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THE Conductors of this Journal think it right to intimate that, while exercising all due discrimination in the selection of papers for publication, they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements or opinions advanced by the respective authors.

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S A I N T C O L U M B A .

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

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

principal modern writers on the Life of Columba are Ussher, Ware, Dr. Smith of Campbelltown, and Lanigan: to whom must now be added Dr. Reeves:—"nec pluribus impar."

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

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

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

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

^c We here refer to a classified list of the Saints of the Irish church down to year 665, which has been published by Ussher: (*Primord*, p. 913 *seqq.*) divided into three orders. The first comprehends St. Patrick, his companions, and their successors, till about A.D. 542: these we are told included three hundred and fifty bishops, who were all either Romans, Franks, (the writer should have said *Gauls*,) Britons, or *Scots*, (that is Irish.) "They observed one and the same Rule," (or discipline,)

"that introduced by St. Patrick; one Mass and one celebration," that is one uniform liturgy; "one tonsure, and one Easter, or paschal cycle. They did not reject the attendance or society of women; because, being founded upon the rock of Christ, they did not fear the wind of temptation." The next order continued till the close of the sixth century. It consisted of 300 saints, few of whom were bishops, the greater part having been presbyters: their other peculiarities are stated above, almost in the words of the writer of the Catalogue.

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

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

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

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

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

^f See the Pedigree, as given by Dr. Reeves, *Adamn.*, p. 8, n.—It runs thus, counting upwards: Columba was the son of Fedhlimidh, the son of Fergus Cennfada, the

son of Conall Gulban, (ancestor of the Cinel Conaill,) who was the son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, monarch of Ireland from the year 379 till 405.—The above-named Fergus Cennfada, grandfather to St. Columba, was married to Erca daughter to Loarn, who was the son of Erc, and first king of the *Scottish Dalriada*. Again, Aethnea, the wife of Fedhlimidh and mother of Columba, was daughter of Dimma, who was ninth in descent from Cathair Mor, monarch of Ireland in A.D. 120. This last genealogy may, perhaps, be the dictate of hearsay and general belief; but the others come within the period of written memorials.

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

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

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

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

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

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

^k *Adamn.*, L. iii., c. 2, p. 191-2. The legend seems to have been formed by combining the story told by Livy, of the lambent flame which played around the head of the infant Servius Tullius, in the palace of the first Tarquin, and Tanaquil's interpretation of the omen, with

the history of the descent of the Holy Spirit, on the day of Pentecost. (Acts, ii., 3, 4)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

^p *Adamn.* l. ii., c. 1. p. 103.

^q *Adamnan, ubi supra.*—The story is a parody on our

Blessed Saviour’s First Miracle; (John. ii., 1-11.) To make the parallel complete, the change of water into wine is also made the *first* miracle of St. Columba: and Adamnan himself points out its identity with the first miracle of Christ.

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

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

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

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

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

† Columba is numbered among the disciples of Finnian of Clonard, in the Life of that saint, and also in the Life of St. Kieran of Clonmacnoise, and in that of Columba of Tir-da-glas. (*Trias Thaum.*, p. 457.) With these authorities Dr. Reeves concurs. We do not attach to them any considerable weight, for there was a tendency, among the writers of the lives of eminent doctors, to enrol every distinguished person of the age, if possible, in the list of those whom they had instructed: and, in this case, an occasion was afforded for the legend, by the contemporaneous existence of two Finnians; the one at Movilla, where Columba undoubtedly was a student; the other at Clonard, of which place neither Cummenus nor Adamnanus make any mention in connection with Columb-kille. It is worthy of note that the only incident in Adamnanus which Dr. Reeves understands as applying to Fianian of Clonard is copied from Cum-

meneus; and is by him *expressly* attributed to Finnian of Movilla. Moreover, in relating it, Adamnan calls the person of whom he writes, *"venerandum episcopum Finnionem;"* a title which cannot apply to Finnian of Clonard, who never attained or accepted the episcopal dignity. The authorities are given fully and impartially by Dr. Reeves; *Adamn.*, p. 195, 196, notes.

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

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

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

of missionary exertion, and mother-churches to the districts in which they were situated. Nor let this desire appear to any Christian of the present day either irrational, fanatical, or visionary. The most determined foe to monasticism might find it difficult to point out an enterprise better calculated to be of real service to mankind, *in the age and state of society which then existed* in the British Isles.* The place which Columba chose for his first monastery was called Dairé Calgach, “the Oak-wood of Calgach;”^y occupying the site of the present city of Londonderry. He obtained a grant of the ground from his kinsmen, the chieftains of the district:^z and, having collected a sufficient number of associates and disciples, founded an institution, which, though for a long series of years its light was eclipsed by the superior lustre of his other monasteries, was yet the most permanent, and became, in time, the most distinguished of all his establishments.^a It was erected in A.D. 546.^b About seven years afterwards, (without relinquishing his authority over Dairé-Calgach,^c) he founded a similar monastery at Dair-magh, now called Durrow, in the King’s County.^d It was better

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

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

^z The early Irish life of Columba, and, copying from it, O’Donnell makes the land of Dairé-Calgach a donation from “Aedh the son of Ainmire who was king of Erin at that time.” (*Reeves’s Adamn.*, p. 160, n.) But Aedh could not have been more than ten years old in the year 546; and, in the days of Tanistry, no child of that age could have power to alienate land in perpetuity,

or indeed at all; and it is possible that the story arose from confounding Dairé Calgach with Dair-magh, the site of which was granted to St. Columba by another Aedh, the son of Brendan. (*Reeves’s Adamn.*, p. 23, n.) Much more cautious is the statement of the *Four Masters*, who say that the saint obtained the land “from his own tribe, i.e., the race of Conall Gulban, the son of Niall.” (But see the argument advanced by the writer of the *History of Londonderry*, in the *Ordnance Memoir of Templemore*, p. 18, who contends that in the sixth century the site did not belong to the Cinel-Conaill, but to the Cinel-Eoghain.) The *Four Masters* erroneously fix the date of this foundation at A.D. 535, the year of the birth of Aedh, son of Ainmire; at which time Columba was in the fourteenth year of his age; and far too young to be the founder of a monastery.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

^f This story is not told by either Cummenius or Adamnanus; it is given in a scholium, by one Maguire, on the *Felire of Aengus the Culdee*, whence it has been copied by O'Donnell, (*Life of Columba*, l. i., c. 47, ap. Colgan,) and others. The violations of canonical rule, as now understood and practised, are manifest; *first*, in the desire to raise a deacon at once *per saltum* to the episcopal dignity; and *secondly*, in the expectation, which the

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

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

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

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

^k De Scotia ad Britanniam, pro Christo peregrinari volens, enavigavit.—(*Præf. 2da.* p. 9.) “The phrase *pro Christo* does not refer to Columba’s own salvation, which he might have worked out at home as well as any

where else; but to the extension of the glory of Christ, and the advantage of souls.” (*Dr. Lanigan, Eccl. Hist.* ii. 152.);

able Bede expresses himself in similar terms: he says that Columba “came from Ireland to Britain to preach the word of God to the provinces of the Northern Picts.”¹ In an ancient Life of Columba, found in a MS. at Brussels, (which is called the Salamanca MS.) the same motive is assigned:^m and no other is alluded to in the Martyrology of Donegall, printed by Colgan; which, though recent, was undoubtedly founded upon ancient testimonies.ⁿ These statements seem very explicit. The reason attributed is sufficient: and it agrees perfectly both with the previous and the after life of St. Columba.

