz. : Moybolge, 23 polls, the parsonage inappropriate and the vicarage collative, the tithes are paid in kind, $\frac{1}{3}$ to the vicar, $\frac{2}{3}$ to the late Abbey of Kells, except $\frac{2}{3}$ of 3 polls of termon land which are paid to the bishop of Kilmore and to whom the vicar pays 6s. proxies ; Eniskine parish, 5 ballibetags, viz. : Ballincabragh, Ballydonrie, Ballenboy, Balliogly and Balleonnegan, § the bishop of Meath is both parson and vicar in right of his bishopric, to whom all the tithes are paid in kind, to maintain a curate ; Killann parish, 3 ballibetags and 9 polls, the parsonage and vicarage inappropriate to the late Abbey of Kells, to whom all the tithes are paid, except out of the poll of termon land, $\frac{2}{3}$ of which are paid to the bishop of Kilmore ; Knockbride parish, 3 ballibetags, the parsonage and vicarage are inappropriate as in the last parish, except $\frac{2}{3}$ of the tithes of the $\frac{1}{2}$ poll of Knockbride which are paid to the bishop of Kilmore ; Drumgone || parish, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ balli-

* Enniskeen, a parish in Co. Cavan but in the Diocese of Meath. The church was a dependency of Kells.

† Killann. " Kilconny 1 poll"—1590 *Inquis.* " Killan"—1609 map. " Kilcannagh containing 1 polle"—*Rawlinson MS.*

‡ " Knockabrydy"—1590 *Inquis.* " Knockbreca"—1609 map. " Knockbridy containing 1 pole lyeinge neere the parish church of Knockbridy the rectory is appropriate to the Abbay [*recte* Abbey] of Kells in Meith [Meath]. There is a viccar [*recte* vicar] endowed. This rectory is granted in fee farme to Capten Garrott Fleming together with all the possessions of the Abbay of Kells"—*Rawlinson MS.*

§ These townlands are in Enniskeen Parish. " Ballincabragh," the " Ballynecabry " of *Rawlinson*, is now Cabra. It is " Cabragh " on the map of 1609, and " Lisnacabry " on Norden's map compiled during the reign of Elizabeth. The Castle of Cabra was for many centuries the stronghold of the Fleming family. Ballydonrie, which is the " Bally Dronnery " of *Rawlinson*, is now Dunaree in which townland the present town of Kingscourt is situated. Balliogly is now Balloughly ; " Balloghly"—*Rawlinson*. " Ballenboy " seems to be represented by the present Gallonboy. " Balleonnegan " is given as " Ballymacklanegan " by *Rawlinson*. The name is now obsolete, but it was evidently in the neighbourhood of Balloughly.

|| Drumgoon. Early forms of this parish title are: " Drumiguyn"—*Papal Registers*, 1427 ; " Droumdone"—*Elizabethan Fiants*, 1586 ; " Drom-gawney"—*Rawlinson MS.* ; " Drumdoon"—1609 map ; " Drumdoon"—*Friar O'Mellan's Diary* of the wars of 1646. Elsewhere I have suggested that *Drum* *Dóin* rather than *Drum* *Dóin*, which Joyce advances, is most likely the correct Gaelic form of the name.

In the *Liber Angeli*, in the *Book of Armagh*, a treatise defining the prerogatives and privileges of the See of Armagh, the diocesan jurisdiction—distinguished from the primatial jurisdiction which extended over the entire country—is defined as follows :

Idcirco constituitur terminus a Domino vastissimus urbi Alti Mache, quain dilexisti prae omnibus Hibernensium telluribus, id est a *Pinna Montis Berbicis* usque ad *Montem Mis*, a Monte Mis usque ad *Bri Erigi* usque ad *Dorsos Breg*.

The geographical limits here specified are Benn Muilt (*benn* = pinna montis ; *muill* = vervecis) now the townland of Benwilt, near Cootehill, in the north-east of Drumgoon parish ; Sliabh Mis, in Co. Antrim, is on the border between

betaghs, the parson and vicar collative of the bishop of Kilmore, the tithes are paid in kind, $\frac{1}{3}$ to the vicar and $\frac{2}{3}$ to the parson, and the bishop's proxies are unknown—and the bishop of Kilmore is entitled to the several rents and duties following in the barony of Tullagarvey, viz. : out of the lands of Kill, 2 polls, 2 marks, 8 reaping hooks and one day's work ; Drumchill, 1s. 8d. ; Aghorcraken termon land, 12d. ; Rachane, 2 polls, 1s. 8d. ; Dromgress termon land, 12d. ; all said lands are in the parish of Killysardenny ; * Drong† termon land, 2s. ; termon land of More, 3 polls, in the parish of Dronge, 9d. ; Maghereholche, ‡ 1 poll and half

Dal Araidhe and Dal Riada ; Bri Erigi was in the territory of Ulaidh, and evidently in the Ards peninsula in the east of Co. Down ; Drumne Breg is the ridge of hills extending north of Slane, in Co. Meath, and south of Ardee, in Co. Louth.

Benn Muilt, i.e., the wether's peak—referring, most probably, to a supposed physical resemblance—was on the borders of Breiffne and Oirghialla. The 1609 map has " Benmult."

* Killdrumsherdan. " Killisertdenyn"—1590 *Inquis.* " Killisserdenny containing 6 polls lyeinge neere the parish church of Killisserdenny the rectory is appropriate to the said Abbay [Abbey] of Fowre except the tiethes [tithes] of two polls which is mensall"—*Rawlinson MS.* Elsewhere I have shown that the *Disert Fincheall* of mediæval Roman documents is identical with the present Kildrumsherdan

— The denominations specified in the text are in the immediate neighbourhood of the ancient parish church. " Kill" is identical with the present Drumhurl which contains the ancient church site. " Drumchill" is now Drumerkillew. " Aghorcraken" is not marked on the modern townland Index Map, but it occupied the northern portion of the present Drumerkillew ; " Aghorahan"—1609 map. " Rachane" is now Rakane. " Dromgress" is the present Drumnagress ; " Dromegrass"—1590 *Inquis.* ; Dromanegress containing 1 polle lyeing neere the aforesaid church of Killisserdenny"—*Rawlinson MS.* The townland of Long was also church property.

† Drung. " Dronge"—1590 *Inquis.* In 15th century Papal documents the parish is occasionally mentioned, e.g. Drong—*De Annatis Hiberniæ, sub anno 1423.* That the parishes of Drung and Laragh were at that time canonically united appears from a petition presented to Pope Boniface IX in 1398.

" Dronge contaynyng 1 polle lyeinge neere the parish church of Dronge. The rectory [is] inappropriate to the Abbay [Abbey] of Fowre except the tiethes [tithes] of one polle which is mensall to the said Bishop of Killmore. There is a viccar [recte vicar] endowed. This rectory together with the whole Abbay of Fowre and all the possessions thereof granted for tearme of yeares to the Lord Barron [Nugent] of Delvin."—*Rawlinson MS.*

‡ Now the townland of Magherintemple on the border of Co. Monaghan. The *Down Survey* map has " Magheriholl" an extensive townland extending from " Bonoe"—Bunnoe—to the County border. The 1609 map has " Magherintemple" with the ruined church indicated. This church, which was dedicated to St. Patrick, has long since been demolished ; a cemetery marks the site. According to the *Rawlinson MS.* an annual fair was held at " Magheryhullagh" on St. Patrick's Day ; this was a survival of the local pattern. On an early map of Breiffne, compiled during Elizabeth's reign the ruined church—" Temp. : Maghryehollagn"—is marked. The ancient district of Magherahollagh, which comprised all the townlands from Bunnoe to the County boundary, is now usually known by the abbreviated form, Maghera ; μαγαρα, i.e., a plain. The townland which contains the site of the church is still known as Magherintemple. The present townland of Ballyhally preserves the second part of the older name ; the *Down Survey* has " Ballihollagh."

a pottle of land, parcel of said parish, 6s.— that in the barony of Tullygarvey are the several parishes, viz. : KILLSARDINNY parish, containing 4 ballibetaghs, the parsonage is impropriate and the vicarage collative, the tithes are paid in kind, $\frac{1}{3}$ to the vicar and $\frac{2}{3}$ to the late prior of Four, except out of the two polls of Kill, $\frac{2}{3}$ of which are paid to the bishop ; DRONGE parish, containing 6 ballibetaghs, the tithes are paid to the parson and vicar as in the former parish except out of the termon land of Maghereholch, and 12 polls and a gallon of Ballimcencheoll,* $\frac{2}{3}$ of which are paid to said bishop, and that in said parish there is a chapel of ease called Maghereholche, and that it appears by the register of the bishop of Kilmore that there was 18 marks due to said bishop out of the possessions of the late abbey of Four, in the Co. of Cavan, which marks are to be paid as heretofore has been usual—that the bishop of Kilmore has heretofore collated to every void parsonage and vicarage within his diocese in said county, except such as belong to any temporal person, or impropriate to any abbey, priory, or religious house, or belong to the bishop of Meath, and that if the bishop neglected to collate within six months, the right of collation lapses to the Archbishop of Armagh ; the parson, vicar, and herenagh† are to repair and maintain their own parish church, at their own charge, out of their benefices and termon lands, in which work the parishioners did oftentimes voluntarily give their *bene volente*—that if any rent or duties are omitted to which the said bishop of Kilmore is entitled, the same to be made to accord with a rental of said bishopric dated in the year 1502—that termon lands were known before parishes were laid out and distinguished, and in those times and in these parts were certain religious men in the nature of hermits, who sequestering themselves from all worldly business,

* In a Papal document *sub anno* 1423 there is a reference to the rectory of "Balimicanchobayll," a perpetual ecclesiastical benefice "in parrochiali ecclesia de Drong, Triburnensis dioc" (*De Annaliis Hiberniae*): In the same year Nemeas Ofeagaych (O'Fay), a priest of Kilmore diocese, was in possession, and the Archdeacon of Kilmore was directed by Pope Martin V to declare the benefice canonically vacant and same to be conferred on Adam Ofeagaych should the latter prove himself worthy. A later document, dated 1428, refers to the rectory of "Balimicanchobaill." Under its Latinised form the name is scarcely recognisable, but it is apparent that it is merely a corrupt form of Magherintemple, with "Bally" prefixed in accordance with the custom of the time. Magherahullagh was as already shown an *alias* for Magherintemple. The name Magherahullagh was applied, however, to a more extensive area which included the termon lands ; Magherintemple would have designated the lands in the immediate vicinity of the church. The prefix "Bally," since dropped, also occurred in "Ballydrong" (i.e. Drung) and "Ballytollevin" (i.e. Tullyvin), forms which are given in *Rawlinton MS.*

† See Addendum.

severally retired into private places,* where they devoted themselves to prayer and other godly acts for their souls' health ; and in testimony of their zeal and devotion erected churches to which the temporal lords gave a portion of land for the purpose that said religious men should maintain hospitality and pray for their souls' health, and repair and keep said churches and otherwise advance the service of God—and that upon these hermits or religious persons ceasing, each of them made choice of the most sufficient person about him, and to that person and his sept he gave his portion of land, to be inherited by him and his sept for the same uses and intents as the temporal lords first gave them to said religious persons ; and to said lands were annexed certain liberties and freedoms, as sanctuary and the like, for which cause said lands were called *termon*, or free and protected lands, the chief tenant in some places is called *corbe*, and in some places *herenagh*—that afterwards when the temporal lords in their several wars, and upon other occasions, began to charge and tax the *termon* lands with divers exactions, the *coarbs* and *herenaghs* fled to the bishop of their diocese for protection against the wrongs and injuries inflicted on them by the temporal lords, and for the bishop's protection agreed to pay a rent or pension and sometimes they sought the same of such one of the temporal lords as they thought could defend them against the rest, and to whom some of the *corbes* and *herenaghs* agreed to give rents or pensions ; until such time the bishop never had anything to do either with their lands or tenements, but from thenceforth he undertook the protection of the said *herenaghs* and their lands, and in process of time took on him a power to confirm each *corbe* and *herenagh* in their lands, and upon the alteration of any *corbe* or *herenagh*, took certain duties which they yielded in order to continue under his protection ; and when a *corbe* and *herenagh* were to be elected, and if the sept did not agree among themselves then the bishop and the whole clergy assembled could elect one of the same sept, commonly the most ancient, who was to be confirmed by the bishop ; and if the whole sept at any time became extinct, the bishop could not detain or dispose of their lands but to another sept out of which the new *corbe* or *herenagh* were to be created, to inherit the lands to the same uses for which they were originally granted by the temporal lords to the hermits or religious men, and which the bishop could not do without the consent of the whole clergy, nor alter or increase the rents or pensions ; and

* Such places were usually known as *Disert* (Latin, *desertum*), which forms many parish and townland names, and is sometimes translated " Hermitage." There is a townland, *Disert*, in Kildallan parish and in the neighbourhood of Killeshandra. The *Disert Moaedhoig*, or Hermitage of St. Mogue, was located somewhere in Kildallan parish, and there is a reasonable probability for assuming that this townland may have been the place of his retreat. The historical evidence for this is, however, indecisive, and the question must await further research.

if the corbe or herenagh, or any of the sept, forfeited any parcel of their land that same came not to the bishop, but divided through the whole sept. The difference between corbe and herenagh is, that the corbe, called in Latin *pleibanus*, is head of a greater family or sept, and sometimes has several septs and several herenaghs under him; whereas the herenagh is head of a smaller number of people, and seldom has under him more than his own sept.

[This concludes the Cavan *Inquisition*. On September 18 of the same year an *Inquisition* for Co. Fermanagh was held at Enniskillen, and the following abstract from its report concerns the Fermanagh section of Kilmore Diocese].

The bishop of Kilmore is seised of a rent of 4s. and a cosherie of 4 quarters of beef at his visitation, or 40 groats* in lieu thereof sent him home if he go not in person out of the herenagh land of Kilenallie,† containing 3 tates‡ new measure, of which Muntergromagh§ is herenagh in Clonawlie barony, also of other rents and duties the amount of which is not known, but refer to the bishop's register; out of the herenagh land of Killesher, containing $\frac{1}{2}$ tate, new measure, of which Munterbleake|| is herenagh; in Clonawlie barony are two small parishes, viz.: Kilnallie¶ parish, the parsonage of which belongs to the bishopric of Kilmore as the bishop's mensal, and is confined within Knocknynny° $\frac{1}{2}$ barony, but extends not into so much of the said parish as is within Clonawlie barony, but that the vicarage of Killnally extends in both baronies as far as Drumunchie river, on the other side of which river are the 10 tates of Calbagh in Knocknynny and within Tomregan vicarage in Co. Cavan, the tithes of Kilnallie parish are paid in kind, $\frac{1}{3}$ to the vicar and $\frac{2}{3}$ to the parson according to the abovenamed scopes and bounds, the church is repaired by both as before, and the vicar pays 3s. proxies to the bishop;

* An old English silver coin, value 4d., first issued in the 14th century; after 1662 it was only coined for the special purpose of Maundy money.

† Kinawley; Cill náite, the church of St. Naile.

‡ See introductory notes.

§ Μυντεραρ Ó Δρομα, i.e. the family of O'Droma, now usually anglicised Drum. This family, still numerically strong, in the district, supplied the hereditary Erenachs of Kinawley.

|| Μυντεραρ Βλάκα, i.e. the family of Blake, who were the Erenachs of Killesher.

¶ Kinawley.

° Knocknynny. Cnoc nínnró, i.e., the hill of St. Ninnidh, patron of Inish-macsaint. This parish, which is wholly in Co. Fermanagh, was formerly comprised within the parishes of Kinawley and Tomregan. In 1501 Rev. Nicholas MacBrady who had been collated to the vicarage of Cnocnynde (i.e. Knocknynny) expressed doubts as to the validity of his collation, and on November 18th of that year presented his case to the Roman authorities (*De Annatis Hiberniæ*). Pope Alexander VI. duly confirmed his appointment and had the rectory and vicarage conferred on him.

Killesher* parish, the parsonage of which extending into so much of Killnally parish as is in Clanawlię barony, is impropriate to the dissolved Abbey of Kells, and its vicarage is collative, the tithes are paid in kind, two-thirds to the parson and one-third to the vicar, and repairs of the church as before, the vicars pay 3 shillings proxies to the bishop of Kilmore.

ADDENDUM.

Concerning the functions of *Coarb* and *Erenach* (or Herenach), ecclesiastical offices so frequently mentioned in our mediaeval documents and which I have already discussed in previous papers, some further explanation may be necessary here. The *Coarb* (Comarba = an heir) was usually the successor to the saint who founded the abbey or church. The *Erenach* (Aireannach = a governor or head), usually a layman, was the superintendent or general supervisor of the church lands; he collected the rents and kept the church in repair. According to the Brehon Laws the *Coarb*, or Abbot, of the Monastery should be selected from the *fine*, i.e. the family, of the founder. This system, which then obtained in Ireland and other countries, is succinctly explained by Dr. James F. Kenney in his recent volume, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, Vol. I., pp. 747 *et seq.* (New York: Columbia University Press—1929).

By the eleventh century [writes Dr. Kenney] it would seem that in the average church the abbot, generally known as the *comarba*, "heir," of the saintly founder, or if it were not the saint's principal establishment, the *aircinnech*, "head," had become a lay lord, whose family held the office and the church property from generation to generation; the monk, *manach*, had become a tenant of church lands under the *aircinnech*; and the student, *scológ*, had become a farm labourer. In some cases, apparently, all trace of a church establishment had disappeared, except that the incumbent claimed for his lands, the *termonn* of the ancient monastery, those privileges and exemptions which had from of old been accorded to ecclesiastical property; but generally the *comarba* or *aircinnech* maintained a priest and, in the more important churches, one or more bishops and several priests, to administer

* "Killaser contayning dim. tate lyeing neere the parish church of Killaiser [Killesher]. The rectory is appropriat to the Abbey of Kells in Meath. There is a viccar [vicar] endowed.

This rectory is in the tenure of Capten Gerrot Fleming by force [of] lettres patents of fee farme."—*Rawlinson M.S.*

the sacraments and perform other sacerdotal duties. The larger churches were still extensive ecclesiastical institutions, with a numerous clergy, a school presided over by a *jer leigind* [i.e. a professor] with his assistants and scribes, hospitals, sometimes attended by *Céli Dé*, who likewise had been secularised, and especially a hermitage or *disert*, where "pilgrims," *debraid*, from other districts or churches lived in seclusion and maintained the ancient traditions of piety and asceticism.