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

¹ Venit de Hyberniâ Britanniam, prædicaturus verbum Dei provinciis septentrionalium Pictorum.—*Hist. Eccl.* l. iii. c. 4.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

^s The allusion is to the Great Convention of Druim-ceatt, of which more hereafter.

^t The battle of Rathain, or Cul-rathain, (now called Coleraine,) is said, in the Preface to a Hymn beginning *Altus Prosator*, (which is attributed to St. Columba,) to have been fought “between him and St. Comgall, contending for the church of Ros-torathair.” However, other authorities represent the actual combatants as secular chieftains; the two saints having only blown the trumpets, as it were, on each side. But Fiachra, the leader on Comgall's side, did not become chief of his territory

(Uladh) till the year 589, *twenty-six years after the departure of Columba from Ireland!* The Annals do not mention this battle at all.—The other action, that of Cul-feadha, is recorded by Tighernach as having been fought in the year 587, *twenty-four years* after that event. He attributes the success of the victor to the prayers of Columba. It is very probable that the conquerors in such encounters, and their posterity, would wish the idea to go abroad that they always fought under the protection of so powerful an intercessor. But are we on that account to impute to Columba the blame of hostilities which occurred while he was in another region, and occupied in quite a different description of enterprises?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

^ Alio in tempore, vir sanctus venerandum episcopum Finnionem, suum videlicet magistrum, juvenis senem adiit: quem cum sanctus Finnio ad se appropinquantem vidisset, angelum Domini pariter ejus comitem itineris vidit: et ut nobis ab expertis traditur, quibusdam assistantibus intimavit fratribus, inquiring, “Ecce nunc videtis sanctum advenientem Columbam, qui sui comitatus meruit habere socium angelum coelicolam.”—*Iisdem diebus*, Sanctus, cum duodecim commilitonibus discipulis, ad Britanniam transnavigavit.—*Adamn.* l. iii.

c. 4, p. 195-6. It is of little consequence to the present argument whether the last sentence refers to the first voyage of Columba to Britain, or to some subsequent occasion of crossing the sea: in either case, it shows that the Finnian spoken of could not be the Finnian of Clonard, who was dead, at the very least, fifteen years before the emigration of Columb-kille. It also shows that up till that very time Columba and Finnian of Movilla were on terms of mutual friendship; and that Finnian professed for Columba the utmost veneration. The term “juvenis” seems to be applied to the saint, (who was now at least forty-two years of age,) merely by way of contrast to the venerable age of Finnian.

^y *Eccles. Hist.* ii. 148.

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

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

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

^a *Adamn. Præf. 2da.* p. 9: also, l. i. c. 6, p. 31.

^b “The book which St. Columba is said to have transcribed from St. Finnian’s original, is the copy of the Psalms, which forms, with its silver case, the ancient reliquary called the *Cathach*, of which O’Donnell gives this curious account:—‘Now the *Cathach* is the name of the book on account of which the battle was fought, and it is the chief relic of Columba-cille in the territory of the Cinel Conaill Gulban; it is covered with silver under gold; and it is not lawful to open it; and if it be sent thrice *right-wise* round the army of the Cinel Conaill when they are going to battle, they will return safe with victory; and it is on the breast of a comhorba or a cleric, who is to the best of his power free from mortal sin, that the *Cathach* should be, when brought round the army.’” The *Cathach* is still in existence, and in the possession of the O’Donnell family. “A drawing of the cover is given in Betham’s ‘*Antiquarian Researches*,’ vol. i., p. 109; and a fac-simile of four lines of the enclosed MS., *ib.* p.

112. . . . The character and condition of the MS. are indicative of extreme old age, but it is questionable whether it is in the handwriting of the saint himself.”—Dr. Reeves; *Adamn. Add. Note*, B: p. 249, 250.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

^g *Adamn.* l. ii. c. 32. p. 145-6.—The account there

given is prolix and circumstantial: though the story of Cumineus, on which that in Adamnan is lounded, is very brief. “Post genuflexionem quoque et orationem surgens, in nomine Domini, mortuum ejusdam plebei filium suscitavit; et post celebratas exequias, patri et matri reddidit.” (*Vita S. Col. c. 22. ap. Colgan.*) “The details in Adamnan are evidently told in imitation of Matt. ix 24, and the parallel passages.” *Dr. Reeves, Adamn.* p. 146. n.)

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

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

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

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

^p The convention of Druimceatt is placed by the An-

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

bardic" *Leabhar na h' Uidhre*, O'Donnell, and Keating, whose statements are not very clear, not very consistent, and not very trustworthy. It would, nevertheless, appear probable that the convention consisted of the monarch, the provincial sovereigns, and the heads of religious houses in Ireland; and that it was held for the purpose of deciding some points which were at issue between Aedh, king of Ireland, and Aidan, king of the Dalriadic settlement in North Britain. It would seem as if the king of Erin had claimed supremacy over the Scoto-Irish colony in Caledonia; on the same principle, perhaps, as that on which his predecessor, Diarmait, is said to have adjudged the possession of the "son-book" to St. Finnian,—that "to every cow belongs her own calf;"—while, on the contrary, Aidan, having now become a monarch in another country, not only maintained his right to be an independent sovereign, but asserted a claim to the dominion of the ancient Dalriadic province in the north of Ireland, of which he and his family were the hereditary chiefs.⁹ The matter was referred to the decision of St. Columba. Perhaps the abbot of Hy in Scotland, and of Durrow (Dair-magh) and Derry in Erin, was unwilling to provoke the hostility of either party by an adverse decision. At all events, he referred the case to Colman the son of Comgellan, who awarded that the Scottish Dalriada should be an independent monarchy; that the Irish Dalriads should be bound to follow the kings of Erin in their wars and hostings, *but should pay tax and tribute to the king of Alba.*^r If this decision was actually pronounced, *the latter part of it was never fulfilled.* It is further stated in a "semi-bardic composition," the *Abhra Choluim-cille*, contained in the *Leabhar na h' Uidhre*, that one object of the assemblage was to procure the banishment of the bards and "Antiquaries," who had scandalously abused their privileges; but that Columba prevailed on the monarchs to be content with limiting their number, curtailing their "poetic licenses," and restricting their emoluments.^s Dr. Lanigan accepts this as history: we concur with Dr. Reeves in attaching to it but little weight. It seems very like a device of a bard, in later times, to shelter himself and his order under the mantle of Columb-kille and the royal robes of a whole congress of princes and kings.

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

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

⁹ For a full account of the political causes which are stated to have led to this celebrated convention, we refer to Dr. Reeves's Note e, on *Adamn.*, l. i. c. 49: p. 92, &c.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

^y It is almost superfluous to point out that, in the designations of time which are here employed, the Jewish

calculation is followed, according to which each day commenced and ended at sunset; the Sabbath embraces the period from sun-set on Friday till sun-set on Saturday; and the evening and night which succeeds Saturday is counted as part of the Lord's Day. "The practice of calling the Lord's Day the Sabbath commenced about a thousand years after this date." (*Dr. Reeves, Adamn.* p. 230, n.)