On the death of the Coarb, or Abbot, his successor, according to the established custom, was chosen from the *fine*, or family, of the founder. In case that no member of the *fine* was at the time an ordained priest, it might happen that a layman belonging to the *fine* might procure the temporalities in trust until such time as there would be a duly ordained priest to assume the Coarbship. This system, although perfectly in accordance with the custom of the time, was liable to give rise to abuses, and we have on record some instances of lay Abbots ruling over monasteries, for example, at Armagh and Bangor.

It was the opinion of O'Donovan that this lay succession, especially in the case of the *Aircheannach*, was a consequence of the disorder due to the Norse wars. But its origin must be sought for at an earlier period. It must be remembered that the system was not peculiar to Ireland: the laicisation of abbacies was prevalent in England at the same period, and, as far as we can judge from historical evidences, the lay usurpation of church lands in that country had become an intolerable evil. In France the same unsatisfactory conditions existed. According to some authorities the system was introduced by Charles Martel (717-741) who conferred ecclesiastical lands on laymen. That the system was early recognised as capable of leading to very grave abuses may be inferred from its condemnation by the English Synod of Cloveshoe in 747. In Ireland, as appears from certain entries in our *Annals*, the process of secularisation had its origin long before the Norse wars had begun to disturb the equilibrium of the Irish Church. It may be traced to a certain passage in the Brehon Laws wherein it was specified that the Coarb, or Abbot, of a monastery should be chosen from among the family of the founder, civil or ecclesiastical as the case might be. A too literal interpretation of this passage was certainly responsible for the laicisation of certain Irish abbacies. This process of secularisation was finally terminated through the exertions of St. Malachy of Armagh who died at Clairvaux in 1148.

The twelfth century witnessed a renaissance in Irish ecclesiastical government: this was the transition period between the Celtic Church and the Church of the mediaeval period; there was a development of government and an evolution of new administrative systems. In this renaissance two great ecclesiastics

figured prominently—St. Malachy and St. Laurence O'Toole (*obit* 1180). Great Synods—Rathbreasail (1111) and Ceanannus (1152)—presided over by Papal Legates, established a new and carefully planned diocesan system. Canons Regular, Cistercians, and other Religious Orders, were introduced from the Continent. It is significant that the lay Coarbs and Erenachs willingly sacrificed their vested rights, and appear to have accepted the Synodal decrees without hesitation. Had they been usurpers such acquiescence on their part would hardly have been realised : lay usurpation in the Irish Church was the exception rather than the rule.

Some of the Irish monasteries adopted the rule of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. About 1124 St. Malachy introduced the Canons to Bangor and a few years later his friend, Ivar O'Hagan, founded a church for the Canons at Armagh. In the same century the important monastery of Drumlane also adopted the same rule.

The evils of lay usurpation do not appear to have manifested themselves in the Cavan monasteries. The Brehon system would seem to have worked smoothly until the troubles of the 16th century rendered inoperative ecclesiastical organisation. In the Armagh *Register* of Primate Dowdall there is an interesting entry, *sub anno* 1542, concerning the collation of Rev. Patrick Magerrigan (Garrigan) to the parish church of Moybolge. His predecessor, Geffredus Magergan (Geoffrey Garrigan), who had been Erenach of Moybolge, had held the vicarage without his having been promoted to Holy Orders. The *Register* refers to Geffredus as "*bonae memoriae*" (of happy memory) which leaves no doubt as regards his orthodoxy ; he appears to have died in the early part of the same year. For many centuries the well-known east Breiffne family of Garrigan supplied the Erenachs of Moybolge.

The relative paucity of such references in the mediaeval *Registers* of Armagh may be accepted as an indication that lay incumbents were comparatively rare. Even where they are mentioned there is a notable absence of anything pertaining to lay usurpation. As Dr. Kenney (*op. cit.*) expresses it : "These lay incumbents of the abbatial office seem to have been for the most part men of religion and learning who worked conscientiously for the good of the Church." That there were some exceptions to this rule we must agree with Dr. Kenney's reasoned conclusions ; but these exceptions, except, perhaps, in a few cases, can hardly have been of much importance. After the coming of the Anglo-Normans the way was open to many abuses : Irish monastic life, especially within the precincts of the Pale, began to suffer disintegration. The breach between the Irish and the Anglo-Irish was subversive to ecclesiastical discipline, and the evil effects of these divisions for long disturbed the peace of the country. But, notwithstanding these dissensions, an

analysis of the records of the Irish Dioceses on the eve of the Religious Revolt in the 16th century leads to one obvious conclusion: that ecclesiastical organisation was still unimpaired, and that the Irish traditional system of ecclesiastical government had successfully withstood the test of centuries. In this connection the *Inquisition* return of 1609 is a document of paramount importance preserving as it does a unique and detailed account of our parochial system in mediaeval times.

PHILIP O'CONNELL.

THE CORPORATION OF THE BOROUGH OF CAVAN.

(II.)

By T. S. SMYTH.

[Read, 24th May, 1928].

In my Paper on *The Corporation of the Borough of Cavan* (1) (read on the 18th March, 1926, and published in this *Journal*, Vol. III., No. 1, 1926-'27), there has been given, in a comprehensive way, the history of Cavan Corporation from its inception by Royal Charter in 1611 to its legal abolition in 1840. When referring therein to the original records of that body, it was stated that in another paper (which this is) there would be given therefrom the names, dates of election, etc.—from 1696 to 1840—of the Corporation officers and officials, namely, the Sovereigns, the Vice-Sovereigns, the Portreeves, the Deputy Portreeves, the Burgesses, the Recorders, the Deputy Recorders, the Town Clerks, the Sergeants, the Constables, the Weighmasters, and also the Attorneys and the Borough Members of Parliament, together with some particulars of the Freemen. Annexed will be found lists giving the names of the occupants of these offices, the dates of election and the dates of swearing in, for the period from the year 1696 to the year 1840.

The following observations are made on the particulars given in the lists herewith.

SOVEREIGNS.

Each year from 1696 to 1815, without a break, a Sovereign (the chief officer) was appointed. During that time, Francis Aldrich was Sovereign for fourteen years, from 1707 to 1720, occupying the position for this long consecutive period. Later, from 1723 to 1726, he (or a person of the same name) was Vice-Sovereign. The chief officers, however, belonged mainly to the Clements and Nesbitt families. Mr. Henry John Clements, who was appointed Sovereign in 1817, held the post (seemingly without re-election) until 1838.

VICE-SOVEREIGNS.

The first mention of the appointment of a Vice-Sovereign occurs in 1698, and from that date until 1743 they fairly frequently held office. Between 1757 and 1815 an annual choice was made. Records of long service for a consecutive number of years are :— Mark Magrath, eighteen years—1757 to 1774 ; Robert Freeman, twenty-one years—1775 to 1795 ; and Samuel Burrowes, twenty-two years—1796 to 1817. William Burrowes was elected in 1818, and continued in the office (apparently until 1838 without re-appointment) for twenty-three years to 1840.

PORTREEVES.

The Charter of Incorporation provided for the appointment of, among other officers, two Portreeves. Every year from 1696 to 1815, two gentlemen (one only in 1702) were appointed to the position. The holders of the office were almost always the Clements's and the Nesbitts. Two examples of long service will be mentioned. Nathaniel Clements and Cosby Nesbitt acted jointly as Portreeves from 1744 to 1757, a period of fourteen years. Also acting jointly, Theophilus Clements and Thomas Nesbitt occupied the post for thirteen years, from 1790 to 1802.

DEPUTY PORTREEVES.

The office of Portreeve was, at least from the beginning of the second quarter of the eighteenth century, purely honorary. The duties of the post—apparently they concerned the Borough Law Court—were, it would seem, delegated to one Deputy Portreeve from the year 1721, where the first record of such appointment occurs. From 1721 to 1732, a Deputy Portreeve was appointed, not regularly, but with fair frequency. Excepting the year 1781 (for which no name appears), the office was never vacant between the years 1734 and 1813. It is interesting to note that for a period of twenty-one years (1740 to 1760) John Davis was the Deputy Portreeve. After that, between 1761 and 1840, the position was occupied exclusively by men named Stewart (or Steuart or Stuart).

BURGESSES.

Burgesses to the number of twelve were among the members of the Corporation. In the Corporation book (period, 1680 to 1840), the earliest record of the election of a Burgess appears in 1699. The last election took place in 1838, when nine vacancies were filled. Seemingly, the office was a life one. As a general rule, an election was held only for the appointment of a new Burgess in the room of

one deceased. Of all families, the Clements's and Nesbitts are the most frequently mentioned in connection with this office. Only a small number of persons residing in the town of Cavan were appointed. People living in other parts of County Cavan, in Dublin, Galway and elsewhere, were accorded the dignity of Burgess. Truly, a prophet is without honour in his own country. In the ordinary way, it would be the duty of the Burgesses to act as Common Council of the Town. Although they were mainly non-resident, there were usually about six Burgesses, etc. (including the Sovereign, the Vice-Sovereign, and the Portreeves), and sometimes more, together with a number of the freemen, at the annual meetings at which the officers and officials were elected and sworn in, respectively. But apart from this, it may be assumed that the general direction of municipal affairs was conducted by the Sovereign or the Vice-Sovereign.

RECORDERS.

Excluding the Recorder and Town Clerk (Daniel Donnelly, Gent.) mentioned in the Charter of 1687-8, granted by King James II., the names of only three Recorders before 1785 are known. Between 1785 and 1794 the office was filled annually. There were also appointments to it in the years 1797, 1800, 1801, and finally in 1839. The Recorders were generally, if not invariably, members of the legal profession—Counsellors at Law. It is likely that the position was an honorary one, and that most, probably all, of the duties were performed by the Deputy Recorder.

DEPUTY RECORDERS AND TOWN CLERKS.

For reasons that will appear, the offices of Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk will be dealt with here together. Between 1703 and 1815 and after the post of Deputy Recorder seems seldom or never to have wanted an occupant, though prior to 1782 elections were not held yearly. From at least 1752 onwards, it was usual for the one person to be Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk. In 1805, 1806 and 1807, Archibald Watt and Thomas Bligh were appointed Deputy Recorders and Town Clerks. Probably, Archibald Watt was the longest holder of the two offices mentioned. For twenty-two years (1783 to 1804) prior to 1805 he by himself was Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk. In 1773 an Archd. Watt was one of the Petty Constables, and in 1782 a gentleman of the same name was appointed weighmaster. Charles Swindell also acted as Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk for almost as long a period (1759 to 1782) as Mr. Watt. Charles Swindell, "the younger"—very likely a son of the Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk—was admitted and sworn an Attorney of the Borough Law Court on the 17th March, 1774.

It is more than possible that it was the last Deputy Recorder, Thomas Bligh (probably a son of the Thomas Bligh previously mentioned) who was the hero of an event chronicled in *The Cavan Herald* (Vol. 1, No. 4) of Tuesday, 21st September, 1824 :—

“ MARRIED

On Thursday morning, in the Church of Cavan, by the Rev. Mr. Moore, Mr. Thomas Bligh, to Mary Anne, eldest daughter of Mr. John Murray, watchmaker, both of this town.”

In that year a Thos. Bligh, baker, and a John Murray, merchant, lived in Main Street. Among the last freemen admitted (in 1838) were a Thomas Bligh and a John Murray.

One gentleman, Oliver Nugent, Esq., held the office (or offices ?) of Recorder and Town Clerk, in 1839.

SERGEANTS.

In the list of Sergeants, it will be noted that appointments were fairly frequent between 1702 and 1728, but mention of only two appears after that date. Some being sworn to act during pleasure, it may account for the fact that the office was not filled by regular annual election. Again, it is very likely that the Sovereign himself appointed Sergeants. On the 29th June, 1724, when a mace was presented to the Corporation, there was an order made that the Sovereign should have and appoint a proper person—probably designated the Sergeant of the Mace—to carry the same. As is not unreasonable to expect, where officials or servants were not nominated directly at Corporation meetings, there is no record of them in the proceedings of that body.

CONSTABLES.

Between 1706 and 1723 and between 1772 and 1819 the appointment of Constables—usually styled “ Petty Constables ”—is recorded. The duties of these functionaries related, no doubt, to the Borough Law Court. In 1819 a Mace-bearer and Constable was sworn. This is the last mention of a Constable.

WEIGHMASTERS.

The Corporation appointed a Weighmaster in 1724 and 1779, and in 1782 a Weighmaster and a Deputy Weighmaster. It would seem that some time after 1782 the Lord Farnham of the day arrogated to himself the right of appointment. This was continued by his descendants down to 1923, when the right, with the Market House, etc., was sold to Cavan Urban District Council—the present successors of the Corporation.

ATTORNEYS.

The Attorneys can scarcely be called officers or officials of the Corporation, for they appeared for various litigants at the Borough Law Court. In the Corporation books there are entries of their admission by the Town Court between the years 1703 and 1728 and between 1774 and 1784.

BOROUGH MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

Between 1727 and 1798 the Corporation book (of 1680 to 1840) records the election of Burgesses to serve in the Irish House of Commons. In the lists herewith will be found some details not in the Lists of the Cavan Members of the Irish Parliament already published in this *Journal* (Vol. I., Nos. 1 and 2).

FREEMEN.

The freemen were the ordinary members or voters of the Corporation. Women were not given this honour of freedom. In those days, of course, females had not any vote in public elections, much less being eligible for municipal or parliamentary office.

From time to time the Corporation held courts or meetings at which freemen were admitted—"sworne free of the sd. [said] Burr" [Borough]. Altogether, quite a large number were enrolled. The names of some of them appear in the last list annexed. There is no record where at any time the freedom of the Borough was presented to any distinguished personages in recognition of their high offices or for public services. Joseph Addison, the famous English poet and essayist, received his freedom on the 5th May, 1709. This, very likely, was a qualification precedent to his election as one of the town's representatives in the Irish Parliament.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

Between 1818 and 1838—a period of twenty years—there is no record of the annual election and swearing in of officers and officials. In 1838, 1839 and finally in 1840, officers and officials were again sworn regularly.

In the period dealt with, 1696 to 1840, the offices were almost invariably filled by the unanimous choice of the Sovereign, Portreeves, Burgesses and Freemen. One exception may be mentioned. In the election of Sovereign on the 30th June, 1707, there were three candidates, and the voting was as follows:—For Lieut. (?) Fran: Aldrich—59 of the old freemen, three burgesses, and 50 of the new freemen. For Mr. Fleming—30 of the old freemen, 5 of the new freemen, and 8 burgesses. For Mr. John

Ballard—7 freemen and 1 burghess. Lieut. (?) Fran : Aldrich was elected. As is previously stated, he was Sovereign for 14 years from that date.

No doubt, the Clements-Nesbitt Compact of the 22nd March, 1722, which regulated the distribution of offices, eliminated civic contests, contributing at least to the smooth and harmonious functioning of the Corporation of the Borough of Cavan.

BOROUGH OF CAVAN.

LIST OF SOVEREIGNS.

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Sovereign :
1696	June 23rd	June 23rd (?)	Thomas Ash, Esqr.
1697	June 28th	June 28th (?)	Samuel Townley, Esqr.
1698	June 27th	October 3rd	Arnold Cosbye, Esqr.
1699	June 26th	October 2nd	Robt. Clements, Esqr.
1700	July 5th	Sept. 1st	John Price.
1701	June 30th	—	Mr. Justice Thomas Coote.
1701	—	Oct. 6th	Lieut. (?) John Price (in the room of Mr. Justice Thomas Coote).
1702	June 29th	October 5th	Thomas Townley, Esqr.
1703	June 29th	October 4th	Edward Davenport, Esqr.
1704	June 26th	October 2nd	Arnold Cosbye, Esqr.
1705	June 25th	—	Arnold Cosbye, Esqr.
1706	July 1st	October 30th	Arnold Cosbye, Esqr.
1707	June 30th	Oct. 6th	Lieut. (?) Fran : Aldrich.
1708	June 28th	October 4th	Francis Aldrich, Esqr.
1709	June 27th	October 3rd	Francis Aldrich, Esqr.
1710	June 26th	October 2nd	Francis Aldrich, Esqr.
1711	June 25th	—	Francis Aldrich, Esqr.
1712	June 30th	October 6th	Francis Aldrich, Esqr.
1713	June 29th	October 5th	Francis Aldrich, Esqr.
1714	June 28th	October 4th	Fran : Aldrich, Esq.
1715	July 27th	October 3rd	Francis Aldrich, Esqr.
1716	June 25th	October 1st	Capn. Francis Aldrich.
1717	July 1st	September 30th	Francis Aldrich, Esqr.
1718	June 30th	October 6th	Francis Aldrich.
1719	June 29th	October 5th (?)	Francis Aldrich, Esqr.
1720	June 27th (?)	October 3rd	Francis Aldrich, Esqr.
1721	June 26th	October 2nd	Major Willm. Nesbitt.
1722	June 25th	October 1st	William Nesbitt, Senr., Esq.
1723	July 1st	September 30th	Col. Theophilus Clements.
1724	June 29th	October 5th	Thomas Nesbitt, Esqr.
1725	June 28th	October 4th	Theophilus Clements.
1726	June 27th	October 3rd	Captain Thos. Nesbitt, (Esqr.)
1727	June 26th	October 2nd	Robert Tighe.
1728	July 1st	Sept. 30th	Thomas Nesbitt, Esqr.
1729	June 30th	October 6th or 7th.	William Nesbitt, Jr., Esq.
1730	June 29th	October 5th	Lieut. (?) Henry Clements.
1731	June 28th	October 4th	William Nesbitt, Jr., Esqr.
1732	June 26th	October 2nd	William Nesbitt, Jr., Esqr.
1733	June 25th	October 1st	William Nesbitt, Jr. (?), Esqr.
1734	July 1st	September 30th	Willm. Nesbitt, Junr. (?) Esqr.
1735	June 30th	October 6th (?)	Wm. Nesbitt, Senior, Esqr.