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

^a This MS. of the Psalms is no longer to be found. The "Catbach," already described, was once supposed

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

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

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

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

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

^c The literary services of the monastic institutions can scarcely be over-estimated. To them we owe the transcription, and in many cases the preservation, of the ancient writings, both sacred and profane, on which all our modern civilization turns as on a hinge. Columba was a famous copyist: and two of the most beautiful existing MSS. of the Scriptures were made in his monastery of Durrow, and that of Kells, in which the monks

of Hy took refuge from the Danes. We hope to see a description of these beautiful Codices in the pages of this *Journal*.

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

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

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

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

of investigating the influence of the Irish Christians in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons.

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

^f For his strictures, see *Adamn. Prob.*, p. lxxvii.

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them as true; and we have said enough to justify the rejection of all the rest, as well as those which we find in the pages of O'Donnell.⁵

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

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

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⁵ We had intended to illustrate these positions by a few examples selected from the narratives of supernatural occurrences given by Adamnanus, but we abstain; partly because we have already occupied sufficient space with this Biographical Sketch; partly because our motives might be misunderstood; and partly because some of the specimens that we should have selected have al-

ready been translated and given to the public, by the able writer who has discussed the life and character of St. Columba in the pages of the *Dublin University Magazine*, for September, 1857. It may be proper to add that our own narrative and most of the illustrative notes, were written before that article appeared.

NOTES ON THE HUMAN REMAINS
DISCOVERED WITHIN THE ROUND TOWERS OF ULSTER,
WITH SOME ADDITIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS A "CRANIA HIBERNICA."

BY JOHN GRATTA N.

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

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

So far back as 1798, Gall, in a letter to Baron Retzer, explaining the scope and object of his researches, announces them to be "to ascertain the functions of the brain in general, and those of its different parts in particular ; and to show that it is possible to ascertain different dispositions and inclinations by the elevations and depressions upon the head ; and to present in a clear light the most important consequences which result therefrom to medicine, morality, education, and legislation ; in a word, to the science of human nature."^a And, writing in 1846, Dr. Elliotson announces

^a Gall. Boston Edition. 1835. Vol. i., p. 7.

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

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

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

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

^b *Physiology*. 1840. p. 1074.

^c *Nat. His. of Man*. p. 107.

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

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

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

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

^d *Crania Americana*, p. 240.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20

References to Median Section:

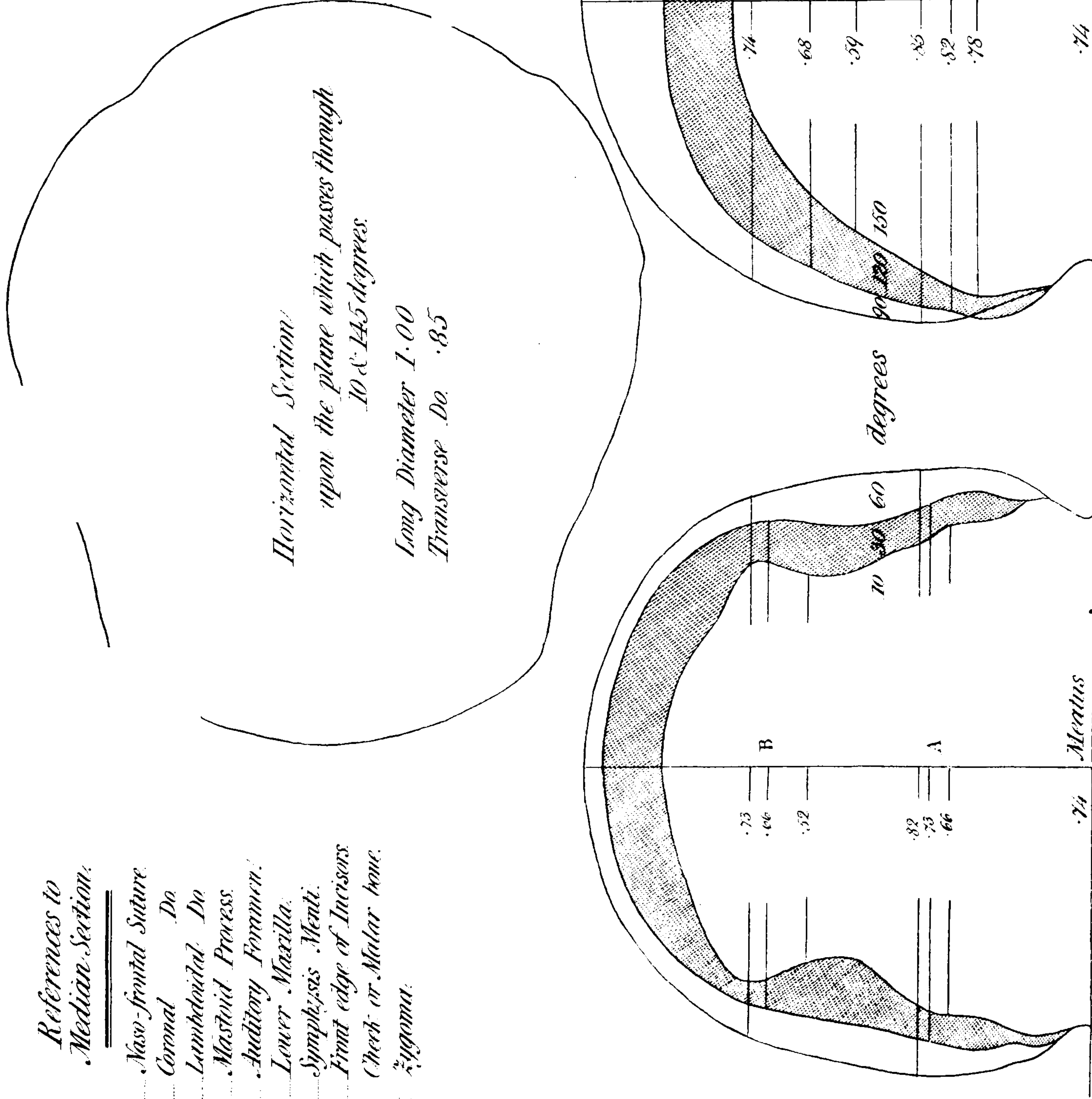
- a... *Naso-frontal Suture.*
- b... *Coronal Do.*
- c... *Lambdoidal Do.*
- d... *Mastoid Process.*
- e... *Auditory Foramen.*
- f... *Lower Maxilla.*
- g... *Symphysis Menti.*
- h... *Front edge of Incisors.*
- i... *Cheek or Malar bone.*
- k... *Zygoma.*

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

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

Horizontal Section upon the plane which passes through 10 & 145 degrees.

*Long Diameter 1.00
Transverse Do. .85*



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

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

(To be continued.)

EXPLANATION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

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

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

PLATE 3.—Profile outlines of three skulls (viz. Spurzheim's, No. 7, and No. 14,) all projected upon a

TRANSVERSE DIAMETERS, AND OTHER MEASUREMENTS.