Year:	Date Elected:	Date Sworn.	Name of Sovereign.
1736	June 28th	October 4th	Wm. Nesbitt, Senior, Esqr.
1737	June 27th	October 3rd	Wm. Nesbitt, Senior, Esqr.
1738	June 26th	October 2nd	William Nesbitt, Senr., Esqr.
1739	June 25th	October 1st	Wm. Nesbitt, Senr., Esqr.
1740	June 30th	October 6th	Wm. Nesbitt, Senr., Esqr.
1741	June 29th	October 5th	William Nesbitt, Senior, Esqr.
1742	June 28th	October 4th	William Nesbitt, Senior, Esqr.
1743	June 27th	October 3rd	William Nesbitt, Senior, Esqr.
1744(?)	January 25th	January 26th (or 25th ?)	William Nesbitt, Junior, Esqr. (in the room of his father deceased).
1744	June 25th	October 1st	William Nesbitt, Esqr.
1745	July 1st	September 30th	William Nesbitt, Esqr.
1746	June 30th	October 6th	William Nesbitt, Esqr., of Dromalees.
1747	June 29th	October 5th	William Nesbitt, Esqr.
1748	June 27th	October 3rd	William Nesbitt, Esqr.
1749	June 26th	October 2nd	William Nesbitt, Esqr.
1750	June 25th	October 1st	William Nesbitt, Esqr.
1751	July 1st	September 30th	William Nesbitt, Esqr.
1752	June 29th	October 2nd	William Nesbitt, Esqr.
1753	June 25th	October 2nd	William Nesbitt, Esqr.
1754	July 1st	September 30th	William Nesbitt, Esqr.
1755	June 30th	October 6th	Andrew Nixon, Esqr.
1756	June 28th	October 4th	Andw. Nixon, Esqr.
1757	June 27th	October 3rd.	Andw. Nixon, Esqr.
1757	November 5th	November 5th	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. (in the room of Andw. Nixon, Esqr., deceased).
1758	June 26th	October 2nd	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1759	June 25th	October 1st	Cosby Nesbitt, Esquire.
1760	June 30th	October 6th	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. [Surren- dered office in "open Court" on the 8th December, 1760, "by a deed perfected by sd. Nesbitt to that purpose have- ing a lawfull occation to sur- render the same."]
1760	December 8th	December 8th	Thos. Burrowes, Esqr. (in the room of Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.).
1761	June 29th	October 5th	Thos. Burrowes, Esqr.
1762	June 28th	October 4th	Thos. Burrowes, Esqr.
1763	June 27th	October 3rd	Theop. Clements, Esqr.
1764	June 25th	October 1st	Theops. Clements, Esqr.
1765	July 1st	September 30th	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1766	June 30th	October 6th	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1767	June 29th	October 5th	Theop. Clements, Esqr.
1768	June 27th	October 3rd	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1769	June 26th	October 3rd (2nd ?)	Theop. Clements, Esqr.
1770	June 25th	October 1st	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1771	July 1st	September 30th	Theops. Clements, Esqr.
1772	June 29th	October 5th	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1773	June 28th	October 4th	Theops. Clements, Esqr.
1774	June 27th	October 3rd	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1775	June 26th	October 2nd	Theops. Clements, Esqr.
1776	July 1st	September 30th	Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr.
1777	June 30th	October 6th	Theops, Clements, Esqr.
1778	June 29th	October 5th	James Young, Esqr.

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Sovereign :
1779	June 28th	October 4th	Henry Clements, Esqr.
1780	—	October 2nd	James Young.
1781	—	October 1st	Theops. Clements, Esqr.
1782	July 1st	September 30th	James Young, Esqr.
1783	June 30th	October 6th	Theophilus Clements, Esqr.
1784	June 28th	October 4th	James Young, Esqr.
1785	June 27th	October 3rd	Theophilus Clements, Esqr.
1786	June 26th	October 2nd	James Young, Esqr.
1787	June 25th	October 1st	Henry Clements, Esqr.
1788	June 30th	October 6th	James Young, Esqr.
1789	June 29th	October 5th	Henry Clements, Esqr.
1790	June 28th	October 4th	James Young, Esqr.
1791	June 27th	October 3rd	Henry Clements, Esqr.
1792	June 25th	October 1st	James Young, Esqr.
1793	July 1st	September 30th	Henry Clements, Esqr.
1794	June 30th	October 6th	James Young, Esqr.
1795	June 29th	October 5th	Henry Clements, Esqr.
1796	June 27th	October 3rd	James Young, Esqr.
1797	June 26th (?)	October 2nd	Henry Clements, Esqr.
1798	June 25th	October 1st	James Young, Esqr.
1799	July 1st	September 30th	Henry Clements, Esqr.
1800	June 30th	October 6th	Rev. Albert Nesbitt (Clerk)
1801	June 29th	October 5th	Henry Clements
1802	June 28th	October 4th	Major Cosby Nesbitt.
1803	June 27th	October 3rd	Theops. Clements, Esqr.
1804	June 25th	October 1st	Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr.
1805	July 1st	September 30th	Saml. Madden, Esqr.
1806	June 30th	October 6th	Major Cosby Nesbitt.
1807	June 29th	October 5th	Revd. Edward Lucas.
1808	June 27th	October 3rd	Thomas Nesbitt, Esqr.
1809	June 26th	October 2nd	John Richardson, Esqr.
1810	June 25th	October 1st	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1811	July 1st	— September or — October (?)	John Richardson, Esqr.
1812	June 29th	October 5th	Reverend Edwd. Lucas.
1813	June 28th	October 4th	Thomas Nesbitt, Esqr.
1814	June 27th	— (?) October	Revd. Edward Lucas.
1815	— (?) June	— (?) October	Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr.
1816	—	—	—
1817	June 24th	—	Right Honble. John Henry Clements (Right Honble. Henry John Clements ?)
—	—	—	[No elections are recorded be- tween 1818 and 1838, but Henry John Clements, Esqr., seems to have been Sovereign during that period.]
1838 (?)	June 28th	—	Henry John Clements, Esqr.
1838	September 28th	September 29th	John Nesbitt, Esqr., of Lis- more (for the remainder of the present year, in the room of Henry John Clements, Esqr., resigned on the 28th September, 1838).
1839	July 1st	September 30th	Theophilus Lucas Clements, Esq.
1840	June 29th	—	John Nesbitt, Esqr.

BOROUGH OF CAVAN.

LIST OF VICE-SOVEREIGNS.

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Vice-Sovereign :
1698(?)	—	October 3rd	John Price.
1699	—	October 2nd	Mr. John Price.
1700	—	—	—
1701	—	—	—
1702	—	Octr. 5th	John Price, Gent.
1703	—	July 29th	Lieut (?) John Price.
1703	—	October 4th	Mr. John Price.
1704	—	—	—
1705	—	—	—
1706	—	October 30th	John Price, Gent. [At a Court of the Corporation on the 15th May, 1707, John Price was suspended from his Office of Vice-Sovereign for refusing to come "into Court to consult about maters relating to the sd. Corporacon"].
1707	—	October 6th	Mr. Abraham Finlay.
1708	...	October 4th	Abraham Finlay
1709	...	October 3rd	Abraham Finlay
1710	...	—	—
1711	...	—	—
1712	—	October 6th	Mr. Abraham Finlay
1713	—	October 5th	Abra : Finlay, Gent.
—	—	—	—
1722	{ —	May 23rd	William Nesbitt, Esqr.
1723	{ —	October 1st	William Nesbitt, junr.
1724	—	September 30th	Francis Aldrich,
1725	—	October 5th	Francis Aldrich, Esqr.
1725	—	October 4th	Francis Aldrich, Esqr.
1726	—	October 3rd	Fran : Aldrich, Esqr.
1727	—	October 2nd	Alexr. Brookes, or Brooke, Esqr.
1728	—	Sept. 30th	William Nesbitt, jun., Esqr.
—	—	—	—
1730	—	October 5th	William Nesbitt, Junr., Esqr.
—	—	—	—
1736	—	May 13th	William Nesbitt, junr., Esqr.
1736	—	October 4th	Wm. Nesbitt, junior, Esqr.
1737	June 27th	October 3rd	Wm. Nesbitt, junior, Esqr.
1738	June 26th	October 2nd	William Nesbitt, junr., Esqr.
1739	June 25th	October 25th	William Nesbitt, junr., Esqr.
1740	June 30th	October 6th	William Nesbitt, junr., Esqr.
1741	June 29th	October 5th	William Nesbitt, junior, Esqr.
1742	June 28th	October 4th	William Nesbitt, junior, Esqr.
1743	June 27th	October 3rd	William Nesbitt, junior, Esqr.
—	—	—	—
1757	November 14th	November 14th	Mark Magrath, Esqr.
1758	June 26th	October 2nd	Mark Magrath, Esqr.
1759	June 25th	October 1st	Mark Magrath, Esquire.
1760	June 30th	October 6th	Mark Magrath, Esqr.
1761	June 29th	October 5th	Mark Magrath, Esqr.

Year:	Date Elected:	Date Sworn:	Name of Vice-Sovereign:
1762	June 28th	October 4th	Mark Magrath, Esqr.
1763	June 27th	October 3rd	Mark Magrath, Esqr.
1764	June 25th	October 1st	Mark Magrath, Esqr.
1765	July 1st	September 30th	Mark Magrath, Esqr.
1766	June 30th	October 6th	Mark Magrath, Esqr.
1767	June 29th	October 5th	Mark Magrath, Esqr.
1768	June 27th	October 3rd	Mark Magrath, Esqr.
1769	June 26th	October 3rd (2nd ?)	Mark Magrath, Esqr.
1770	June 25th	October 1st	Mark Magrath, Esqr.
1771	July 1st	September 30th	Mark Magrath, Esqr.
1772	June 29th	October 5th	Mark Magrath, Esqr.
1773	June 28th	October 4th	Mark Magrath, Esqr.
1774	June 27th	October 3rd	Mark Magrath, Esqr.
1775	January 21st	January 21st	Mr. Robt. Freeman (in the room of Mark Magrath, Esqr., deceased)
1775	June 26th	October 2nd	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1776	July 1st	September 30th	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1777	June 30th	October 6th	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1778	June 29th	October 5th	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1779	June 28th	October 4th	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1780	—	October 2nd	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1781	—	October 1st	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1782	July 1st	September, 30th	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1783	June 30th	October 6th	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1784	June 28th	October 4th	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1785	June 27th	October 3rd	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1786	June 26th	October 2nd	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1787	June 25th	October 1st	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1788	June 30th	October 6th	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1789	June 29th	October 5th	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1790	June 28th	October 4th	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1791	June 27th	October 3rd	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1792	June 25th	October 1st	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1793	July 1st	September 30th	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1794	June 30th	October 6th	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1795	June 29th	October 5th	Robert Freeman, Esqr.
1796	June 27th	October 3rd (and previous- ly on 21st March, 1796)	Sam. Burrowes, Esqr.
1797	June 26th (?)	October 2nd	Sam. Burrowes, Esqr.
1798	June 25th	October 1st	Saml. Burrowes, Esqr.
1799	July 1st	September 30th	Samuel Burrowes, Esqr.
1800	June 30th	October 6th	Saml. Burrowes, Esqr.
1801	June 29th	October 5th	Saml. Burrowes, Esqr.
1802	June 28th	October 4th	Saml. Burrowes, Esqr.
1803	June 27th	October 3rd	Samuel Burrowes, Esqr.
1804	June 25th	October 1st	Samuel Burrowes, Esqr.
1805	July 1st	September 30th	Saml. Burrowes, Esqr.
1806	June 30th	October 6th	Samuel Burrowes, Esqr.
1807	June 29th	October 5th	Saml. Burrowes, Esqr.
1808	June 27th	October 3rd	Saml. Burrowes, Esqr.
1809	June 26th	October 2nd	Saml. Burrowes, Esqr.
1810	June 25th	October 1st	Samuel Burrowes, Esqr.
1811	July 1st	— September or — October (?)	Saml. Burrowes, Esqr.
1812	June 29th	October 5th	Saml. Burrowes, Esqr.

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Vice-Sovereign :
1813	June 28th	October 4th	Samuel Burrowes, Esqr.
1814	June 27th	— (?) October	Samuel Burrowes, Esqr.
1815	— (?) June	— (?) October	Samuel Burrowes, Esqr.
1816	—	—	—
1817	June 24th	—	Samuel Burrowes, Esqr.
1818	April 1st	April 1st	William Burrowes, Esqr. (Elected Burgess same day in the room of Samuel Bur- rowes, Esqr., deceased.)
—	—	—	[No elections are recorded be- tween 1818 and 1838, but William Burrowes, Esqr., seems to have been Vice- Sovereign during that period.]
1838 (?)	June 28th	September 29th	William Burrowes, Esqr.
1839	July 1st	September 30th	William Burrowes, Esqr.
1840	June 29th	—	William Burrowes, Esqr.

BOROUGH OF CAVAN.

LIST OF PORTREEVES.

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Names of Portreeves :
1696	—	June 23rd (?)	Mr. Thomas Fleming.
	—	Do. (?)	Mr. William Broke.
1697	June 28th	June 28th (?)	Arnold Cosbye, Esqr.
	Do.	Do. (?)	Hen : Gullim.
1698	June 27th	October 3rd	Mr. John Ballard.
	Do.	Do.	Mr. Alexr. Sanderson.
1699	June 26th	—	Hen : Waldrane, Esqr.
	Do.	—	Tho : Ash, Esqr.
1700	July 5th	Sept. 1st	John Ballard
	Do.	Do.	Hen : Gullims.
1701	June 30th	—	Arnold Cosbye, Esqr.
	Do.	Octr. 6th	Capt. Edward Davenport.
1702	—	Octr. 5th	John Ballard, Gent.
	—	—	—
1703	June 29th	—	Mr. Connors (?) Perrott.
	Do.	Octr. 4th	Mr. John Ballarde.
	—	Do.	Thomas Fleming, junr., Esqr.
1704	June 26th	Octr. 2nd	Mr. Alexr. Brooke.
	Do.	Do.	Mr. John Ballard.
1705	June 25th	—	Mr. Alexr. Brooke.
	Do.	—	Mr. John Ballard.
1706	July 1st	October 30th	Mr. Alexr. Brooke.
	Do.	Do.	Mr. John Ballard.
1707	June 30th	October 6th	Arnold Cosbye, Esqr.
	Do.	Do.	Mr. Alexr. Brooke.
1707	July 17th	July 17th	Mr. Isaac Adreene (in the room of Mr. John Ballard, deceased).

[Note.—This does not properly follow the previous entry. The date, July 17th, does not seem to be the true one.]

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Names of Portreeves :
1708	June 28th Do.	October 4th —	Arnold Cosbye, Esqr. Alexr. Brooke, Gent.
1709	June 27th Do.	October 3rd Do.	Major Arnold Cosbye. Mr. Alexr. Brooke.
1710	June 26th Do.	October 2nd Do.	Arnold Cosbye, Esqr. Mr. Alexr. Brooke.
1711	June 25th Do.	— —	Arnold Cosbye, Esqr. Alexander Brooke, Gent.
1712	June 30th Do.	October 6th Do.	Arnold Cosbye, Esqr. Alexr. Brooke, Gent.
1713	June 29th Do.	October 5th Do.	Arnold Cosbye, Esqr. Mr. Alexr. Brooke.
1714	June 28th Do.	October 4th Do.	Willm. Nesbitt, Esqre. Abra. Finlay (or finlay), Gent.
1715	July 27th Do.	October 3rd November 10th	William Nesbitt, Esqr. Abraham Finlay (or finlay), Gent.
1716	June 25th Do.	May 30th (1717) October 1st (1716)	Arnold Cosbye. Major Wm Nesbitt.
1717	July 1st Do.	September 30th Do.	Arnold Cosby (or Cosbye). Major Willm. Nesbitt.
1718	— Do.	March 12th October 6th	Major Wm. Nesbitt. Col. (?) Arnold Cosby.
1719	June 30th Do.	— October 5th (?)	Major William Nesbitt. Col. Arnold Cosby (or Cosbye).
1720	June 29th Do.	— October 3rd	Major William Nesbitt. Col. Arnold Cosbye.
1721	June 27th (?) Do.	October 3rd Do.	Major Willm. Nesbitt. Col. Arnold Cosby.
1722	June 26th Do.	October 2nd October 25th	Mr. Alexr. Broocks (or Brooke). Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr.
1723	May 23rd June 25th Do.	— October 1st Do.	Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr. Alexr. Brooke.
1724	July 1st —	— September 30th	William Nesbitt, Esqr. Willm. Nesbitt, Jn.
1725	June 29th Do.	— October 5th	Col. Theophilus Clements. Mr. William Nesbitt.
1726	June 28th Do.	October 4th Do.	Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr. Mr. William Nesbitt.
1727	June 27th Do.	— October 3rd	Col. Theophilus Clements. Henry Clements.
1728	June 26th Do.	October 2nd Do.	Thomas Nesbitt, Esqr. William Nesbitt, Esqr.
1729	July 1st Do.	Sept. 30th —	Robt. Tighe, Esqr. John Clements, Esqr.
1730	June 30th Do.	October 6th or 7th. Do.	John Clements, Esqr. Henry Clements, Esqr.
1731	June 29th Do.	October 5th Do.	Thomas Nesbitt, Esqr. Mr. Alexr. Brooke.
1732	June 28th Do.	October 4th Do.	Henry Clements, Esqr. John Clements, Esqr.
1733	June 26th Do.	October 2nd Do.	John Clements, Esqr. Henry Clements, Esqr.
1734	June 25th Do.	October 1st Do.	Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr. Henry Clements, Esqr.
1734	July 1st Do.	September 30th Do.	Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr. Henry Clements, Esqr.

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Names of Portreeves :
1735	June 30th	October 6th (?)	Tho. Nesbitt, Esqr.
	Do.	Do. (?)	Henry Clements, Esqr.
1736	June 28th	October 4th	Tho. Nesbitt, Esqr.
	Do.	Do.	H. Clements, Esqr.
1737	June 27th	October 3rd	Tho. Nesbitt, Esqr.
	Do.	Do.	H. Clements, Esqr.
1738	June 26th	October 2nd	Henry Clements, Esqr.
	Do.	Do.	Alexr. Brooke.
1739	June 25th	October 1st	Tho. Nesbitt, Esqr.
	Do.	Do.	Henry Clements, Esqr.
1740	June 30th	October 6th	Tho. Nesbitt, Esqr.
	Do.	Do.	H. Clements, Esqr.
1741	June 29th	October 5th	Major Henry Clements (Esqr.).
	Do.	Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1742	June 28th	October 4th	Henry Clements, Esqr.
	Do.	Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1743	June 27th	—	Henry Clements, Esqr.
	Do.	October 3rd	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1744	June 25th	October 1st	Nathl. Clements, Esqr.
	Do.	Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1745	July 1st	—	Nathl. Clements, Esqr.
	Do.	September 30th	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1746	June 30th	—	Nathl. Clements, Esqr.
	Do.	October 6th	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1747	June 29th	October 5th	Nathaniel Clements, Esqr.
	Do.	Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1748	June 27th	October 3rd	Nathaniel Clements, Esqr.
	Do.	Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1749	June 26th	October 2nd	Nathaniel Clements, Esqr.
	Do.	Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1750	June 25th	—	Nathl. Clements, Esqr.
	Do.	October 1st	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1751	July 1st	—	Nathl. Clements, Esqr.
	Do.	September 30th	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1752	June 29th	October 2nd	Nathl. Clements.
	Do.	Do.	Cosby Nesbitt.
1753	June 25th	October 2nd	Nathl. Clements, Esqr.
	Do.	Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1754	July 1st	—	Nathl. Clements, Esqr.
	Do.	September 30th	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1755	June 30th	October 6th	Nathl. Clements, Esqr.
	Do.	Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1756	June 28th	October 4th	Nathaniel Clements, Esqr.
	Do.	Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1757	June 27th	October 3rd	The Right Honble. Nathl. Clements (Esqr.)
	Do.	Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1757	November 5th	November 5th	George Montgomery, Esqr. (in the room of Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr., resigned, who was appointed Sovereign in the place of Andw. Nixon, Esqr., deceased).
1758	June 26th	October 2nd	Right Honble. Nathl. Clements.
	Do.	Do.	Thos. Burrowes, Esqr.
1759	June 25th	October 1st	Theops. Clements, Esquire.
	Do.	Do.	Thomas Burrowes, Esquire.

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Names of Portreeves :
1760	{ June 30th Do.	October 6th Do.	Theops. Clements, Esqr. Thos. Burrowes, Esqr. [Surrendered office in "open Court" on the 8th December, 1760.]
1760	December 8th	December 8th	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. (in the room of Thomas Burrowes, appointed Sovereign.)
1761	{ June 29th Do.	October 5th Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. Theops. Clements, Esqr.
1762	{ June 28th Do.	October 4th Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. Theop. Clements, Esqr.
1763	{ June 27th Do.	October 3rd Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. Thomas Burrowes, Esqr.
1764	April 3rd	—	Mr. George Higingbothom (in the room of Thomas Burrowes, Esqr, deceased.)
1764	{ June 25th Do.	October 1st Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. Mr. George Higingbothom.
1765	{ July 1st Do.	September 30th Do.	Theops. Clements, Esqr. Mr. George Higingbothom.
1766	{ June 30th Do.	October 6th Do.	Theophilus Clements, Esqr. Mr. George Higinbothom.
1767	{ June 29th Do.	October 5th Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. George Montgomery, Esqr.
1768	{ June 27th Do.	October 3rd Do.	Theop. Clements, Esqr. Thomas Nesbitt, Esqr.
1769	{ June 26th Do.	October 3rd (2nd ?) Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. William Harkness, Esqr.
1770	{ June 25th Do.	October 1st Do.	Theop. Clements, Esqr. Thomas Nesbitt, Esqr.
1771	{ July 1st Do.	September 30th Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. George Montgomery, Esqr.
1772	{ June 29th Do.	October 5th Do.	Theops. Clements, Esqr. Thomas Nesbitt, Esqr.
1773	{ June 28th Do.	October 4th Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. George Montgomery, Esqr.
1774	{ June 27th Do.	October 3rd Do.	Theops. Clements, Esqr. Thomas Nesbitt, Esqr.
1775	{ June 26th Do.	October 2nd Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. George Montgomery, Esqr.
1776	{ July 1st Do.	September 30th Do.	Theops. Clements, Esqr. Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1777	{ June 30th Do.	October 6th Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. Henry Clements, Esqr.
1778	{ June 29th Do.	October 5th Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. Theops. Clements.
1779	{ June 28th Do.	October 4th Do.	Theops. Clements, Esqr. Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1780	{ — —	October 2nd Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. Theops. Nesbitt, Esqr.
1781	{ — —	October 1st Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. Henry Clements, Esqr.
1782	{ July 1st Do.	September 30th Do.	Theops Clements, Esqr. Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1783	{ June 30th Do.	October 6th —	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. Henry Clements, Esqr.

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Names of Portreeves :
1784	{ June 28th Do.	October 4th Do.	Theophilus Clements, Esqr. Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1785	{ June 27th Do.	October 3rd Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. Henry Clements, Esqr.
1786	{ June 26th Do.	October 2nd Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. Theophilus Clements, Esqr.
1787	{ June 25th Do.	October 1st Do.	Theophilus Clements, Esqr. James Young, Esqr.
1788	{ June 30th Do.	October 6th Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. Theos. Clements, Esqr.
1789	{ June 29th Do.	October 5th Do.	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. Theos. Clements, Esqr.
1790	{ June 28th Do.	October 4th Do.	Theops. Clements, Esqr. Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr.
1791	{ June 27th Do.	October 3rd Do.	Theops. Clements, Esqr. Thomas Nesbitt, Esq.
1792	{ June 25th Do.	October 1st Do.	Theops. Clements, Esqr. Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr.
1793	{ July 1st Do.	September 30th Do.	Theops. Clements, Esquire. Thos. Nesbitt, Esquire.
1794	{ June 30th Do.	October 6th Do.	Theops. Clements, Esqr. Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr.
1795	{ June 29th Do.	October 5th Do.	Theops. Clements, Esqr. Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr.
1796	{ June 27th Do.	October 3rd Do.	Theo. Clements, Esqr. Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr.
1797	{ June 26th (?) Do.	October 2nd Do.	Theo. Clements, Esqr. Thos. Nesbitt, Esq.
1798	{ June 25th Do.	October 1st Do.	Theops. Clements, Esqr. Thomas Nesbitt, Esqr.
1799	{ July 1st Do.	September 30th Do.	Theophilus Clements, Esqr. Thomas Nesbitt, Esqr.
1800	{ June 30th Do.	October 6th Do.	Theops. Clements, Esqr. Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr.
1801	{ June 29th Do.	October 5th Do.	Theos. Clements, Esqr. Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr.
1802	{ June 28th Do.	October 4th Do.	Theophs. Clements, Esqr. Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr.
1803	{ June 27th Do.	October 3rd Do.	Revd. Edw. Lucas. Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr.
1804	{ June 25th Do.	October 1st Do.	Theos. Clements, Esqr. Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1805	{ July 1st Do.	September 30th Do.	Revd. Edward Lucas. Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1806	{ June 30th Do.	October 6th Do.	Revd. Edward Lucas. Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr.
1807	{ June 29th Do.	October 5th Do.	Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr. John Richardson, Esqr.
1808	{ June 27th Do.	October 3rd Do.	Major Nesbitt. John Richardson, Esqr.
1809	{ June 26th Do.	October 2nd Do.	Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr. Rev. Ed. Lucas.
1810	{ June 25th Do.	October 1st Do.	Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr. John Richardson, Esqr.
1811	{ July 1st Do.	— September, or — October (?) Do.	Thomas Nesbitt, Esqr. Samuel Madden, Esqr.
1812	{ June 29th Do.	October 5th Do.	Thos. Nesbit, Esqr. Saml. Madden, Esqr.

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Names of Portreeves :
1813	{ June 28th Do.	October 4th Do.	Reverend Edward Lucas. Cosby Nesbit, Esqr.
1814	{ June 27th Do.	— (?) October Do.	Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr. Robert Sanderson, Esqr.
1815	{ — (?) June Do.	— (?) October Do.	Major Cosby Nesbitt. Rev. John Richardson.
1816	—	—	—
1817	{ June 24th Do.	— —	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr. Robt. Sanderson, Esqr.
1838(?)	{ June 28th Do.	— —	Theos. Lucas Clements, Esquire. John Nesbitt, Esquire.
1839	{ July 1st Do.	September 30th Do.	John Nesbitt, Esqr. Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1840	{ June 29th Do.	— —	Samuel Moore, Esqr. Robert Burrowes, Esqr.

BOROUGH OF CAVAN.

LIST OF DEPUTY PORTREEVES.

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Deputy Portreeve :
1721	—	November 2nd	Samll. Hill (?).
1722	—	October 1st	Saml. Hill.
1727	—	October 2nd	Saml. Hill.
1728	—	Sept. 30th	Saml. Hill.
1731	—	October 4th	Saml. Hill.
1732	—	October 2nd	Saml. Hill.
1734	—	Sept. 30th	Saml. Hill.
1735	—	October 6th (?)	Sam Hill.
1736	—	October 4th	Sam Hill.
1737	—	October 3rd	Saml. Hill.
1738	—	October 2nd	Saml. Hill.
1739	—	October 1st	Saml. Hill.
1740	June 30th	April 10th and October 6th.	John Davis.
1741	June 29th	October 5th	John Davis.
1742	June 28th	October 4th	John Davis.
1743	June 27th	October 3rd	John Davis.
1744	June 25th	October 1st	John Davis.
1745	—	September 30th	John Davis.
1746	June 30th	October 6th	John Davis.
1747	June 29th	October 5th	John Davis.
1748	June 27th	October 3rd	John Davis.
1749	June 26th	October 2nd	John Davis.
1750	June 25th	October 1st	John Davis.
1751	July 1st	September 30th	John Davis.
1752	June 29th	October 2nd	John Davis.
1753	June 25th	October 2nd	John Davis.

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Deputy Portreeve :
1754	July 1st	September 30th	John Davis.
1755	June 30th	October 6th	John Davis.
1756	June 28th	October 4th	John Davis, Gent.
1757	June 27th	October 3rd	John Davis, Gent.
1758	June 26th	October 2nd	John Davis, Gent.
1759	June 25th	October 1st	John Davis, Gent.
1760	June 30th	October 6th	John Davis, Gt.
1761	June 29th	October 5th	Edwd. Stuart [For signature his name and "his mark" appear.]
1762	June 28th	October 4th	Edward Steuart (or Stewart). [What would seem to be his signature is given; the writing is very poor, a scrawl.]
1763	June 27th	October 3rd	Edward Steuart.
1764	June 25th	October 1st	Edward Steuart.
1765	July 1st	September 30th	Edward Steuart.
1766	June 30th	October 6th	Edward Steuart.
1767	June 29th	October 5th	Charles Steuart (or Stuart).
1768	June 27th	October 3rd	Charles Steuart.
1769	June 26th	October 3rd (2nd ?)	Charles Steuart.
1770	June 25th	October 1st	Charles Stewart
1771	July 1st	September 30th	Charles Steuart.
1772	June 29th	October 5th	Charles Steuart.
1773	June 28th	October 4th	Chas. Steuart.
1774	June 27th	October 3rd	Charles Steuart.
1775	June 26th	October 2nd	Charles Steuart.
1776	July 1st	September 30th	Charles Steuart.
1777	June 30th	October 6th	Charles Steuart.
1778	June 29th	October 5th	Charles Steuart
1779	June 28th	October 4th	Charles Steuart.
1780	—	October 2nd	Chas. Steuart.
1781	—	—	—
1782	July 1st	September 30th	Charles Steuart.
1783	June 30th	October 6th	Charles Stuart.
1784	June 28th	October 4th	Charles Steuart.
1785	June 27th	October 3rd	Charles Steuart.
1786	June 26th	October 2nd	William Steuart. [Elected and sworn on the 26th June, 1786, in the room of Chas. Steuart, deceased.]
1787	June 25th	October 1st	William Steuart.
1788	June 30th	October 6th	William Steuart.
1789	June 29th	October 5th	William Steuart.
1790	June 28th	October 4th	William Steuart.
1791	June 27th	October 3rd	William Steuart (or Stewart).
1792	June 25th	October 1st	William Steuart.
1793	July 1st	September 30th	William Steuart.
1794	June 30th	October 6th	William Steuart.
1795	June 29th	October 5th	William Steuart (or Stewart).
1796	June 27th	October 3rd	Wm. Steuart.
1797	June 26th (?)	October 2nd	Wm. Steuart.
1798	June 25th	October 1st	Wm. Steuart (or Stuart).
1799	July 1st	September 30th	William Steuart.
1800	June 30th	October 6th	Wm. Steuart.
1801	June 29th	October 5th	Wm. Stuart.
1802	June 28th	October 4th	William Stewart (or Stuart).

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Deputy Portreeve :
1803	June 27th	October 3rd	William Stewart.
1804	June 25th	October 1st	William Stewart.
1805	July 1st	September 30th	William Stewart.
1806	June 30th	October 6th	William Stewart.
1807	June 29th	October 5th	William Stewart.
1808	June 27th	October 3rd	William Stewart.
1809	June 26th	October 2nd	William Stewart.
1810	June 25th	October 1st	William Stewart.
1811	July 1st	— September or — October (?)	William Stuart.
1812	June 29th	October 5th	William Stuart.
1813	June 28th	October 4th	William Stuart.
1838	September 28th	—	Charles Stewart.
1839	July 1st	September 30th	Charles Stewart.
1840	June 29th	—	Chas. Stewart (or Stuart ?).

 BOROUGH OF CAVAN.

 LIST OF BURGESSES.

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Burgess :
1699	June 8th	July 25th	Mr. Justice Thomas Coote (in the room of Sam. Townley, deceased.)
1701	—	October 6th	Capt. Thomas Townley (in the room of Henry Waldrane, Esqr., deceased).
1702	January 29th (?)	January 29th (?)	Cont'd. (?) Francis White (?) (in the room of James Moore, Esqr., of "Dorcorirath in the County Tirone" [Tyrone ?], resigned).
1703	April 1st	April 1st	Lieut. (?) Conners Perrott (in the room of Lieut. (?) Thomas Bennett, resigned).
1703	—	October 4th	Mr. Thomas Fleming, junr. (in the room of Lieut. (?) Conners Perrott).
1703	—	Do.	Mr. Alexr. Brooke (in the room of Mr. William Brooke, his father).
1704	—	August 31st	Mr. John Ballard.
1704	—	Do.	Mr. Alexander Brooke.
1704	—	Do.	Mr. Isaac Adreene.
1704	August 31st	—	Capt. Henry Gullim.
1707	July 17th	July 17th	Mr. Abra : Finlay (in the room of Mr. John Ballard, deceased).
1708	—	May 20th	Robt. Sanderson, Esqr. (in the room of Mr. Isaac Adreene, it being decided, at a Public Court, that the latter had not shown he was qualified to be a Burgess).

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Burgess :
1708	August 30th	—	Major William Nesbitt (in the room of Capt. Thomas Fleming, Senior, deceased).
1720	January 27th	March 31st, 1721	Theophilus Clements, Esqr. (in the room of Abraham Finlay, deceased).
1721 (?)	December 1st	December 1st	Captain Thomas Nesbitt (in the room of Mr. Henry Gullims, deceased).
1722	February 10th	September 30th, 1723.	Robert Tigh, Esqr. (in the room of Robert Clements, Esqr., deceased).
1722	February 12th	January 2nd, 1723.	Mr. Thomas Finlay (in the room of Thomas Ash, Esqr., deceased).
1722	May 23rd	May 23rd	Mr. William Nesbitt (in the room of Col. Arnold Cosbye, deceased).
1722	—	May 23rd	William Nesbitt, Esqr. (in the room of Arnold Cosby, deceased). [Note.—Compare the entry just before this one.]
1723	—	Jan. 4th (?)	John Clements (in the room of Thomas Fonally, Esqr., deceased).
1724	April 30th	August 26th	Mr. Robt. Nesbitt (in the room of Col. Robt. Sanderson, deceased).
1725	October 22nd	April 1st, 1726	Mr. Henry Clements (in the room of Francis Whyte, Esqr., of Redhill, deceased).
1727	—	October 9th	Mr. John Clements. [Note.—Compare entry for 1723.]
1728	—	September 10th	James Nesbitt, Esqr. (in the room of Theophilus Clements, Esqr., deceased).
1728	September 18th	—	James Nesbitt, Esqr. (in the room of Theophilus Clements, Esqr., deceased). [Note.—Compare the entry just before this one.]
1729	February 7th (?)	February 7th (?)	Mr. Nathaniel Clements (in the room of Edward Davenport, Esqr., deceased).
1734	September 23rd	—	Alexr. Nesbitt, Gent., of the City of Dublin (in the room of Francis Aldrich, Esqr., deceased).
1735	March 10th	June 25th	Charles Lambert, Esqr. (in the room of John Price, Senr., deceased).
1739 (?)	—	—	Charles Lambert. [Note.—Compare entry previous to this one.]
1740	January 27th	—	Cosby Nesbitt (in the room of Charles Lambert, Esqr., deceased).

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Burgess :
1741	May 14th	—	Thom. Tygh, Esqr., of Mitchells-town (in the room of Thomas Coote, Esqr., deceased).
1741	June 13th	June 13th	John Tuite, Esqr., of Ballynagaran (?) (in the room of James Nesbitt, Esqr., deceased).
1741	—	May 14th	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr.
1742	August 26th	—	William Sanford, Esqr., of the City of Dublin (in the room of Robert Nesbitt, Esqr., deceased).
1743	June 11th	—	Thomas Burrowes, Esqr. (in the room of Alexr. Nesbitt, Esqr., deceased).
1744 (?)	February 1st	25th June, 1744	George Higginbotham, Gentn. (in the room of William Nesbitt, the elder, Esqr., deceased).
1745	June 8th	June 8th	Mr. Andrew Nixon, Gentn., of Cavan (in the room of Col. Henry Clements, deceased).
1745	July 20th	—	Mr. Robt. Clements (in the room of his father, John Clements, Esqr., deceased).
1747	July 30th	—	Alexr. Nesbitt, of the City of Dublin (in the room of Robert Clements, Esqr., deceased).
1750	April 30th	April 30th	Theophilus Clements, Esqr., of Rakeny, County Cavan (in the room of Thomas Nesbitt, Esqr., deceased).
1751	June 3rd	—	Andrew Nesbitt, Esqr., of the City of Dublin (in the room of Thomas Fleming, Esqr., deceased).
1751	June 17th	—	Robert Clements, Esqr., of the City of Dublin (in the room of Alexander Brooke, Gent., deceased).
1756	April 19th	—	John Enery, Esqr., of Boynboy [Bawnboy?] (in the room of William Nesbitt, Esquire, Dromalee, County Cavan, deceased).
1756	December 20th	—	George Montgomery, Esqr. (in room of John Enery, Esqr., of Boynboy [Bawnboy?], County Cavan, deceased).
1757	April 18th	—	Captain William Nesbitt (in the room of John Tuite, Esqr., of Newgrove, County Meath, lately deceased).
1757	November 14	November 14th	Mark Magrath, Gent., of Cavan, late Town Clerk (in the room of Andw. Nixon, Esqr., deceased).