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

TRANSVERSE DIAMETERS.

A
Temporal
Zone.B
Juxta-Temporal
Zone.

Note.—The blanks in Spurzheim's column imply that the measurements required can only be correctly taken from the skull itself, and are left to be filled in at a future date, should an application which has been made to a gentleman in Boston, to procure them, prove successful. The notes of interrogation, when appended to figures, indicate that such measurements are only approximate, in consequence of partial imperfection in the skull, and, when

substituted for figures, that the parts so indicated are altogether absent. The asterisk beside a figure implies that the correct measurement extends to another decimal, half the value of the figure, (thus, .68* = .685) which not being of much importance, except for the accurate projection of the outlines, has been thus indicated to avoid a cumbrous accumulation of figures.

A DIALOGUE IN THE ULSTER DIALECT,
 “WROTE DOWN, PRENTET, AND PUT OUT, JIST THE WAY THE PEOPLE SPAKES.”

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

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

J E M M Y .

Auch! auch! there’s another day over,
 An’ the year’s comin’ fast to an endin’;
 But two or three sich will desthroy me,
 For my cough’s gettin’ worse, an’ I’m waker.
 Oh! Betty M^cCreedy, what ails ye,
 That ye can’t keep a wee bit o’ fire on?
 Go ’long, bring some clods² from the turf-stack,
 For my toes an’ my fingers is nippin.”³

B E T T Y .

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

1 Repeat.

2. Fragments of peats or turves.

3. Painful with cold.

4. Noise, *quasi* “oration.”

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

J E M M Y .

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

B E T T Y .

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

J E M M Y .

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

B E T T Y .

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

5. Repetition of an asseveration, like "verily, verily."

6. Twilight;—the derivation is obvious.

7. Oats.

8. A knoll; as pow for poll, row for roll, scraw for scroll.

9. Aspen.

10. A jocular idiom: 'a' is the unemphatic abbreviation for "have."

11. Kitling, a little cat, viz. a kitten, Similar diminutives

are duck-ling, gos-ling, dar-ling (a little dear.)

12. A figure resembling a man, intended to frighten birds.

13. An idiomatic expression for "wife."

14. Reminding one of offences.

15. Contemptuous expression for heart.

16. Cease; from "quit."

17. Responses or replications.

18. A country lane or "boreen."

Was afther me more nor a twel'month,
 When you hadn't yit come across me, ¹⁹
 But A hedn't the luck for to git him.
 He's a corpolar²⁰ now on a pension,
 An' keeps up his wife like a lady,
 An's nate an' well dhrest on a Sunday.

J E M M Y .

Well, well! but there's no use in talkin',
 His crap disn't fail him in harvest;
 An' forby, ²¹ Paddy Shales isn't paid yet
 For makin' the coat that I'm wearin'.
 More²² betoken, it wants to be mended,
 But ye nivver touch needle nor thim'le.
 There's my wais'coat is hingin' in ribbons,
 With only two buttons to houl' it;
 An' my breeches in dyuggins ²³ an' totthers,
 Till A ²⁴ can't go to meetin' on Sunday.

B E T T Y .

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

J E M M Y .

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

B E T T Y .

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

19 Idiom for, "I had not met with you."

20. Corporal.

21. Besides.

22. An additional fact to the purpose.

23 Scraps or shreds.

24. This is the form of the first personal pronoun

when unemphatic; and in similar circumstances "your" becomes *yer*, "you" *ye* or *yay*, "me" or "my" *may*, &c.

25. Length of a toe, as foot, hand, cubit, nail, &c.

26. Lounge.

27. Dikes or fences.

28. Equals or fit companions.

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An' thinks that ye're imperance ⁴² cows ⁴³ me,
 All the veins in ye're heart ⁴⁴ ye shall rue it.
 If ye dar for till venthur to hit me, ⁴⁵
 See, by this an' by that, ye'll repent it.
 A'll soon comb⁴⁶ yer head with the crook-rod, ⁴⁷
 Or sen' its contents shinin' through ye. ⁴⁸

J E M M Y .

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

B E T T Y .

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

42. Impudence.

43. Intimidates; used by Scott, in the *Lady of the Lake*, "as your tinchel cows the game."

44. Compare this expression with *Cushla-ma-chree*

45. This verb is mainly used to denote striking with the fist; imperfect, *hot*, or *hut*, occasionally used.

46. Contemptuous menace to strike him on the head.

47. An iron instrument, for suspending the pot on a cottager's fire.

48. There is a mixture of figures here, the latter derived from a gun.

49. Quarrelsome and petulant.

50. An impersonal pronoun.

51. Trifles, i.e., the turning of straws.

52. Is unusually sharp.

53. Dusk, or twilight.

54. Every branch of the Hibernic dialect abounds with indirect expressions like this.

55. Degrade my understanding.

56. Your best policy. This and other expressions:—"take yer dalin' thrick out-o' them," "what's thrumph?" "take a han'"; "as black as the ace o' spades"; "the five fingers," (five of hearts), &c., appear to be derived from the practice of card-playing.

57. A puncheon of "liquor," [whiskey] of course.

58. By the lower orders the Deity is seldom spoken of as "God," but usually as "the Lord."

A dissolute heart-brucken woman,
While my cross-grained oul' snool⁵⁹ of a husban'
Rums spendin' his money with blackguards.)⁶⁰

J E M M Y .

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

B E T T Y .

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

J E M M Y .

Will ye whisht⁶⁶ wi' yer capers⁶⁷ an' blethers,⁶⁸
Before ye hev dhriv me quite crazy,
An' A'll tell ye it from the beginnin'.
Yer oul' uncle Billy come past me
About half an hour afore sun-set,
An' he said we might shanough⁶⁹ a minute
In Okey M^cCollisther's shibbeen.⁷⁰
It wos him that stud⁷¹ thrate for the both of us ;
An' good⁷² luck to the dhrap bud a " Johnnie,"⁷³
Cross'd my corp⁷⁴ since cre-yestherday⁷⁵ mornin'.
The d—l a mortyal was near us.
He ax'd for yerself very kine-ly ;
An' siz I " as for Betty, poor crather,

59. A sneaking " Molly Caudle" of a man.

60. This word is used in the restricted sense, of a person obscene in his language and actions.

61. Annoying, or provoking to anger.

62. Squatting without a seat.

63. Red ashes.

64. What you mean.

65. Irritable.

66. Hush.

67. Foolish actions.

68. Foolish talk, or nonsense.

69. Gossip in friendly confidence.

70. A cottage in which whiskey is sold without a license.

71. Paid for what was drunk.

72. A euphonism for "bad luck."

73. Halt-a-glass.

74. Passed my body, [i.e., my lips.]

75. The day before yesterday.

She's gettin' more donsy⁷⁶ nor ever ;
 An' can't sleep a wink for rheumaticks,
 Forbye both the weed⁷⁷ an' the tooth-ache."
 Poor Billy appear'd very sorry,
 An' say'd he'd call over to see you.
 "Och," siz I, "but I'm badly⁷⁸ myself, too,
 An' still gittin' ouldther an' waker ;
 A'm afeard A'll be soon lavin'⁷⁹ Betty,
 Poor widdy, without a purtacter.
 But A'll make out my will in her favour;—
 An' she'll may-be live happy, in comfort,
 When I'm put to bed with a shovel."⁸⁰

B E T T Y .