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Burgess :
1762	January 6th	January 6th	Revd. A. Deacon Jos. Story, of Bingfield, County Cavan (in room of Stern Tighe, Esqr., of Mitchelstown, County Westmeath, deceased).
1763 (1769 ?)	—	June 26th	William Harkness, Esqr., of Corr, County Cavan. [See entry at 1769].
1764	April 3rd	—	Col. John Eyre (Esqr.), of Eyre Court, County Galway (in the room of Thomas Burrows, Esqr., of Stradone, County Cavan, deceased).
1767	June 29th	June 29th	Capt. Thomas Nesbitt (Esqr.), of Lismore (in the room of William Sanford, Esqr., deceased).
1767	November 11th	November 11th	Capt. Henry Clements, of Rakenny (in the room of Robert Tighe, Esqr., deceased).
1767	December 20th	December 20th	John Nesbitt, Esqr., of the City of Dublin (in the room of the Revd. Arch. Deacon Story, deceased).
1768	April 18th	— June, 1768 (?)	Mr. Henry Taylor, of Rakenny (in the room of Mr. George Higgingbotham, deceased).
1769	February 10th	February 10th	William Harkness, of Corr (in the room of Mr. Henry Taylor, deceased). [See entry at 1763.]
1775	January 21st	January 21st	Mr. Robt. Freeman, of Cavan, (in the room of Mark Magrath, Esqr., deceased).
1776	November 8th	November 8th	John Enery, Esqr., Bawnboy, County Cavan (in the room of Thomas Finlay, of the City of Dublin, deceased).
1778	April 16th	April 16th	Capt. John Clements (Esqr.), of the City of Dublin (in the room of the Right Honble. Nathl. Clements (Esqr.), of the City of Dublin, deceased).
1778	April 16th	April 16th	James Young, Esqr., of Lahard, County Cavan (in the room of Col. William Nesbitt (Esqr.), deceased).
1782	September 30th	September 30th	Robert Clements, Esquire, of Rakeney, County Cavan (in the room of the Rt. Honble. Lord Eyre, deceased).
1787	October 1st	October 1st	Saml. Madden, Esqr., of Hilton, County Monaghan (in the room of George Montgomery, of Ballyconnell, County Cavan, deceased).

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Burgess :
1791	October 3rd	—	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr., of Crossdoney Lodge, County Cavan (in the room of Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr., of Lismore, deceased).
1796	March 21st	—	Sam. Burrowes, Esqr., of Cavan (in the room of Robt. Freeman, Esqr., of Cavan, deceased).
1797	June 26th	—	Revd. Albert (?) Nesbitt, of Crossdoney Lodge, County Cavan (in the room of William Harkness, of Cor, whose resignation as a Burgess—due to age and infirmity—was accepted at a Town Court on the 27th June, 1796).
1803	June 27th	—	John Richardson, Esqr., of Summerhill (in the room of Henry Clements, Esqr., deceased).
1803	Do.	—	Revd. Ed. Lucas, of Wood Lodge (in the room of Robert Clements, Esqr., deceased). [Note.—The Revd. Ed. Lucas married a Miss Clements, of Rathkenny, Cootehill. There being no successor in the male line of the Clements family, the Revd. Ed. Lucas added "Clements" to his name, and the family has since been named Lucas-Clements.]
1805	July 1st	September 30th	Henry J. Clements, Esqr., of Ashfield Lodge [Cootehill] (in the room of the Right Honble. Earl of Leitrim, deceased).
1805	July 1st	September 30th (?)	Revd. Jos. Story, of Ballyconnell House (in the room of Theos. Clements, Esqr., deceased).
1809(?)	October 2nd (?)	October 2nd (?)	Saml. Moore, Esqr.
1810	October 1st	October 1st	Robt. Saunderson, Esqr. (in the room of the Revd. Jos. Story, deceased).
1810	October 1st	October 1st	Cosby Young, Esqr. (in the room of Js. Young, deceased).
1811	— September or — October (?)	—	Thomas Burrowes, Esqr., of Stradone.
1813	October 4th	October 4th	Reverend John Richardson (in the room of his father, Major John Richardson (Esqr.), who resigned, his residing in England making it impossible for him to attend.)
1818	April 1st	April 1st	William Burrowes, Esqr. (in the room of Samuel Burrowes, Esqr., deceased).

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Burgess. :
1818	April 1st	—	Revd. Jos. Story.
1818	Do.	—	William Nesbitt, Esqr.
1838 (?)	June 28th	September 18th	Theophilus [Edward] Lucas Clements, Esqr.
1838 (?)	Do.	—	John Nesbitt, Esqr.
1838 (?)	Do.	September 30th, 1839.	Robert Burrowes, Esqr.
1838 (?)	Do.	September 30th, 1839.	Cosby Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr.
1838 (?)	Do.	—	Alexander Nesbitt, Esqr.
1838 (?)	Do.	—	John Tatlow, Esqr.
1838 (?)	Do.	June 28th, 1838	George Roe, Esqr. [He put "M.D." to his signature in the Corporation book. In 1824 a George Roe, Esq., Surgeon and M.D., had charge of the County Infirmary— now called the County Sur- gical Hospital—in the town of Cavan.]
1838 (?)	Do.	June 28, 1838	Henry Theos. Kilbee, Esqr.
1838 (?)	Do.	September 30th, 1839.	Robert Sanderson, Esqr.

 BOROUGH OF CAVAN.

LIST OF RECORDERS.

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Recorder :
1699 (About)	—	—	Robt. Sanders, Esqr.
1707	October 6th	November 3rd	Nicholas Mahon, Esqr., Counsel- at-Law (in the room of Robt. Sanders, Esqr., "Her Majesty's Privy Sergant-at- Law for neglect of his duty").
1731	June 28th	Sept. 18th	Jeffard Nesbitt, Esqr., Counsel- at-Law (in the room of Nicholas Mahon, Esqr., de- ceased).
1785	June 27th	October 3rd	Robert Clements, Counsellor- at-Law.
1786	June 26th	October 2nd	Robert Clements, Esqr., Coun- sellor-at-Law.
1787	June 25th	October 1st	Robert Clements, Esqr., Coun- sellor-at-Law.
1788	June 30th	October 6th	Robt. Clements, Esqr., Coun- sellor-at-Law.
1789	June 29th	October 5th	Robt. Clements, Esqr., Coun- sellor-at-Law.
1790	June 28th	October 4th	Robt. Clements, Esqr., Coun- sellor-at-Law.
1791	June 27th	October 3rd	Robert Clements, Esqr., Coun- sellor-at-Law.

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Recorder :
1792	June 25th	October 1st	Robert Clements, Esqr., Counsellor-at-Law.
1793	July 1st	September 30th	Robt. Clements, Esqr., Counsellor-at-Law.
1794	June 30th	October 6th	Robt. Clements, Esqr., Counsellor-at-Law.
1797	June 26th (?)	—	Robt. Clements, Esqr., Counsellor-at-Law.
1800	—	October 6th	Robt. Clements, Esqr.
1801	June 29th	October 5th	Robt. Clements, Esqr.
1839	September 30th	—	Oliver Nugent, Esqr. (Elected Recorder and Town Clerk).

BOROUGH OF CAVAN.

LIST OF DEPUTY RECORDERS.

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Deputy Recorder :
1703 (About)	—	—	Ja. [James ?] Magrath. [In the Corporation book of 1680 to 1840, he signs himself as "DR" in 1703, etc. Entries by him in book, 1696, 1702, 1716, etc. There was a (Ja. ?) Magrath Deputy Recorder until 1748.]
1731	June 28th	—	James Magrath, of Belturbet (?)
1749	—	—	Jno. Donaldson. [First signs himself "Depty. Recorder" 2nd October, 1749. Last entry by him on the 30th September, 1751.]
1752	—	—	Mark Magrath. [First entry by him on 29th June, 1752. Last entry by him on 5th November, 1757. He was also Town Clerk.]
1759 (About)	—	—	Charles Swindell. [He was also Town Clerk.]
1779	June 28th	—	Charles Swindell, Gent. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk for the ensuing year.]
—	—	—	—
1782	July 1st	—	Charles Swindell, Gent. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk for the ensuing year.]
1783	June 30th	—	Archd. Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk for the ensuing year.]

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Deputy Recorder :
1784	June 28th	—	Archibald Watt, Gent. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1785	June 27th	October 3rd	Archibald Watt, Gent. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1786	June 26th	October 2nd	Archd. Watt, Gent. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1787	June 25th	October 1st	Archd. Watt, Gent. [Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1788	June 30th	October 6th	Archd. Watt, Gent. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1789	June 29th	October 5th	Archd. Watt, Gent. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1790	June 28th	October 4th	Archld. Watt, Gent. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1791	June 27th	October 3rd	Archibald Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1792	June 25th	October 1st	Archd. Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1793	July 1st	September 30th	Archd. Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1794	June 30th	October 6th	Archibald Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1795	June 29th	October 5th	Archd. Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1796	June 27th	October 3rd	Arch. Watt, Gentleman. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1797	June 26th (?)	October 2nd	Archd. Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1798	June 25th	October 1st	Arch. Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1799	July 1st	September 30th	Archd. Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1800	June 30th	October 6th	Archd. Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1801	—	—	—
1802	June 28th	October 4th	Archd. Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1803	June 27th	October 3rd	Archibald Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1804	June 25th	October 1st	Archibald Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1805	{ July 1st Do.	September 30th Do.	Archibald Watt } [Both elected Thos. Bligh } Deputy Recorders and Town Clerks.]
1806	{ June 30th Do.	October 6th Do.	Arch. Watt } [Both elected Thos. Bligh. } Deputy Re- corders and Town Clerks.]

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Deputy Recorder :
1807	{ June 29th Do.	October 5th do.	Archd. Watt. } [Both elected Thos. Bligh. } Deputy Re- corders and Town Clerks.]
1808	June 27th	October 3rd	Thomas Bligh [Elected De- puty Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1809	June 26th	October 2nd	Thomas Bligh. [Elected De- puty Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1810	June 25th	October 1st	Thos. Bligh. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1811	July 1st	— September or — October (?)	Thomas Bligh. [Elected De- puty Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1812	June 29th	October 5th	Thos. Bligh. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1813	June 28th	October 4th	Thomas Bligh. [Elected De- puty Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1814	June 27th	— (?) October	Thos. Blyth [Bligh ?]. [Elected Deputy Recorder.]
1815	— (?) June	— (?) October	Thos. Blyth [Bligh ?]. Elected Deputy Recorder.]
1816	—	—	—
1817	June 24th	—	Thomas Blythe. [Elected De- puty Recorder.]
—	—	—	—
1838	September 28th	September 28th	Thomas Bligh. [Elected De- puty Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1839	July 1st	September 30th (?)	Thomas Bligh, Gent. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]

BOROUGH OF CAVAN.

LIST OF TOWN CLERKS.

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Town Clerk :
1752	(About) —	—	Mark Magrath. [He was De- puty Recorder also.]
1757	November 14th	—	Mr. James Magrath (in the room of Mark Magrath, who, having resigned, was elected a Bur- gess and Vice Sovereign.— Last entry by James Magrath on the 2nd October, 1758.)

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Town Clerk :
1759 (About)	—	—	Charles Swindell. [His first entry in the Corporation book of 1680 to 1840 was on the 25th June, 1759, and his last entry on the 30th September, 1782. He was also Deputy Recorder.]
1779	June 28th	—	Charles Swindell, Gent. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk for the ensuing year.]
1782	July 1st	—	Charles Swindell, Gent. Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk for the ensuing year.]
1783	June 30th	—	Archd. Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk for the ensuing year.]
1784	June 28th	—	Archibald Watt, Gent. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1785	June 27th	October 3rd	Archibald Watt, Gent. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1786	June 26th	October 2nd	Archd. Watt, Gent. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1787	—	October 1st	Archd. Watt, Gent. [Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1788	June 30th	October 6th	Archd. Watt, Gent. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1789	June 29th	October 5th	Archd. Watt, Gent. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1790	June 28th	October 4th	Archld. Watt, Gent. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1791	June 27th	October 3rd	Archibald Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1792	June 25th	October 1st	Archd. Watt. Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1793	July 1st	September 30th	Archd. Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1794	June 30th	October 6th	Archibald Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1795	June 29th	October 5th	Archd. Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1796	June 27th	October 3rd	Arch. Watt, Gentleman. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]

Year:	Date Elected:	Date Sworn:	Name of Town Clerk:
1797	June 26th (?)	October 2nd	Archd. Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1798	June 25th	October 1st	Arch. Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1799	July 1st	September 30th	Archd. Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1800	June 30th	October 6th	Archd. Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1801	June 29th	October 5th	Archd. Watt. [Elected Town Clerk.]
1802	June 28th	October 4th	Archd. Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1803	June 27th	October 3rd	Archibald Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1804	June 25th	October 1st	Archibald Watt. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1805	{ July 1st Do.	September 30th Do.	Archibald Watt. } [Both elected Thos. Bligh. } Deputy Recorders and Town Clerks.']
1806	{ June 30th Do.	October 6th Do.	Arch. Watt. } [Both elected De- Thos. Bligh. } puty Recorders and Town Clerks.]
1807	{ June 29th Do.	October 5th Do.	Archd. Watt. } [Both elected Thos. Bligh. } Deputy Re- corders and Town Clerks.]
1808	June 27th	October 3rd	Thomas Bligh. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1809	June 26th	October 2nd	Thomas Bligh. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1810	June 25th	October 1st	Thos. Bligh. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1811	July 1st	— September or — October (?)	Thomas Bligh. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1812	June 29th	October 5th	Thos. Bligh. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1813	June 28th	October 4th	Thomas Bligh. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
—	—	—	—
1838	September 28th	September 28th	Thomas Bligh. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1839	July 1st	September 30th (?)	Thomas Bligh, Gent. [Elected Deputy Recorder and Town Clerk.]
1839	September 30th	—	Oliver Nugent, Esqr. [Elected Recorder and Town Clerk.]

BOROUGH OF CAVAN.

LIST OF SERGEANTS.

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Sergeant :
1702	—	Octr. 5th	William Duncan.
	—	Do.	John Duncan (" Sworne Serjants Dureing Pleasure.")
1707	(About)	—	Edward Hinson.
1707	—	October 6th	Will : Duncan
	—	Do.	John Donaldson.
1708	—	October 4th	William Duncan.
1709	—	October 3rd	William Duncan.
	—	Do.	Arthur Golaher.
1714	—	October 4th	Will : Duncan.
	—	Do.	James Black.
1716	—	May 17th	Bryan Covey.
1723	—	October 30th	Edwd. Stinson.
	—	Do.	Bryan Covey
			{ Both sworn sergeants of the Corpora- tion during the sove- reign's will and pleasure.
1725	—	October 4th	Alexr. McDowell.
	—	Do.	Robert Bainridge.
1727	—	October 2nd	Edwd. Stevenson.
	—	Do.	Alexr. McDowell.
1728	—	September 30th	Edwd. Stevenson.
	—	Do.	Alexr. McDowell.
1747	—	June 20th	George Willson (Sworn one of the " Town Serjeants of sd. Burr. during pleasure.")
About or after 1820(?)	March 30th	March 30th	John Reilly (Appointed town sergeant).

BOROUGH OF CAVAN.

LIST OF CONSTABLES.

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Constable :
1706	—	June 20th	Thomas Cole.
	—	Do.	John Duncan.
1707	December 4th	5th Feb. 1708 (?)	Thomas Ballard.
	Do.	20th Feb. 1708 (?)	Charles Bready, or Brady, (Sworn Petty Constables in the room of Thomas Harison and James Lowen (?) respec- tively).

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Constable :
1708	{ January 6th	—	John Edmiston, junr. Cornick Brogan, junr. (Petty Constables).
1709	—	July 30th	Joseph Hunt (Petty Constable).
1717	{ — —	July 13th Do.	Edwd. Stinson. Arthur Cannon. (Petty Constables.)
1721	—	November 2nd	Richd. Keane (Petty Constable).
1723	{ — —	November 14th Do.	John Burrows. Saml. Lenard.
—	—	—	—
1772	{ April 1st Do.	April 1st Do.	Mr. Robert Arskin. Mr. Henry Ireland. (Appointed "Pety constables.")
1773	{ April 1st Do.	April 1st Do.	Archd. Watt. Phillip Brady. ("Pety constables.")
1774	{ March 3rd Do.	March 3rd Do.	Michael Barry, of Cavan town. Nicholas Ferrall, of Cavan town, (Both "Pety Constables.")
1775	{ April 13th Do.	April 13th Do.	John Gillroy. William Beatty. (Petty Constables).
1776	{ March 28th Do.	— —	John Mulligan. John J. Eurman (?). (Petty Constables).
1777	{ May 8th —	— —	Edmond Burk. John Loughman. (Petty Constables).
1778	—	—	—
1779	{ February 4th Do.	February 4th Do.	David Brown. Phelemy Timmon. (Petty Constables).
1780	{ December 7th Do.	December 7th Do.	Henry Ireland, of Cavan town. John McPadden, "the younger," of Cavan town. (Both appointed Petty Constables for the ensuing year).
1782	{ March 7th Do.	March 21st Do.	James Magaghan. James Morrow. (Petty Constables).
1783	{ March 13th Do.	March 13th Do.	John Mervyn. Simon Tyrrell. (Petty Constables).
1786	{ February 23rd Do.	February 23rd Do.	William Thornton, of Cavan town. Paul Sheridan, of Cavan town. (Appointed Petty Constables).
1788	{ — —	May 22nd (?) Do.	John Brown. John Cassidy. (Petty Constables).
1796	{ — —	May 26th Do.	John Armstrong. John Cassidy. (Constables).
1819	—	March 17th	J. P. Smith (Appointed mace bearer and constable for borough).

BOROUGH OF CAVAN.

LIST OF WEIGHMASTERS.

Year :	Date Elected :	Date Sworn :	Name of Weighmaster :
1724	—	July 14th	Samll. Deyos. [In one of the Corporation books there is a record, signed, sealed and dated the 14th July, 1724, of a debt of forty pounds sterling due jointly and severally by Samuel Deyos, of Cavan, and Edward Magrath, of Derryvackney, County Cavan, to Theophilus Clements, Esqr., Sovereign. It is provided, however, that if Samuel Deyos faithfully performs the office of crane-master or weighmaster, the obligation is to be void.]
1779	May 20th	—	Mr. Henry Ireland (Appointed "Scale Master.").
1782	—	March 7th	Archd. Watt, of Cavan town (Sworn weigh master for the "market days to be held on Teusday." Edward Plant was sworn deputy weigh master to Archd. Watt.)

BOROUGH OF CAVAN.

LIST OF ATTORNEYS.

Year :	Date Elected : (or Admitted by the Town Court.)	Date Sworn :	Name of Attorney :
1703	—	July 29th	Laughlin Smyth.
1708	Aug. 12th	—	Peter Wright.
1709	—	Augt. 25th	Mr. David Lynch.
1716	—	May 17th	Jas. Magrath, Jr.
1719	—	June 29th	Edward Magrath.
1720	—	December 1st	John Wilkinson.
1723	—	July 11th	William Doingan.
1726	—	October 3rd	Mark Magrath
1728	—	October 31st	John Donaldson.
1774	{ March 3rd	March 3rd	Edmund Beatty, " the younger."
	{ March 17th	March 17th	Charles Swindell, " the younger."
1782	{ March 21st	March 21st	Miles Moran, of Cavan.
	{ Do.	Do.	Phillipp Reilly, of Swelland [Swellan (?), Cavan.]
1782	December 19th	December 19th	Charles McCallan.
1784	August 26th	August 26th	Richd. Castles, Gent, of Cavan.

BOROUGH OF CAVAN.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

(IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.)

Date Elected.	Name of Member (Burgess).
1727 { October 9th Do.	Theophilus Clements, Esqr. Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr. [Both unanimously elected by the Sovereign, Portreeves, Burgesses and Freemen at a Court of Election held by virtue of a Precept to the Sovereign from the Sheriff of the County of Cavan.]
1745 October 28th	Robert Clements, Esqr., of Rakenny, in the room of Henry Clements, Esqr., deceased. [Elected unanimously—28 members of the Corporation sign the record of election in the Corporation minute book of 1680 to 1840.]
1747 October 22nd	Rt. Honble. Edward Weston (Esqr.), in the room of Robt. Clements, Esqr., deceased. [Elected unanimously—8 members of the Corporation sign the record of election.]
1750 April 30th	Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr., of Lismore, County Cavan, in the room of Thomas Nesbitt, Esqr., deceased. [Elected unanimously—6 members of the Corporation sign the record of election.]
1761 { April 27th Do.	Right Honble. Nathl. Clements, of the City of Dublin. Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr., of Lismore, County Cavan. [Both "duly and freely" elected unanimously.—26 members of the Corporation sign the record of election.]
1768 { July 6th Do.	Right Honble. Nathl. Clements (Esqr.) of the City of Dublin. Capt. Thomas Nesbitt (Esqr.), of Lismore, County Cavan. [Both elected unanimously—30 members sign the record of election.]
1769 November 20th	Lieut. Col. Henry Theops. Clements (Esqr.) (in the room of the Right Honourable Nathl. Clements Esqr.), who made his election for the County of Leitrim.) [Elected unanimously—17 members of the Corporation sign the record of election.]
1776 { May 13th Do.	Right Honourable Nathl. Clements (Esqr.), of the City of Dublin. Thomas Nesbitt, Esqr., of Deansfort, County Cavan. [Both elected unanimously—25 members of the Corporation sign the record of election.]
1777 November 12th	Captain John Clements (Esqr.), of the City of Dublin [Elected unanimously—14 members of the Corporation sign the record of election.]
1790 { April 26th Do.	Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr. Rt. Honble. Lord Chas. Fitz Gerald. [Elected unanimously—14 members of the Corporation sign the record of election.]

Date Elected.	Name of Member (Burgess).
1797 { July 29th Do.	Right Honbl. Ld. Viscount Clements. Thos. Nesbitt, Esqr. [Both elected unanimously—2 members of the Corporation sign the record of election.]
1798 February 8th	The Honble. George Cavendish (in the room of Ld. Viscount Clements who made his election for the County of Leitrim). [Elected unanimously.—2 members of the Corporation sign the record of election.]

[NOTE.—In this *Journal*, Nos. 1 and 2, Vol. No. 1, there are lists of the Members of the Irish House of Commons for Cavan County and the Boroughs of Cavan and Belturbet, from 1585 to 1800. The foregoing list of Members for Cavan Borough is taken direct from one of the original minute books (period, 1680 to 1840) of the Corporation. Between this list and those already published as mentioned, some slight differences are noticeable. The minute books have no reference to the election of 1783.]

BOROUGH OF CAVAN.

LIST OF FREEMEN.

NOTE.—The following is a selected (not a complete) list of the Freemen elected or sworn between 1697 and 1840.

Year :	Names of Freemen :
1697 to 1714.	Dennis Brogan, Mr. Justice Coote, Brockwell Newburgh, "Hen. Ld. [Lord ?] Gallaway Marquesdc Monntrantra," Fran. Blundell, Tho. Fleming, junr., Theophilus Butler, Col. Robt. Sanderson [Revd. ?] James Cottingham, Clke. [Clerk ?], Doctor Jo. Lenowse, Theo. Clements, Honble. Will : Evans.
1702 to 1714	Willm. Nesbett, John Price, Robt. Clements, Hen. Brooke, Alexr. Brookes, James Magrath, Alexr. Sanderson, Hen. Grattan, Richd. Sheridan, Geo. Cottnam, Robt. Maxwell, Amb: Burrows, Arthur Forster, John Maclelan, Patk. Enery, David Lynch, Terence McGuire, John Kennedy, Will. Moore, Arth. Vis. (?) Ld. [Lord ?] Granard, Robt. Faris, Robt. McLeland, The Honble. Will : Bivans ; Joseph Adison [enrolled 5th May, 1709—was he Joseph Addison, the famous English poet and essayist ?]
1714	Roger Smyth, Geo : Robinson, Robt. Cole ; Timothy Kilmore [the Protestant Bishop of Kilmore].
1715	Sir Ralph Gore, Bart.
1719	The Honble. Richd. Munden, Brigadier of His Majesty's Forces.
1720	Timothy [Godwin] the [Protestant] Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh [Bishop of Kilmore—1713 to 1727, when he was translated to Cashel ; died in 1729].
1735	Samll. Donaldson, Reverend Thos. Sheridan, D.D.
1739	George Moore.
1740	Thomas Ireland.
1747	Nathl. Clements.
1749	Charles Swindell.
1751	Clotworthy Soden.

Year :

Names of Freemen :

- 1755 The Honble. Thos. George Southwell, Richd. Boyle, Esq., Major
Henry Gore, George Montgomery, Esqr.
- 1756 Francis Pierpout Burton.
- 1781 Richd. Bard. Harcourt, of London, England [Admitted and sworn].
- 1783 Archibald Watt.
- 1791 Cosby Nesbitt, Esqr., of Crossdoney Lodge.
- 1796 Saml. Burrowes.
- 1797 Revd. Albert Nesbitt.
- 1803 Rev. Ed. Lucas, John Richardson.
- 1805 Revd. Jas. Storey.
- 1838(?) The last Freemen (5) elected on 28th June, 1838 :—Thomas Bligh,
Wm. Smith, John Murray, John Dunbar, Charles Stewart (or
Stuart).

NOTES.—Some of the Freemen, apparently not being able to write, put their mark at their names in the Corporation book. In some instances, a person elected a Burgess also became a Freeman on the same day.

TERENCE S. SMYTH.

THE BALLYHEADY MOUNTAIN CAIRN.

RECENT DISCOVERY OF A BRONZE AGE TOMB IN CO.
CAVAN.

Early in September, 1932, while some County Council workmen were making preparations for the removal of materials, for use as road-metal, from the conspicuous cairn on the northern slope of Ballyheady Mountain, some two miles south of Ballyconnell, a pre-historic tomb was discovered. Under a massive limestone slab a cavity was observed, and on further investigation a skull and some human bones were found. The discovery was promptly reported to the Garda Síochána, and arrangements were made to have the site examined by the National Museum authorities. Shortly afterwards the place was visited by Mr. Sean P. O'Riordain, who examined the finds. In a recent contribution to the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries*,—Vol. LXII, 1933—Mr. O'Riordain summarises the results of his investigations. A brief account of the discovery, with some of his conclusions, will be of special interest for those who would essay to solve the mysteries of pre-historic times.

The cairn is in the townland of *Killaragh*, in the parish of Kildallan, but the elevated ground, on the slope of which the cairn is situated, is locally known as *Ballyheady Mountain*. The townland of Ballyheady, however, lying to the west of Killaragh and separated from it by the Woodford River, represents only a comparatively small section of this hilly region which is covered with a layer of peat of variable depth. Underlying this peaty layer is a sandy soil which, owing to the effects of denudation, protrudes in many places through the peat. The stones comprising the cairn are principally water-rolled sandstone.

The burial was located on a projection extending beyond what may be considered to be the eastern edge of the cairn. The grave consisted of the massive limestone slab measuring, approximately, seven feet by four feet and resting in a sloping position on a stone placed underneath. The slab sloped towards the west, and the front or eastern end of the grave was closed by a low, roughly-built, dry stone wall, which formed the arc of a circle of which the eastern edge of the slab was the chord. The space between the wall and the slab was closed by flat stones. The construction was, therefore, of a comparatively simple type.

The human remains found in the grave show both inhumation and cremation: that they belong to the Bronze Age is a reasonable conjecture. The skull lay on the north side of the grave, and the cremated remains were mostly behind the supporting stone. Some of the bones showed traces of fire, but the process of cremation does not seem to have been thorough, as some large pieces remained.

No Bronze Age objects, such as have been found elsewhere, in connection with similar burials, were discovered, and the absence of such objects leaves the question of the date of the burial much harder to determine. Mr. O'Riordain suggests that, since both cremated and inhumed remains were found, it belongs to the Middle Bronze Age when the rite of inhumation was giving way before that of cremation. The chronology of the Bronze Age is somewhat indeterminate, but in Ireland, at least, the commencement of the period may be ascribed to about 2,000 B.C. and its termination to about 400 B.C. These are the limits now generally accepted by the most reliable authorities. Assuming that the Ballyheady Mountain burial belongs to the Middle Bronze Age—and the evidence in favour of this is very convincing—its date may, tentatively, be ascribed to about 1,000 B.C., or 1,200 B.C. Further excavations at the cairn, carried out, of course, under the supervision of skilled archæologists, may, as Mr. O'Riordain observes, substantiate or disprove this conjecture.

The fact of the burial being located on a projection of the cairn, a most unusual position, leads to the conclusion that the grave is a secondary one, that is, that it was constructed at a later period than the cairn itself and somewhat outside its periphery. Furthermore, it would appear to have been joined up with the cairn by the addition of further material, or by the shifting of some of the stones already belonging to the cairn.

The remains were subjected to a minute anatomical examination, but the results, brimful of technical terms, are hardly of general interest. The conclusions of Dr. C. P. Martin, of Dublin, were, very briefly, as follows:—

The remains belong to three individuals—the cranium, mandible, and many of the bones of a female; the bones of a male; some bones, very fragmentary, of a child. The bones had been dis-

turbed, evidently by animals, and some fragments of the humerus of a hare were found. The structure of the tomb would not have prevented the ingress and egress of rats, or even of foxes.

In the case of the male it is evident that the process of cremation was incomplete, since the non-burnt bones were those of the head and feet. Judged by the size of the bones the man was of large size, probably well over six feet in height; the worn condition of his teeth showed that he was of adult age. The skeleton of the female was more complete, and bore no evidence of cremation; evidently the bones were those of an adult about five feet in height, and some of the teeth—the condition of which would indicate those of a young adult—showed signs of dental caries, a disease which appears to be one of the penalties of modern civilization, being very rarely observed in pre-historic skulls. The bones of the child were too fragmentary to afford any information.

The burial presents, therefore, some unusual features: an absence of Bronze Age vessels or implements; an unusual position outside the normal periphery of the cairn; both inhumation and cremation. The inclusion of several bodies in Bronze Age tombs is, however, not unknown. There are references in papers by J. Morris Roberts—*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. XXIV, 1902-'04—and George Coffey in the same *Proceedings*, Vol. XXV, 1904-'05, to similar discoveries. Our knowledge of Bronze Age burial rites is too imperfect to warrant any satisfactory explanation of these remarkable discoveries.

For the accompanying illustrations I am indebted to the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. The plan and section of the grave and cairn will be readily understood; the lettering is as follows: at S, B, and D, were found the remains of the female; at E, B, and D, were those of the male. At B and D the bones of the male and female were found mixed. The fragmentary bones of the child were found at A. At D was found the humerus of the hare.

It is now, of course, quite impossible to discover the identities of the personages whose remains have rested in the Ballyheady cairn for three thousand years. History is silent on the matter, but there is a local tradition that this cairn marks the burialplace of Conall Cernach, the hero of the *Tain Cycle*. The antiquity of this tradition cannot now be determined—O'Donovan in his *Letters* has no mention of it—and there is no written record which would enable us either to confirm or deny it. Conall Cernach, who was the foster-brother of Cu Chullain, was murdered by the desperadoes of Queen Medb at *Ath na Mianna*—the Ford of the Miners—in Breiffne. The narrative of Conall's flight from Connacht to Breiffne has already been published in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, Vol. I, pp. 102—111. It is generally accepted that *Ath na Mianna*, the scene of Conall's death, was on the River Graine, now the Woodford River, and in the neigh-

bourhood of the present town of Ballyconnell. The town receives its name from this tradition: DÉAL ÁTA CONAILL , i.e., the ford-mouth of Conall. The actual ford is pointed out, traditionally, a short distance north of the present bridge at Ballyconnell. O'Donovan's statement, that the present bridge crosses at the actual ford, does not now receive local sanction.



CAIRN OF KILLARAGH—GENERAL VIEW.



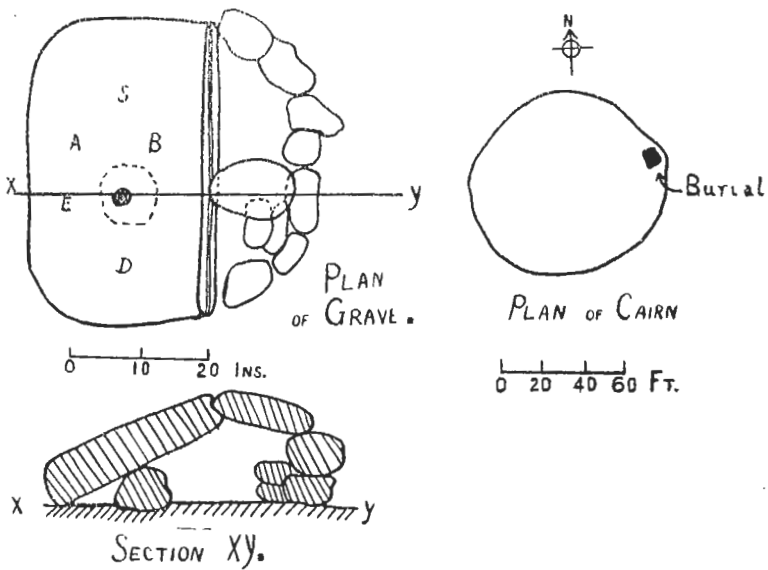
VIEW OF TOMB FROM OUTSIDE.

We have, therefore, both historical and traditional evidence concerning the place of Conall's death; but of his burialplace we have only the tradition. Relying on this tradition of the Ballyheady cairn, some people have hastily inferred—and the inference seemed at first not unreasonable—that the remains



INTERIOR OF TOMB.

[Photo: R.S.A.I.]



PLAN AND SECTION OF ANCIENT BURIAL AT KILLARAGH.

discovered in 1932 were, in part at least, those of Conall Cernach himself. But there are insuperable difficulties in the acceptance of such a belief. Conall was an early *Iron Age* personage, that is, he flourished in the early Celtic period which is dated, approximately, from about 400 B.C. to about 100 A.D. He was associated with the Red Branch Knights of Ulster, was a contemporary of Queen Medb, and belongs, essentially, to the *Tain* period, that is, to the first century of the Christian Era. He must have lived, therefore, at least a thousand years later than the pre-Celtic people whose remains were discovered at the cairn. That Conall rests somewhere on the banks of the Woodford River, and near Ballyconnell, may be reasonably assumed; but whether the Ballyheady cairn is his actual tomb is a question which only future excavations may help to decide. It will be remembered that in the townland of Killycluggin, west of Killaragh and adjoining Ballyheady, was discovered, in 1921, a stone bearing Iron Age decoration: the stone is described in this *Journal*, Vol. II, p. 91. There is here an extensive field for historical research.

The cairn bears traces of having been crudely investigated and partly torn down, evidently by treasure-seekers, many years ago. It was originally considerably higher. The burial, recently discovered, had escaped detection owing to its unusual position. The ancient pile is now preserved under the National Monuments Act, 1930.

PHILIP O'CONNELL.

REPORTS OF MEETINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1930.

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Breiffne Antiquarian and Historical Society was held in the Town Hall, Cavan, on Thursday, July 31, 1930. Dr. F. P. Smith (President) occupied the chair. The following members were present : Rev. R. J. Walker, B.A., Arva ; Mrs. B. M. Smith-Brady, F.R.S.A.I., Hon. Secretary and Treasurer ; Messrs. W. H. Halpin, Solr., Cavan ; R. Halpin, Ford Lodge ; A. E. R. MacCabe, Solr. ; T. S. Smyth ; E. T. O'Hanlon, *Anglo-Celt* ; P. O'Connell, M.Sc., Editor of *Journal*.

The outgoing officers were unanimously re-elected, and the work of the Society for the past year was reviewed. At the conclusion of the meeting a party of the members and their friends visited the ruined Priory of the Premonstratensians on Trinity Island, in Loch Uachtair—or "Lough Oughter," to use the common but unintelligible form which has had its origin in Elizabethan documents. The party proceeded by road to the shore of the lake, where Dr. F. P. Smith, President, had very kindly provided a boat which conveyed all across to the Island. The excursion was a very enjoyable one, in ideal weather, and a few pleasant hours were spent inspecting the ruins and deciphering the inscriptions. An account of the foundation and history of the Priory was given by Mr. O'Connell.

It was decided to take the necessary steps to have the ruins vested as a National Monument : the fine proportions of the western gable are now obscured by a thick growth of ivy which, unless removed, will ultimately cause serious damage to the building.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1931.