Now, Jemmy, ye mustn't talk that 'ay ;
 See, ye've set me a cryin' already,
 An' my heart's in my⁸¹ mouth like a turmit.⁸²
 Poor fella, ye're kine at the bottom,
 An' A'll nivver-more taze nor torment ye.
 Why, yer poor bits o' breeches is wringin',⁸³
 With the damp that comes on at this sazón.
 Sit down on that furm⁸⁴ by the hollan'⁸⁵
 An' I'll brisk up the fire in a jiffey ;⁸⁶
 An' see, here's half-an-ounce o' tobacky,
 Ye can jist take a dhraw o' the dudyen,⁸⁷
 While the tay in the pot is confusin'.
 There's no time for a wee bit o' slim-cake,⁸⁸
 So I'll jist whip⁸⁹ across to the huxter's⁹⁰
 For a bap,⁹¹ that agrees with yer stomach,
 Or two penny roulls, an' some bacon. H.

76. Delicate in health.

77. A short feverish attack, to which women are sometimes liable.

78. Unwell.

79. The Irish have many circumlocutory expressions to represent dying. Thus, a man is "disaysed;" [i.e. deceaed.] or "departed;" or "gone to glory;" or "there's his place empty;" "they have lost one of the place;" he is "undther board;" there's "a wake in the family;" and if he was executed, he merely "suffered;" or was "put down." Even when foul play is suspected, it is mildly suggested that some one "helped God Almighty away with the crathur."

80. Buried.

81. This expresses the sensation caused by fright.

82. Turnip.

83. Saturated.

84. Form, or long bench.

85. A jamb to protect the fire from the wind of the door. It was introduced from Holland, and usually has in the centre a triangular spying hole.

86. An instant.

87. A small pipe. This term is of Celtic origin, and is frequently represented by "cutty."

88. Bread made from flour and potatoes.

89. Move quickly.

91. A spongy cake of loaf bread.

90. Grocer's.

THE IRISH DIALECT OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Wee, modest, crimson-tippet flow'r,

Thou'st met me in an evil hour;
For I maun crush amang the stoure
Thy slender stem;
To spare thee now is past my pow'r,
Thou bonnie gem."

ROBERT BURNS, *Ayrshire*.

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

PETER BURNS, *Downshire*.

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

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

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

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

specimens of the various dialects.”—*Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary,—Preface.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

^g This is printed, with a modern version, in Mr. and

Mrs. Hall's *Ireland*.

^h Act III., Scene 4.

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

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

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

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

" My grief's so great,
That no supporter but the huge firm earth
Can hold it up."—*King John*, iii. 1.

" With the weight of your grief, now I tell you,
You'll break down the three-legged stool."

LOVER.—*Pop. Song*.

j " The land *fornest* the Greekish shore he held,
From Sangar's mouth to crook'd Meander's fall."

Fairfax's Tasso, ix. 4.

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

k And though I might, yet would I nat doe so,
But can'st thou playin' raket to and fro
Nattle in dock out, now this now that Pandare,
Now *foule full her* for thy wo that care.

Chaucer's Tro. and Cres, iv. 461.

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

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

Now cheare up, Sire Abbot, did you never hear yet
That a fool he may *learn* a wise man witt.

Old Ballad.—*K. John and Ab. of Canterbury*

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

n *Travel*, to go on foot.

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

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

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

r From the same foes, at last both felt their *doom*,
And the same age saw learning fall, and *Rome*.

POPE—*Essay on Criticism*.

s These I could bear, but not a rogue so *civil*,
Whose tongue will compliment you to the *Devil*

POPE.—*January and May*.

t "'Tis with our judgment as our watches; *none*.
Go just alike, yet each believes his *own*.

POPE.—*Essay on Criticism*, 10.

u I've had, myself, full many a merry *fit*,
And trust in Heaven I may have many *yet*.

POPE.—*Wife of Bath*.

v Behold, Sir Balaam, now a man of *spirit*,
Ascribes his gettings to his parts and *merit*.

POPE.—*Moral Essays*.

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

Ordination Service.

That's beautiful *sperits*, anyhow,

LEVER.—*O'Malley*.

With a right heroic *spirit*

He was even more endued;
Fame and glory did he *merit*,
And his foes he still subdued.

CROKER'S *Hist Songs of Ireland*.

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

CLASSIC ENGLISH.

Thus round Pelides, breathing war and blood,
Greece, sheath'd in arms, beside her vessels *stood*.
POPE. *Hom. Il.*, xx, 22.

Soon pass'd beyond their sight, I left the *flood*,
And took the spreading shelter of the *wood*.
POPE. *Hom. Odys.*, xiv., 388,

HIBERNICISMS.

My lord, this moment, as I firmly *stood*,
Lodg'd in my post, near the adjoining *wood*.
Battle of Aughrim, p. 25.

I strove in vain, and by his side I *stood*,
Till as you see, I dyed my sword in *blood*.
Ibid, p. 18.

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

CLASSIC ENGLISH.

Here thou, great Anna, whom three realms obey,
Dost sometimes counsel take, and sometimes *tea*.
POPE.—*Rape of the Lock*, iii.

The plots are fruitless which my foe
Unjustly did *conceive* :
The pit he digg'd for me has prov'd
His own untimely *grave*.
TATE AND BRADY.—*Psalm*,^w viii., 14.

God moves in a mysterious *way*,
His wonders to perform ;
He plants his footsteps in the *sea*,
And rides upon the storm.
NEWTON, *Psalm xxxvi*.

HIBERNICISMS.

Led by brave Captain Sandays, who with *fame*
Plung'd to the middle in the rapid *stream*.
Battle of Aughrim, p. 6.

Without your aid, I will the foe *defeat*,
To free my country and my lost *estate*.
Ibid, p. 10.

Or as two friends, who with remorse *survey*
Their vessels sever'd on the raging *sea* ;
Each gets a plank, and his companion *leaves*
To the wild mercy of the raging *waves*.
Ibid, p. 30.

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

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

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

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

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

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

CLASSIC ENGLISH.

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

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

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

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

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

A. HUME.

^x In the poem entitled *Doneraile Litany* (Croker, p. 184) there are only forty-two couplets, in each of which the word Doneraile is rhymed. Eight instances of this

Hibernicism occur, as it is rhymed with *seal*, *veal*, *weal*, *peal*, *meal*, *steal* re-*veal*, con-*geal*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

one person should work under another.”

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

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

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

† *Buannadha*.—The word *buannachas* is still met with in the traditions of the Scottish Highlands, for “free quarters for soldiers.” [EDIT. U. J. A.]

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

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

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

Gach creach dhenus in tighearna 7 in buanna, trian na g-creach do na buannadhaibh 7 dà d-trian ag an tighearna. Gach each maith 7 gach lùirech bheanfaidher amach, do bheith ag an tighearna. Gach bràighe èifechtach, assa ffuighther sithchàin no comb-aiseag braghda, do bheith ag an tighearna: 7 in tighearna do thabhairt luach saothair iomchubhaidh don bhuanna do réir toile in tighearna; 7 gach bràighe ghebbhus in buanna as a ffuighther fuaslughadh, trian in fhuaslaicthe ag an bhuanna, 7 dà trian ag an tighearna.

D'fhiachaibh ar in m-buanna bardail laoi, 7 faire leaptha oidhechi, 7 ceithernus aradna do thabhairt d'a thighearna fo bhrìgh càna.

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

A n-Dun-geanain, 2, Februarii, 1601.

O'NEILL.

Cotemporaneous Translation of the foregoing.

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

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

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

^d *Interteyning*—literally: “this is how O'Neill retains or hires bonaghts.”

^e *The company of soldiers.* [*Don ched saighdiuir,*] literally “to a hundred soldiers.” The translator regarded one hundred soldiers as forming “a company.”

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

^g *Restitution.*—Literally, “should the Bwanua disappoint the lord by not remaining with him the second quarter, [*ath-raithe,*] the bounty is to be returned to

the lord.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[The Bwonagh¹ to be bound to ward by day and watch the bed by night; and to afford the service of *cethernus aradhna*, (i.e., to attend to the horses, to clean, polish, and repair their bridles, trappings, &c.,) to his Lord on pain of fine.]

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

At Dungannon, 2 February, 1601.

O'NEILL.

No. II.

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

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

¹ *The Bonagh* — These two paragraphs are left untranslated by the interpreter. A detailed account of the killing of this Dermot son of Dubhal-tach, son of Tuathal O'Conor, on the 24th Oct., 1600, is given by the *Four Masters*, A.D. 1600, p. 2185, and in *Pacata Hibernia*, Book I., c. 17. He was beheaded by Theobald Bourke, sur-

named "*na long*." Carew remarks:—"Her Majesty's honour was blemished, and the service hindered, by this malicious and hateful murther." According to the tradition in the country, Theobald Bourke was afterwards murdered by Dermot O'Connor's idiot brother, at the instigation of his sister.

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

G. H. FENTON.

THE BRUCES IN IRELAND.

(Concluded from Vol. 5, page 136.)

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

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

^a Clyn.
^b Campion.

^c Clyn, and the Annals of Ross.
^d Dowling.

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

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

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

“Our manor of this land
Is to folow and fycht, and fycht fleand:
And not to stand in plane mellè
Quhill theta part discomfyt be.”

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

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

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

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

“The daie before the battaille, lord John Breminham, the chieftain of the English battaille, was

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

^o Grace.

^f The "Faughard" is an artificial mound, raised to the height of sixty feet.—Wright's *Louthiana*. Sir John Davy's alludes to the circumstance that Hugh O'Neill,

Earl of Tyrone, had been overthrown in a decisive battle at this place, which, being on the frontier of Ulster, and at the gorge of the difficult passage into the North, was the scene of frequent engagements.

Exchequer,) “per manus communis populi, et dextram Dei, deliberatur populus Dei à servitute machinata et præcogitata.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Edward Bruise, a destroyer of all Ireland in generall, both English and Irish, was killed by the English in battle, by their valour at Dundalk, the 14th of October, 1318, together with MacRowrie, king of the Islands, and MacDonnel, prince of the Irish" (Gaels) "of Scotland, with many other Scottishmen. Edward Bruise seeing the enemies encamped before his face, and fearing his brother, Robert Bruise, king of Scotland, (that came to this kingdom for his assistance,) would acquire and gett the glorie of that victorie, which he made himself believe he would gett, of the Anglo-Irish, which he was sure he was able to overthrow, without the assistance of his said brother, he rashly gave them the assault, and was therein slain himself, as is declared, to the great joye and comfort of the whole kingdome in generall, for there was not a better deed that redounded more to the good of the kingdom since the creation of the world, and since the banishment of the Finè Fomores out of this land, done in Ireland, than the killing of Edward Bruise; for there reigned scarcity of victuals, breach of promises, ill performances of covenants, and the loss of men and women thro'out the whole kingdom for the space of three years and a-half that he bore sway, insomuch that men did commonly eat one another for want of sustenance during his time."

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

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

§ Lodge's Collections, II, 547.

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

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

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

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

^h State Paper Office, vol. I, p. 754

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

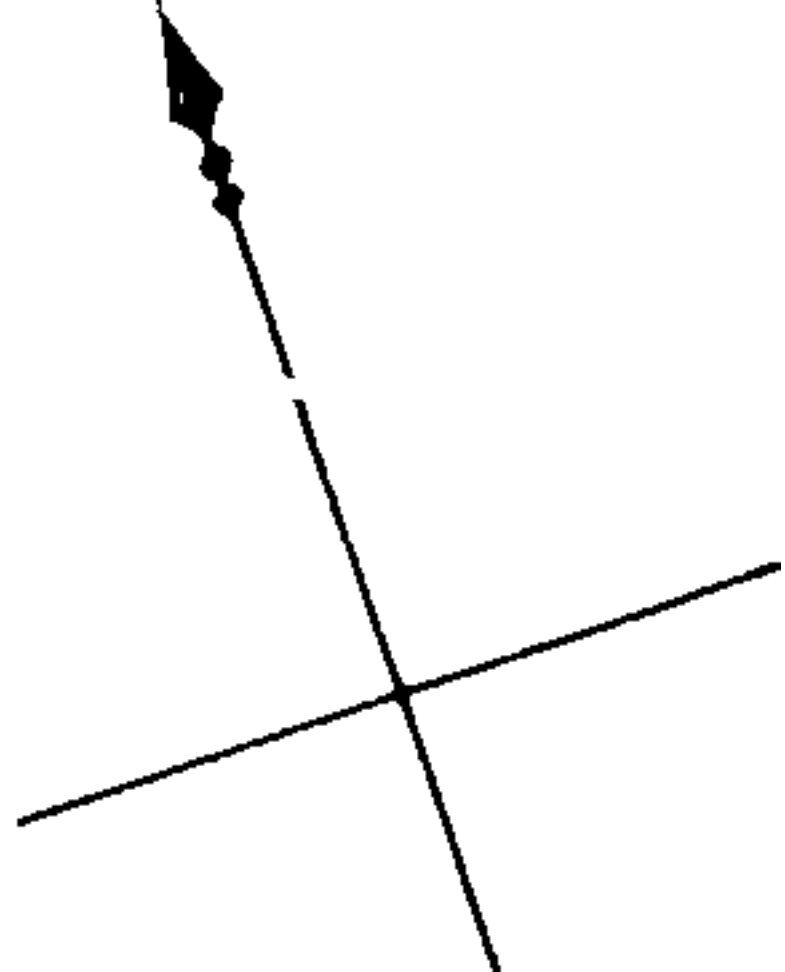
King Robert Bruce was succeeded by his son David, who left no family. On his death, Sir Robert de Bruce, knight, succeeded as heir-male of the Bruces. His son Edward was the ancestor of the Rev. Robert Bruce, who crowned the Queen of James VI. of Scotland. Some curious letters to him from King James and Chancellor Maitland are printed in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, communicated by the late Rev. W. Bruce, D.D., from originals in his possession, and accompanied with a memoir on King James. His son, the Rev. Michael Bruce, was the next of the family that was connected with Ireland. He was settled in Killinchy, county of Down, in 1651, from which he was ejected in the reign of Charles II. and afterwards imprisoned in Scotland for preaching without license, and for this offence was banished to Tangiers. In process of carrying this sentence into execution he was transmitted to the Gatehouse, at Westminster. While here he had a petition presented to the King, by his wife, in 1668; and, at the intercession of one of Charles's mistresses, who was attracted to the prison by the fame of his preaching, he was allowed to choose the place of his exile, when he named the "wild woods of Killinchy," his former parish. A copy of his petition is given in the original, in the papers referred to. His son James was minister of Killileagh, county Down, and his son Michael was minister of Holywood, in the same county. He was one of the founders of the Antrim Presbytery, and there have been seven Presbyterian ministers in lineal succession, from the Rev. Robert Bruce, in King James's time, to the present day. The Rev. Patrick Bruce, younger brother of Michael, of Holywood, was grandfather to Sir Henry Harvey Aston Bruce, of Downhill, county Derry. There was another brother, William, who had a principal hand in establishing the fund for the widows of Presbyterian ministers; was an intimate friend of Abernethy, Duchat,