The Eleventh Annual Meeting was held in the Town Hall, Cavan, on Wednesday, August 26, 1931. Dr. F. P. Smith (President) was in the chair, and the other members present were : Rev. P. O'Reilly, P.P., Knockbride (Vice-President) ; Very Rev. M. Comey, D.D., P.P., V.F., Virginia ; Mrs. B. M. Smith-Brady, Hon. Secretary and Treasurer ; Mr. P. J. Brady, M.R.I.A.I., Ballyhaise, and Mrs. Brady ; Messrs. P. O'Connell, M.Sc., Editor

of *Journal*; E. J. Smyth, Hibernian Bank; T. S. Smyth; A. E. R. MacCabe, Solr.; S. Gilheaney, N.T.; Myles Smith, Kevitt Castle.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were read from several members. A vote of sympathy with the relatives of the late Rev. R. J. Walker, B.A., Arva, a valued member of the Society, was passed in silence, the members standing.

The outgoing officers were unanimously re-elected. The Hon-Treasurer submitted a statement of accounts, and same was considered satisfactory. It was suggested that the entrance fee of 10/- be abolished, but after some discussion the matter was postponed.

Six new members were admitted. The President said that Mr. F. E. Kennedy, Solicitor, had very kindly given the Society accommodation for the Library and Exhibits at his office in Pearse Street. A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Kennedy for his kindness in the matter. It was decided to request the Vocational Education Committee to make provision in the new Technical School, to be erected in Cavan, for the housing of the Society's collection of books and exhibits. In the Society's exhibits there was the nucleus of a very interesting museum, and these, if housed in a public place, would prove of very great educational value. Glass cases should be provided for these objects from the study of which the students would derive much benefit. The President added that in Liverpool Museum he had seen a quern which had been presented to it by the late Father Meehan, the founder of the Society.

Recent antiquarian discoveries in Cavan and Leitrim were discussed and noted. The President suggested that on such notification the Hon. Secretary should communicate with some member of the Society living in the particular district with a request to make investigations and submit a report. This was agreed to.

As the weather was unfavourable the projected excursion to Drumlane Abbey was postponed.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1932.

The Twelfth Annual Meeting was held in the Town Hall, Cavan, on Wednesday, August 10, 1932. Rev. P. MacNiffe, B.A., B.D., B.C.L., presided. The other members present were: Mrs. B. M. Smith-Brady, Hon. Secretary and Treasurer; Messrs. A. E. R. MacCabe, Solr.; John Tierney, Hotel, Virginia; S. Gilheaney, N.T.; P. O'Connell, M.Sc. Letters of apology for non-attendance were read from His Lordship, Most Rev. Dr. Finegan; Dr. F. P. Smith, President; Lady Dorothy Lowry-Corry, Castle Coole, Enniskillen; Mr. W. H. Halpin, solr., and other members.

The outgoing officers were unanimously re-elected. The

editor of the *Journal*—Mr. O'Connell—reported that the materials for next issue were nearly ready, and that as soon as the Committee decided that publication was, financially, practicable the manuscript would be sent to the printers.

At the termination of the meeting the members visited the site of the old Franciscan Abbey of Cavan, and examined the tower which is the only portion of the ancient structure which has survived. Mr. O'Connell gave an account of the history of the Abbey and its founder, incidents in its early story, its decline and fall, and of the many distinguished personages, including Bishop Thomas MacBrady, Primate Hugh O'Reilly, Owen Roe O'Neill, and many others, who rest in unmarked and now unknown graves in the ancient cemetery.

It was decided to make representations to the National Monuments Advisory Council, and to Cavan Urban Council, to have the tower vested as a National Monument.

ANNUAL MEETING, 1933.

The Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the Town Hall, Cavan, on Friday, December 29, 1933, Very Rev. P. V. Rudden, President of St. Patrick's College, presiding. The other members present were: Rev. John O'Reilly, Adm., Cavan; Rev. J. Maguire, C.C.; Mrs. B. M. Smith-Brady, Hon. Secretary and Treasurer; Mrs. B. T. Cullen, Cavan; Miss Smith, Kevitt Castle; Messrs. T. S. Smyth; W. H. Halpin, Solr.; A. E. R. MacCabe, solr.; P. O'Connell, M.Sc., Editor of *Journal*; H. Fitzsimons, Virginia; D. Smith, Kevitt Castle.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were received from His Lordship, Most Rev. Dr. Finegan; Dr. F. P. Smith, Kevitt Castle, President; Mr. E. T. O'Hanlon, *Anglo-Celt*.

The Treasurer's Report was considered and adopted. The outgoing officers were unanimously re-elected, with the addition of Rev. J. Maguire, C.C., to the Committee.

On the motion of Mr. Halpin it was decided that the entrance fee be suspended for 1934.

A paper entitled *Cavan in the 18th Century: the Itinerary of Isaac Butler, circa 1745*, was contributed by Mr. O'Connell. The paper dealt with the journey of Isaac Butler, a Dublin physician, through Co. Cavan about the middle of the 18th century. Butler gives intimate descriptions of the towns and villages through which he passed, with interesting comments on the social and economic conditions of the time. At Swanlinbar he visited the sulphur springs, and discusses some of the medicinal properties of the waters. The Itinerary is specially interesting on account of the familiar glimpses it furnishes of Co. Cavan and its people at a period which is singularly lacking in historical records. The

paper, which is a lengthy one, is reserved for a later issue of the *Journal*.

On the motion of the Rev. Chairman, seconded by Mr. Halpin, a cordial vote of thanks was passed to Mr. O'Connell for his very informative paper. The proceedings then terminated.

COMMITTEE MEETING.

A Committee Meeting was held in the Town Hall, Cavan, on Wednesday, January 3, 1934, Mr. W. H. Halpin, solr., presiding; also present, Mrs. B. M. Smith-Brady, Messrs. A. E. R. MacCabe, Solr., and P. O'Connell, M.Sc.

Mrs. Smith-Brady tendered her resignation as Hon. Treasurer owing to pressure of work in other directions. The Committee reluctantly and with regret accepted her resignation. On the motion of the Chairman, Mr. I. A. Montgomery, Manager, Ulster Bank, Cavan, was appointed Hon. Treasurer.

The financial position of the Society was discussed, and it was decided to make arrangements for the publication of the *Journal* early in 1934.

REVIEWS.

Journal of the County Louth Archæological Society, Vol. VII, No. 3, 1931 : No. 4, 1932. 10/- each. (Dundalk: William Tempest, Dundalgan Press.)

These issues of the *Louth Journal* maintain the high standard which that publication has established for itself since the foundation of the Louth Society in 1904, and we congratulate our contemporary on the unique position it now occupies among historical *Journals*. The 1931 issue has a detailed account, based on a pamphlet of 1681, of some of the principals who figured at the trial of Blessed Óliver Plunket, and presenting some new historical features of the Plot then being formulated against the Primate.

Mr. H. G. Tempest continues his investigations of the Dorsey Entrenchment. In No. 4 the same writer, in a valuable contribution to the topography of South Ulster, deals with the description of the view from Sliabh Fuaid from an early Irish poem in the *Book of Leinster*. Prof. McNeill adds some notes in which he identifies, tentatively, *Sleive Galeng*—the "Mountains of the Galeng"—with the Loughanleagh group, south of Bailieboro. The latter group, on the southeast border of ancient Breiffne, can hardly, however, be designated as "gannarda," or scant in height, which is the term applied to Sleive Galeng in the poem.

There are several articles of interest for Breiffne readers. The extracts from the Galligan MS. in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, for which we are indebted to Eamonn Ó Tuathail, have many references to people and places in Co. Cavan. Peter Galligan (or Gallegan) was a hedge schoolmaster and a good Gaelic scholar who had his residence in the parish of Moynalty, Co. Meath; in the period 1841-'44, when the manuscript was compiled, he was living in the townland of Ballymacain, or Ballymakane—the Gaelic form as he writes it is *Dáile mhic Cárnaoin*—beside the conspicuous hill of Ardmaghbreague (once a stronghold of the Plunket family: their family tomb, dated 1688, is to be seen in the old cemetery of Robertstown), near Kilmainhamwood. His ancestors, as appears from a genealogy in one of his MSS., belonged to the district of Sliabh Glah in the parish of Denn, Co. Cavan—"Sliabh gCláist le taob an Cúmain." Galligan's Gaelic collections are voluminous and preserve the compositions—now, unfortunately, in great part forgotten by the present generation—of many of his contemporary literary celebrities: Bryan Clarke, of Nobber; Fataer Paul O'Brien, of Breakey, afterwards Professor of Gaelic in Maynooth; Michael Clarke, of Whitewood; James Tevlin, of Billywood; James Martin, of Millbrock, Oldcastle; William Walsh, of Athnaharnat, near Virginia; Matthew Monaghan, of Mullagh; Peter Rogers, of Bailieboro; Peter Colderick, of Whitewood, and many others. What a galaxy of Gaelic talent, and in such a comparatively small area! Were those the last lingering rays of the Celtic twilight before its sun should pass beneath the horizon?

The publication of the Galligan collections of Gaelic poetry, now lying in manuscript for nearly a century, should be undertaken as a *national* work. Not only are these poems replete with topographical information but they are also racy of the soil, reflect the popular mind of the period, are composed in a style both graceful and idiomatic, abound in that wealth of metaphor

and that infinite variety and beauty of simile which characterises the richness of Gaelic and emphasises the comparative poverty of English, and as such would prove an invaluable impetus to the more intensive study of Gaelic. No traces of so-called "simplified spelling" here; no tampering with Gaelic orthography; no introduction of non-Gaelic idioms; no attempt to popularise a language by the gradual elimination of its natural modes of expression. As literature the poems in the Galligan collections are vastly superior to the Gaelic "translations" of English works—mediocre and alien to Gaelic psychology—which appear to be fashionable in some quarters today. A glance over the Edinburgh lists of unpublished poems reveals what a vast collection of Gaelic classics yet remain to be made available to the public.

A large number of Galligan's MSS. have been located: some are preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. From 1826 till his death in 1860 he appears to have devoted most of his time to the copying of Irish MSS. Since the appearance of the latest issue of the *Louth Journal* a selection of Galligan's collected works has been published in Dublin. The volume is entitled *Amháin na Míthe*, i.e. Songs of Meath, and contains fifty pieces written by Father Paul O'Brien, Peter Colderick, James Tevlin, and others; it is issued under the competent editorship of *Énrí Ó Muirgheasa*, and we are informed that a further collection will be published later on in the year. *Deannaict Dé ar an obair*. Father Paul O'Brien was born in 1763 in the townland of Breakey, near Kilmainhamwood, and some of the compositions of his youth, for example, *Cailín Dear Bhréacín* and an English poem "The Fort of Breakey," are still heard in his native district. His grandfather, William, is said to have been a native of Co. Clare, and on his marriage to the daughter of Betagh of Moynalty, Co. Meath, to have settled down in the townland of Breakey. Father Paul was appointed Professor of Irish in Maynooth in 1802, and was the author of an *Irish Grammar*. He died April 13, 1820, and was buried in the College cemetery, where his epitaph was written by Rev. Dr. Renehan, the historian.

The pages of *Amháin na Míthe* will reveal many examples of that beauty of language and facility of expression peculiar to Gaelic:

Da huaine glar na mullaig áit ar hoilead iad mo fionnreas
 A éire mo níurín, rlan leat go brát;
 Uí ruaimhear as an mbunad, cé sup cumhansán fann ar moinn de,
 A éire mo níurín, rlan leat go brát!

Áct pá deoir éáine an t-am nac fáb fheim asáinn ar léigre,
 Ir ba nian-liomra fuiréac mar ar fusaó mé 'r mo fadótaí,
 Oé b'éigin uam-ra imteáct ir mo fáirde uile éirigbeáil,
 A éire mo níurín, rlan leat go brát!

It is a significant fact that in the districts of South Monaghan, East Cavan, North Meath, South Armagh, and Louth—the area to which these *amháin* belong—the literary continuity of Gaelic tradition in prose and poetry remained unbroken down to our own time. The existence in this area of so many Gaelic manuscripts is proof of the vigour of this tradition; and the numbers of manuscripts which have been lost must have been very great. The Great Starvation of 1846-'47, followed by plague, evictions and emigration, dispersed finally this great school of Gaelic scribes. What a loss to literature!

The Galligan MSS. provide some interesting biographical details which will be of value to some future biographer of the popular Meath scribe. In a note Galligan himself tells us that his mother's name was Margaret Williams, who died December 8, 1837, and who was buried in the churchyard of Munterconnacht. His aunt, Mary Williams, who died in 1829, aged 81—she remembered the great snow-fall of 1766, which is mentioned in a note—and his aunt's daughter, Anne Cunningham, who died in 1842, also rest in Munterconnacht, of which district they appear to have been natives. Galligan is, himself, interred in the cemetery of Kilmainhamwood, but a recent search

failed to discover any inscription. The date of his death has been given as 1863, or 1864, but according to Séamus Ó Caraide, who has made a careful inquiry into the matter, the scribe died in one of the earlier months of 1860. An examination of the parish registers might decide the point. The gable of the mudwall cabin where he lived still survives.

Some of his MSS. passed into the possession of Eugene G. Finnerty, who lived near Kells, Co. Meath, and who was Galligan's patron. This Mr. Finnerty died in Dublin, August 29, 1888, and the MS., now in Edinburgh, passed to the Hon. J. Abercromby who presented it to the University Library.

The Louth Society is doing very commendable work in polishing the Louth and Armagh Hearth Money Rolls, 1664 and 1666. It is a cheerless fact to have to record that the Rolls for only two Cavan baronies were saved from the Public Record Office before its destruction. Hearth Tax, or Cóm na Toice, i.e. "smoke tax," as it was popularly, or unpopularly, designated, was an oppressive imposition. Tax collectors are proverbially unpopular, but fear na Toice must have been an abomination!

Articles on Louth and Armagh Old Wills; Townland Survey of Co. Louth; Title Deeds of Co. Louth; The Moores of Ardee; the Blackrock Brooch, are only a few of the valuable articles which make up the Louth *Journal*. Last, but not least, the Calendar of the *Register* of Archbishop Cromer of Armagh will serve many useful purposes as a sourcebook of ecclesiastical history, and its entries will enable the future historian to fill many a lacuna in pre-Reformation clergy lists.

P. O'C.

Journal of the American Irish Historical Society. Vol. XXIX. New York, 1931.

The Organ of the American Irish Historical Society is a well-bound volume of 350 pages, abundant proof of the prosperity and energy of that Society. Rich in biographical materials and exploring a vast field, it is a magnificent record of the activities of the Irish in America, and deserves a wide circulation. Looking over its pages we find an obituary notice, accompanied by a full page photograph, of Very Rev. Hugh P. Smyth, LL.D., of Evanston, Illinois, who was also a Life Member of the Breifne Society. Rev. Dr. Smyth belonged to Drummanduff, Lavey, where he was born on September 21, 1855. He wrote on many subjects, and his *History of the Reformation* is now a standard work. Shortly before his death, which occurred on November 6, 1927, he had visited his native home at Lavey.

In "Poe and the Philadelphia Irish Citizen," it is shown that Edgar Allan Poe took more than a passing interest in the Irish Repeal movement of the period 1843 and 1844. It is now generally accepted in Co. Cavan that the ancestors of Poe belonged to Dring in the Parish of Kildallan. In this connection another article in the *Journal* under review will convince anyone, who might have hitherto believed otherwise, that Irish emigration to U.S.A. commenced long before the Great Starvation of 1847. We have here the "Passenger Lists" from "The Shamrock or Irish Chronicle" for 1815-'16, and every name is preceded by a number which is also to be found in the "List of Ships"; this number indicates the name of the ship, with date and place of departure and arrival. The present list covering about a year beginning September 1815, includes about 3,150 names—for one year.

The names of many Cavan and Leitrim passengers may be gleaned from the list, and the following examples illustrate the scope of the entries. I leave the spellings unaltered. Among the 56 passengers who sailed from Dublin on the "Ontario," arriving in New York on January 9, 1816, were: James Arnold, Cavan; Anne Brady, Cavan; John Brady and Susan Brady, Cavan. Towards the end of 1815 the "Amphion" arrived in New York from

Dublin, carrying 48 passengers, *inter alios*, Patrick Brady, Killeshandra; Charles Clark, King's Court, Co. Cavan; James Clinch, Bailborough; James Hewett, Killeshandra; Hugh Kelly, Cavan; Margaret Kelly, Cavan; Bryan Lynch, King's Court, Co. Cavan; John Mac Cabe, Cavan; Michael MacManus, Killeshandra; Joseph Patterson, Co. Cavan; William Patterson, King's Court, Co. Cavan; John Reilly, King's Court, Co. Cavan; Jane Sherdon (Sheridan) and Thomas Sherdon, Killeshandra; Bernard Smith, Cavan; Thomas Smith, Junior, Cavan; Thos. Smith and wife, Co. Cavan.

William George Daly, Cavan; Reilly (Christian name omitted), Shercock, Co. Cavan; Michael Reilly, Cavan; Shales (no Christian name entered), Shercock, Co. Cavan, were among the 18 passengers who landed at New York from Dublin, on the "Nautilus," in 1815.

The "Dublin Packet," arriving in New York from Dublin on April 3, 1816, carried 39 passengers, *inter alios*, Ellen and Thomas Berney, Cavan; Terence Fitzpatrick, Cavan; Michael Kenny, Cavan. On August 7, 1816, the "Ontario," from Dublin, arrived in New York with 97 passengers, *inter alios*, Fanny Armstrong and 4 children, Cavan; James Brown, Cavan; Bridget Gregory and 2 children, Cavan; Robert Kane, Leitrim; Joseph Long, Cavan; Bryan MacCarthy, Cavan; Patrick MacCormick and Esther MacCormick, Leitrim; Patrick Cusack, Coothill. The "Charles Fawcett," arriving in New York from Dublin on November 10, 1815, numbered among its 23 passengers, Edward and Patrick MacKernan, of Co. Leitrim.

The "James Bayley," arriving in New York from Belfast, on October 26th, 1815, brought 98 passengers, *inter alios*, Alexander Lee, Anne Lee, Edward Lee, Mary Lee and Joseph Robinsion, all of Co. Cavan. John Brady, Cavan, and William Garelán (Carolan?), Co. Cavan, were among the 15 passengers who sailed on the "Hannah," from Dublin to New York, landing April 25, 1816. Thomas Gordon and Alexander Pogue, both of Co. Cavan, sailed on the "Bristol" from Dublin to New York, landing there on August 14, 1816.