Mr. Stewart, the ancestor of the Londonderry family, and others; and was held in high estimation for his public spirit and moral worth—of whom an interesting notice was written by the late Dr. Hincks, and printed, but not published. The Rev. William Bruce of Belfast is the present representative of the family.

We subjoin the

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

[EDIT.]



District

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

Speaking in round numbers, Antrim is to Down, in extent, as seven to six; but its hilly and comparatively barren portions occupy a wider area. Hence the population of Down is scarcely one-fifth less than that of Antrim, and its families and inhabited houses are in the same proportion.

If we compare the rolls of county voters, that of Down rises in numbers so as to exceed that of Antrim by more than five per cent. We at once conclude, therefore, that there is a greater number of large farms in Antrim; and a very slight degree of observation is necessary to show that this is fact.

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

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

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

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

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

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

II. NAMES IN THE WHOLE COUNTY.

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

* In the map of Antrim there were 183 surnames, occurring in all 333 times. Of those which occur in Down, there are 170 that are not printed in the Antrim map, and 104 in Antrim which are not printed in the Down

map; while eighty-two are common to both. In the list, at the close of this article, these last names are printed in Italics.

are Martin, M^cKee, Moore, Brown, Thomson, Patterson, Johnson, Stewart, Wilson, Graham, Campbell, Robinson, Bell, Hamilton, Morrow, Gibson, Boyd, Wallace, Magee.^b

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

ANTRIM.

“There are six surnames which comprise 633 in the printed list; and ten which embrace 913, or nearly one-tenth of the whole. If we take the first fifteen, they embrace 1,275 names, or more than one-eighth; and the forty-one which have been given in the text and note, embrace 2,384 names, or one-fourth of the whole. The first sixty-seven comprehend 3,179, or one third of the whole; and the first 157 extend to 4,768, or half of all the voters, householders, and individuals in the county. Of course, the remaining half of any of these is spread over about 550 surnames.”—*Journal*, vol. v., p. 326.

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

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

DOWN.

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

^b The next twenty, in the order of frequency, are Scott, Murray, M^cCullough, Orr, Graham, Anderson, Russell, Hanna, Murphy, Fitzsimons, Ferguson, Heron, Reid, M^cDonnell, O'Ilare, Jamieson, Kerr, Sloane, Carson, Crawford. The first twenty names occur seventy-seven times each, on the average; [in Antrim seventy-

three times;] each, therefore, may be taken to represent 462 households, or 2,772 individuals. The twenty mentioned in this note occur forty-three times each, on the average; [forty-two times in Antrim;] each, therefore, represents 258 households or 1,548 individuals.

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

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

III. EXAMINATION OF THE NAMES IN BARONIES.

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

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

^d The 440 names on the map of Down, and the 333 on that of Antrim, are thus distributed, in their various

classes:—					
FIRST CLASS	Down,	12 per cent.,	Antrim,	9 per cent.	
SECOND,	“	25	“	21	“
Third,	“	19	“	23	“
Fourth,	“	44	“	47	“

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

IV. REMARKS ON PARTICULAR NAMES.

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

A very common change in a surname is the addition of a plural termination by the vulgar, as Laws, Hopes, Mathers, Humes, Humphress (Humphry), Stotharts (Stoddart), Grimes (Graham), Dodds, Burns (Byrne), Barns (Baring), Sevens (Sefton), O'Briens.

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

There is often a vulgar form of a surname which is never written, the correct form being used only on rare occasions. Thus, Buttonit (Arbuthnot), Kimmins (Cumming), Kinnigam (Cunningham), Bruertonⁱ (Brereton), Frazure (Frisell), Haskiss (Hesketh), Skendritch (Scandrett), Merri-day (Meredith), M^cElshender (Alexander.)

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

^e Compare these with the provincialisms *form* for farm, and *band* for bond. ;

Like *bagger* for beggar.

^h Compare serjeant, *Derby*, *Berkley*, *Hertford*.

ⁱ Compare this with the English Chunley for Cholmonde ey.

^j This form occurs in the ancient records of Cheshire, which is the original seat of the name.

of two liquids, in names originally distinct, Torney^j and Torley become the same; so, also, Mulligan^k and Milliken; Lydiate and Liggart, or Legate; M^cQuiggan and M^cGuiggan.

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

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

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

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

^j Compare the provincial words "flannen" and "chimley."

^k The interchange of *g* and *k* occurs provincially in bragget, for bracket, and shog for shock. Similarly from tahak (a native American word for pipe), came the Spanish Tobacco, whence the English word tobacco.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

^q Coolsallagh (the wood of osiers), Ballysallagh (the place of the willows, or osiers), Knock-na-goncy (the hill of the rabbits), Bally-knock (the town of the hill), Knock-breckan (the fern hill.) The parish of Knock, in Lower Castlereagh, was united with the parish of