Andrew Fahy, Leitrim; Michael Lally and John Lilly, both of "Buttersbridge" (Butlersbridge), Co. Cavan, sailed on the "John," arriving in New York from Galway on August 2, 1816.

The "Orient," arriving in New York from Dublin on November 18, 1815, carried 35 passengers, including, John Brown, Cavan; Margaret Brown and child, Cavan, and Robert Johnston, Cavan.

Nathaniel Budden of Cavan, was one of the 36 passengers arriving in Philadelphia, from Dublin, on the "Louisa," on May 17, 1816. The "Orient," sailing from Sligo, arrived in New York, July 1, 1816, bringing 57 passengers including Richard Edwards of Drumshambo.

The "Foundling," sailing from Sligo with 90 passengers, reached New York on June 30, 1816: among those on board were Joseph Flynn and James MacLaughlin, both from Drumahare.

John Gibbs, Co. Cavan, arrived in New York on the "Juno," from Sligo, on August 16th, 1816, being one of its 38 passengers. The "London," 24 passengers, arrived in New York, from Newry, on June 1, 1816; the list has the name, Bernard MacManus, Cavan. William Moore of Co. Cavan arrived in Philadelphia, from Dublin, on the "Only Son," 29 passengers, July 6, 1816.

These entries are sufficient to indicate the value of these "Passenger Lists"; but, as the compiler Charles Montague Early points out, they do not claim to be exhaustive inasmuch as some of the Irish may have sailed from London and arrived at Canadian ports. In an earlier *Journal*—Vol. XXVIII—there is a list for the year 1811, compiled by Mr. J. Dominick Hackett, Librarian and Archivist of the Society. Many Cavan passengers also figure in this 1811 list. As Mr. Hackett observes, the official passenger lists in New York date only from 1820, but as the surnames are not alphabetically arranged it is almost impossible to trace an individual name unless the exact date of arrival is known. Before 1820 certain periodicals, such as the "Shamrock" of New York, published lists of passengers arriving at the

various American ports. The 1811 list contains about 2,000 names, evidence of extensive emigration.

The publication of these lists opens up a new avenue of genealogical research. We are informed that these records are frequently consulted and, in many cases, with very positive results. As Mr. Hackett has suggested to me in a personal communication it is reasonable to expect that these records, on further examination, may yet finally decide the much controverted question of the birthplace of General Philip Sheridan. On this point alone we look forward with interest to the publication of further lists. The lists for 1811 and 1815 bring out clearly the fact that in the early part of the last century there was a steady flow of emigrants from Cavan and Leitrim to America. But the records of this period are very imperfect. Even before 1800 we find evidence of emigration. For instance, James Timon, father of Dr. John Timon, first Bishop of Buffalo, emigrated from Cavan towards the close of 1796, or early in 1797. William James, grandfather of William James, the philosopher, emigrated from Ballyjamesduff, Co. Cavan, in 1789.

An article, "Some Massachusetts Wills," provides interesting details of family history. In a list of Memorials to the Dead in St. Paul's Catholic Cemetery, Blackstone, Mass., occurs the entry, "Mary Clarkin; died Nov. 26, 1848, age 25 years, Drumgool, Co. Cavan." The list is representative of practically every Irish county. Such monumental inscriptions are invaluable to the genealogist.

In an account of the Mullanphys of St. Louis, we are informed that John Mullanphy was born in 1758, near Enniskillen. At the age of twenty he entered the Irish Brigade and remained in it until its dispersion. In 1789 he married Elizabeth Brown, of Youghal, Co. Cork, and three years later landed at Philadelphia. Settling in St. Louis he became one of its leading citizens. His son, Bryan, was the close friend and patron of Canon John O'Hanlon, the great Irish historian, when the latter as a young man was forced through adverse circumstances to interrupt, temporarily, his ecclesiastical studies and work as a fisherman at St. Louis.

In these splendid volumes the American Irish Historical Society is doing work of solid worth, and I am very pleased to observe that many of the American Members of our Breiffne Society are entered on its extensive Membership Roll.

P. O'C.

Obituary.

VERY REV. MICHAEL J. FLYNN, Rector of St. Michael's, West Derby Road, Liverpool, passed away suddenly in Dublin, where he was spending a holiday, on August 30, 1930. He was interred in Yew Tree Cemetery, Liverpool. Born in 1854 in Liverpool, of Irish parents, he studied at the Northern Seminary, Ushaw, where he was ordained in 1881. His first appointment was as assistant-priest at St. James's, Marsh Lane, and in 1884 he founded a new mission, Our Lady Star of the Sea, Seaforth. Appointed Rector of St. Michael's he remained there until his death, a pastorate of 36 years.

Father Flynn was a man of culture, widely read, and an enthusiastic student of Irish history. He was especially interested in the history of Breiffne, the home of his fathers, and did much to encourage the collection and preservation of the records of the old Irish families. It is worthy of record that he claimed to be in reality the founder of the Breiffne Antiquarian Society, inasmuch as it was he who first suggested to the late Father Meehan the desirability of forming such a Society. After its foundation he was one of its earliest Life Members. He remained a staunch supported of the Society, which is all the poorer by his loss.

REV. R. J. WALKER, B.A., for eight years Rector of Ballin-temple, died on October 4, 1930. Born in 1865 at Ballyare, Co. Donegal, he was the son of a public school teacher, and received his early education at his father's school. Continuing his studies at Marlborough Street Training College and T.C.D. he took, in 1887, the Teacher's Certificate, and taught school at Arva till 1910. In 1911 he graduated B.A. at the Royal University of Ireland, and in the same year relinquished the teaching profession, became a clergyman and was appointed to the curacy of Rathmines, Co. Dublin. Transferred to Rathdowney in 1912, he remained there until 1916, when he was appointed Rector of

Drumreilly. From 1921 to 1929 he was Rector of Ballintemple, when owing to failing health he was obliged to resign his clerical duties and went to reside with his nephew, Mr. Robert Scott, at Arva, where he died.

As one of the original members of this Society, a member of the Committee and a past Vice-President, the late Mr. Walker will be remembered for the great practical interest he took in its progress and welfare. It was characteristic of him that he never missed a meeting, and in all weathers he was sure to be among the first to arrive. It is pathetic to have to record that his last public appearance was at our Annual General Meeting of July 31, 1930, when it was apparent to all that he was in a very feeble state of health. Returning home on the same evening his car was involved in a smash which severely shook him. His death is a severe loss to this Society, to the objects of which he devoted much time and care. When in Drumreilly he is said to have collected materials for a history of that parish, and did very commendable work in unearthing and preserving some ancient sculptured stones around the site of the old parish church, on the shore of Garadise Lake. His notes do not appear to have been published.

JOSEPH P. GANNON, whose family has had a long association with Cavan, died at his residence, 40 Upper Mount Street, Dublin, on October 18, 1931. In 1899 he was appointed Secretary to the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Committee. Owing to ill-health he resigned, in 1928, his positions as Secretary to the Committee of Agriculture and Accountant to the County Council, and took up residence in Dublin. In everything pertaining to Cavan, past and present, he took a deep interest, and was Hon. Auditor to this Society.

VERY REV. HENRY BIDDALL SWANZY, M.A., M.R.I.A., Dean of Dromore, Vicar of St. Mary's, Newry, died in London on November 20, 1932, as the result of an accident, having been knocked down by an automobile in Kensington High Street. Born in Newry in 1875, he was the son of Rev. Henry Swanzy, Vicar of St. Mary's. Entering the ministry in 1899 he served in Monaghan, Newry, Carrowdore and Omeath. In 1914 he was appointed Vicar of St. Mary's, Newry, and in February, 1931, was appointed Dean of Dromore.

He was a man of scholarly attainments, and an indefatigable worker in unexplored fields of genealogical research. To the pages of this *Journal* he contributed some valuable articles: extracts from parochial Registers in the Public Record Office, Dublin, and "Lists of the Parochial Clergy of the Established Church in the Diocese of Kilmore." A few articles, which he had forwarded to the Society shortly before his death, will be published in later issues. In the course of his researches he made

thousands of extracts from the Chancery and Exchequer Bills in the Public Record Office, Dublin, and since the loss of the originals in the fires of 1922 these extracts are now invaluable. He published, privately, the histories of several families: "The Family of Nixon, of Nixon Hall, Co. Fermanagh, and Nixon Lodge, Co. Cavan, with a short account of the Families of Erskine of Cavan and Allin of Youghal" (Thom, 1899): "The Family of Green of Youghal" (Thom, 1902): "The Family of Hassard" (Thom, 1904): "The Families of French of Belturbet and Nixon of Fermanagh" (Thom, 1908). His contributions to historical journals would, if collected, fill a large volume, and his work being original is of great value. Just before his death he had prepared for the press a history of the clergy of Dromore. Although a very busy man he never failed to respond to the editor's request for an article for this *Journal*, in which he took a lively interest and offered many kindly suggestions for its improvement.

MOST REV. FRANCIS X. GILFILLAN, D.D., Bishop of St. Joseph, Missouri, died suddenly on January 13, 1933, at the Rectory of St. Joseph's Cathedral. A member of a well-known Co. Leitrim family, he was born February 16, 1872, in the townland of Aghavas, Parish of Aghavas, Carrigallen, Co. Leitrim, and was the son of Thomas Gilfillan and Brigid Curran. He was educated at the National School of Corduff, where he was taught by Mr. Curran, N.T., and subsequently attended Moyne Classical School, Dromard, Arva. Entering St. Patrick's College, Carlow, he studied for the priesthood. Proceeding to U.S.A. for the completion of his studies he entered the Catholic University of Washington, and was ordained at St. Louis, by Archbishop Kain, on June 24, 1895. He was a distinguished student and gained the degree of D.D. *cum maxima laude*. For some years he worked in the Diocese of St. Louis where he took a leading part in the building of the new Cathedral in that city. On July 8, 1922, he was appointed Titular Bishop of Spigias and Coadjutor Bishop of St. Joseph, his consecration taking place on November 8 of the same year. He became Bishop of St. Joseph on the death of Most Rev. Maurice F. Burke, on March 17, 1923. Dr. Gilfillan was brother of the late Mr. Thomas J. Gilfillan of Kilmore, Co. Roscommon, and many of his relatives are priests in Ardagh Diocese. Two of his sisters, Sisters Patricia and Joseph, are attached to the Convent of Mercy, Manorhamilton. He was a Life Member of this Society, and his brilliant intellect shed lustre on the County of his birth.

VERY REV. PATRICK O'REILLY, P.P., V.F., Derrylin, Co. Fermanagh, died July 5, 1933, at the age of 77. Born in the townland of Corravoggy, Kildrumsherdan Parish, he studied at St. Patrick's College, Cavan, where he was ordained in 1883. His first mission was in Cavan, and he then went as C.C. to Killinkere

and afterwards to Annagh. In November, 1887, he went to U.S.A. to collect funds for St. Patrick's College. On his return in August, 1888, he was appointed C.C. Kinawley. He was successively C.C. Killinagh (1892); C.C. Knockninny (1894); C.C. Killann (1897); C.C. Laragh (1899). In 1906 he was appointed P.P. Killasnett, and erected the new church there. He was transferred to Knockninny in September, 1915, and built a new parochial house. Although a member of this Society and interested in its work, he rarely found it possible, owing to failing health, and living a long distance away, to attend the meetings; but he always looked forward to the appearance of the *Journal*, and was an enthusiastic supporter of every activity of the Society.

Breifne Antiquarian and Historical Society.

List of Life Members and Members at the end of the Year 1933.

LIFE MEMBERS.

BRADY, Rev. Francis J.	...	c/o Loretto Heights College, Loretto, Colorado, U.S.A.
BRADY, Right Rev. Msgr. Richard		Loretto Heights College, Loretto, Colorado, U.S.A.
BRADY, Very Rev. James J.		Mullagh, Co. Cavan.
CONLON, M. V.	... ..	Ministry L.G.D., Dublin.
CONNOLLY, Rev. Patrick	... ..	Market Street, Cootehill.
FINEGAN, Most Rev. Patrick, D.D.		Bishop's House, Culliss, Cavan.
FINLAY, Rev. T. A., S.J.	... ..	35 Lower Leeson St., Dublin.
GILLICK, Rev. Bernard	... ..	320 East 5th Street, Salida, Colo., U.S.A.
GILSENAN, Rev. James B.	... ..	Church of Our Lady of Nazareth, Roanoke, Virginia, U.S.A.
LOUGH, Mrs.	... ..	4 Wilton Terrace, Booterstown, Co. Dublin (<i>Honorary</i>).
MACBRIDE, Rev. James	.. ..	St. Paul's Church, Pine Bluffs, Wyoming, U.S.A.
MACCABE, Very Rev. Francis, LL.D.		Holywell, O'Daly's Bridge, Kil- naleck, Co. Cavan.
MAGUIRE, Rev. Patrick	Church of St. Vincent de Paul, Wasatch Ave., Murray, Utah, U.S.A.
MASTERSON, Rev. Edward, S.J.		Milltown Park, Dublin.
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O'FARRELLY, Agnes W., M.A.	University College, Dublin.
O'REILLY, Right Rev. James, D.D.	Bishop's House, 608 Broadway, Fargo, N. Dakota, U.S.A.
O'REILLY, Rev. Patrick ..	c/o. St. John's Cathedral, 2820 Mariposa St., Fresno, Cali- fornia, U.S.A.
O'REILLY, William	Knock Abbey, Co. Louth.

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BLAKE, Miss K.	Derrylin, Enniskillen.
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BRADY, P. J., M.R.I.A.I. ...	Broomfield House, Ballyhaise.
BREEN, J. M.	St. Patrick's College, Cavan.
BRITAIN, J.	Munster and Leinster Bank, Cavan.
BURKE, T. J., B.A., M.P.S.I.	Main Street, Cavan.
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CLARKE, Rev. M. J.	5513 Oriole Ave., St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
CLARKE, Terence	Barrack Street, Bailieboro.
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COMEY, Very Rev. M., D.D., P.P., V.F.	Δεσφ Λεσδαμ (Virginia), Co. Cavan.
CORR, Rev. L., C.C.	Kildrumsherdan, Cootehill.
CORRY, LADY DOROTHY LOWRY	Castle Coole, Enniskillen.
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DOONER, Rev. M., C.C. ...	Street, Rathowen, Co. West- meath.
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FIGGIS, W.F.	20 Nassau St., Dublin.
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FINEGAN, Rev. C., B.A., C.C.	Cabinteely, Co. Dublin.
FINEGAN, Rev. Peter, P.P.	Queen's Park, Perth, W. Australia.
FITZPATRICK, Rev. D., B.D., B.C.I.	Shercock, Co. Cavan.
FITZSIMONS, H.	Δεσφ Λαδαιη (Virginia), County Cavan.
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GALLIGAN, Rev. H., P.P.	Lavey, Stradone, Cavan.
GANNON, Rev. P. J., S.J.	Milltown Park, Dublin.
GILHEANEY, J., N.T.	...	...	Coleman Road, Cavan.
HALPIN, W. H. (Solr.)	...	...	Cavan.
JUDGE, Very Rev. J., P.P., V.F.	...	...	Crosserlough.
KENNEDY, F. E. (Solr.)	...	...	Cavan.
LYNCH, Very Rev. Hugh, P.P., V.F.	...	...	Killennummery, Dromahaire.
MACCABE, Aiden, E. R. (Solr.)	...	...	Cavan.
MACGOVERN, Owen N.T.	...	...	Aghalooora, Kilnaleck.
MACGOVERN, Sean	...	...	Ardalla House, Belturbet.
MACKEON, Rev. John F., P.P.	...	...	Drumlease, Dromahaire.
MACMULLEN, Surgeon	...	...	Infirmery House, Cavan.
MACNAMARA, J., A.R.C.Sc.I	...	...	Church Street, Cavan.
MACNIFFE, Rev. P., B.A., B.D., B.C.I.	...	...	St. Patrick's College, Cavan.
MAGAURAN, Raymond G., M.D.	...	...	Church Street, Cavan.
MAGUIRE, Hugh	...	...	Ulster Bank, Wexford.
MAGUIRE, Rev. J., B.A., B.D., B.C.I.	...	...	Presbytery, Cavan.
MAGUIRE, Rev. F., C.C.	...	...	Loughduff, Cavan.
MARTIN, Peter, N.T.	...	...	Kilnaleck.
MEEHAN, Rev. P., P.P.	Keadue, Carrick-on-Shannon.
MONTGOMERY, I.	Ulster Bank, Cavan.
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O'DONOHUE, Rev. Charles, P.P.	Killinkere, Δεσφ Λαδαιη, Co. Cavan.

O'DONOHUE, Rev. P., P.P.	...	Kildrumsherdan, Cootehill.
O'HANLON, John F.	Cavan.
O'HANLON, E. J.	Editor, <i>Anglo-Celt</i> , Cavan.
O'HIGGINS, J.	Co. Council Offices, Cavan.
O'REILLY, Rev. Patrick, P.P.	...	Knockbride, Bailieboro.
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O'REILLY, J. J., T.D.	Tullyvin, Cootehill.
O'REILLY, Rev. John, Adm.	...	Presbytery, Cavan.
O'REILLY, Rev. Peter, C.C.	Cootehill.
O'REILLY, Thomas	Loughduff, Cavan.
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REEGLIN, Rev. W. W.	Wyat Villa, Ballybrack, Co. Dublin.
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REYNOLDS, H. Fitzgerald	59 Westville Road, Pennylan, Cardiff.
RUDDEN, Very Rev. P. V.	St. Patrick's College, Cavan.
SHERIDAN, Michael	Main St., Ballananagh, Cavan.
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SMITH, Mrs. F. P.	Kevit Castle, Crossdoney.
SMITH-BRADY, Mrs. B. M., F.R.S.A.I. (<i>Hon. Sec.</i>)	...	Ballyhaise, Cavan.
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SMYTH, Terence S.	60 Main Street, Cavan.
SMYTH, T. J., B.L.	Cavan.
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TIERNEY, John	Hotel, ΔΕΛΤΑ ΛΑΪΔΙΑΡ (Virginia), Co. Cavan.
WALKER, R. V., B.A.	Limerick City.
WHELAN, Bernard	Main Street, Cavan.

[N.B.—Change in address should be duly reported to the Hon. Secretary.]