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

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

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

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

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

A. HUME.

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THE DESCENDANTS OF THE LAST EARLS OF DESMOND.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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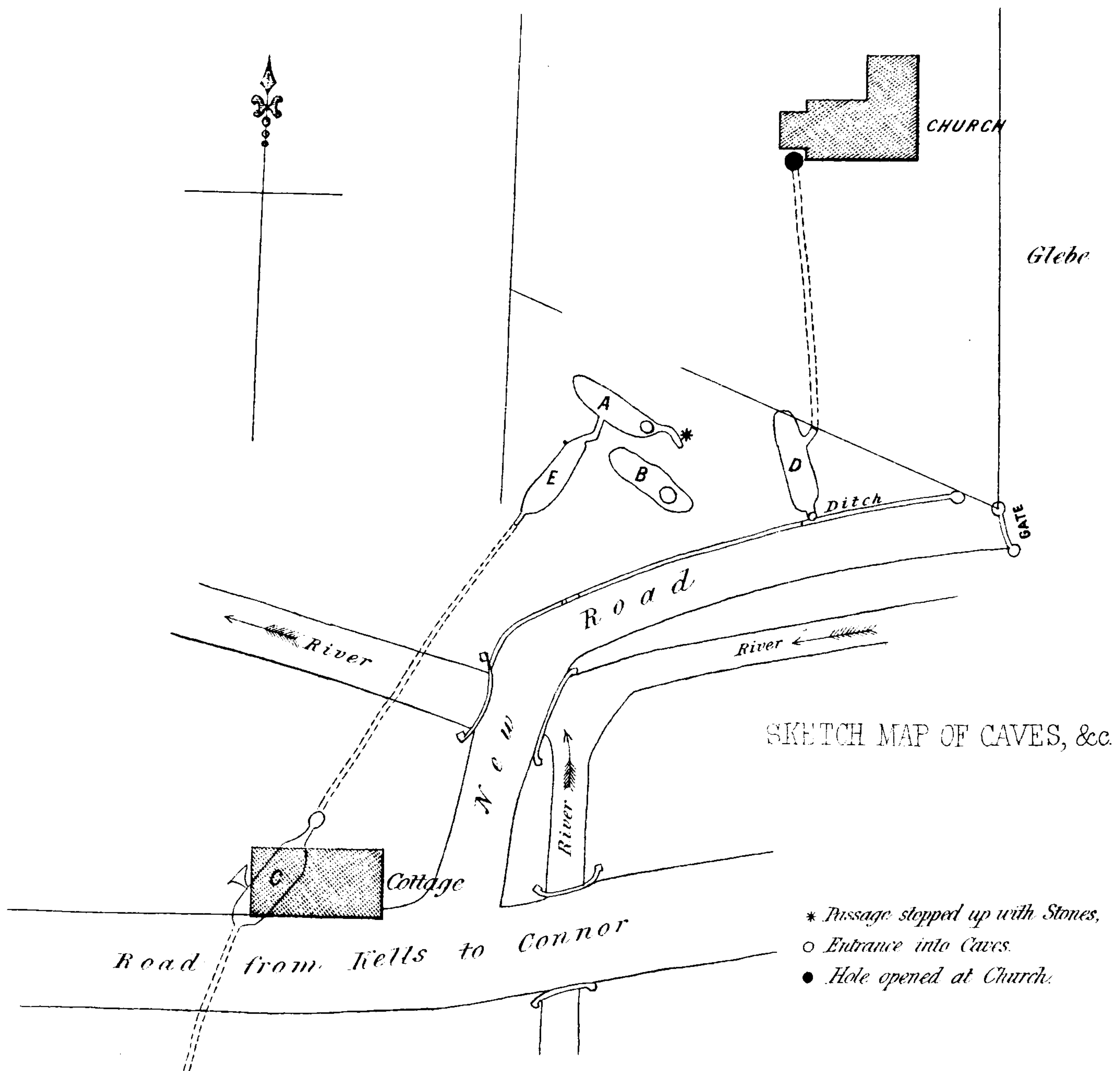
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ago, and was now filled up with small stones. The height of this chamber, and, indeed, of all those we entered, was about 5 feet. From it we crawled through a very low and narrow passage (not more than 18 inches square) for a distance of about 8 feet.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

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

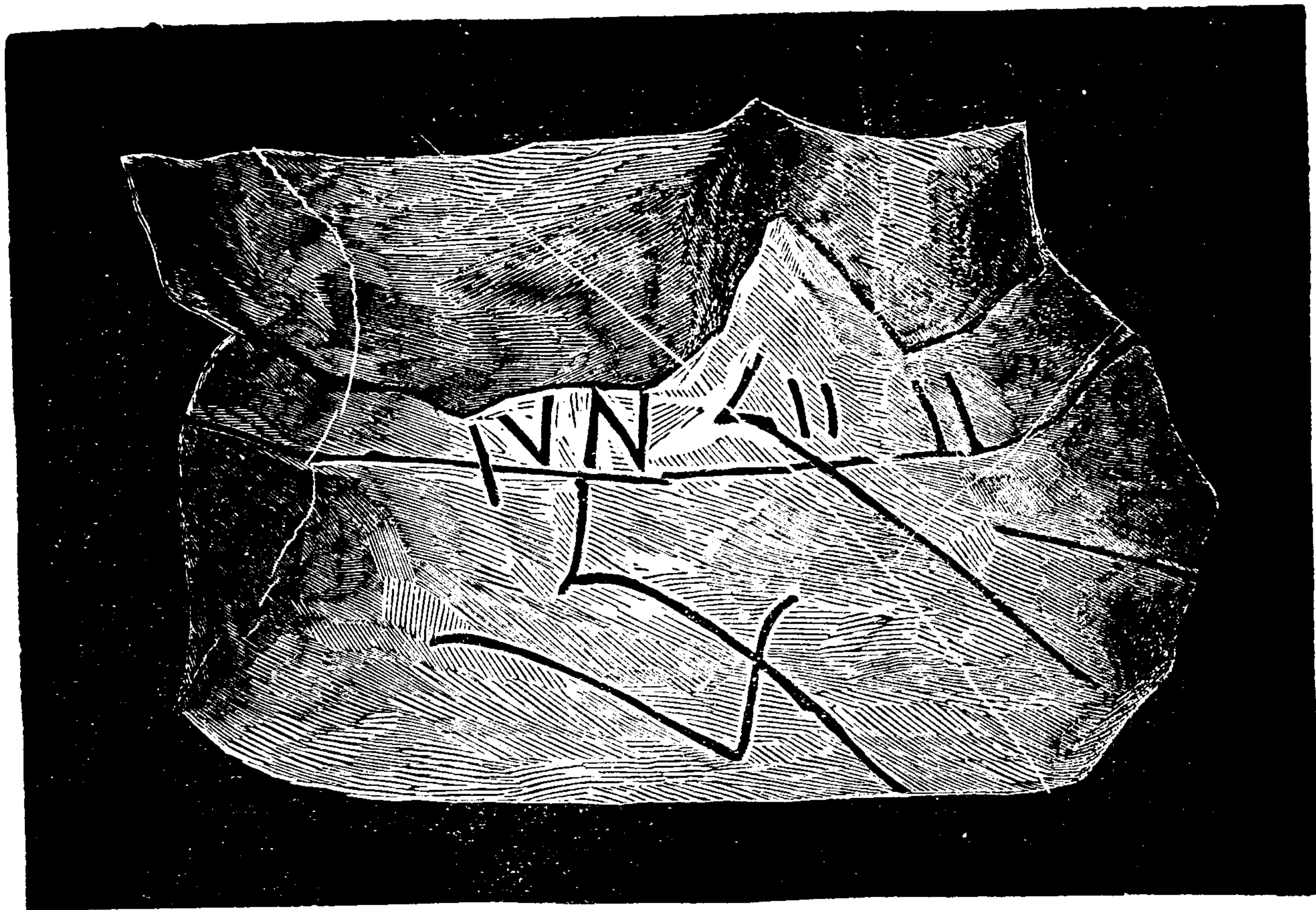
The third chamber (marked B on the plan) was almost of the same dimensions as the one first described; and, so far as we observed, was not joined to the others by any passages. These, however, may exist.

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

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

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

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



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

J. LANYON.

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

EIRIONNACH.

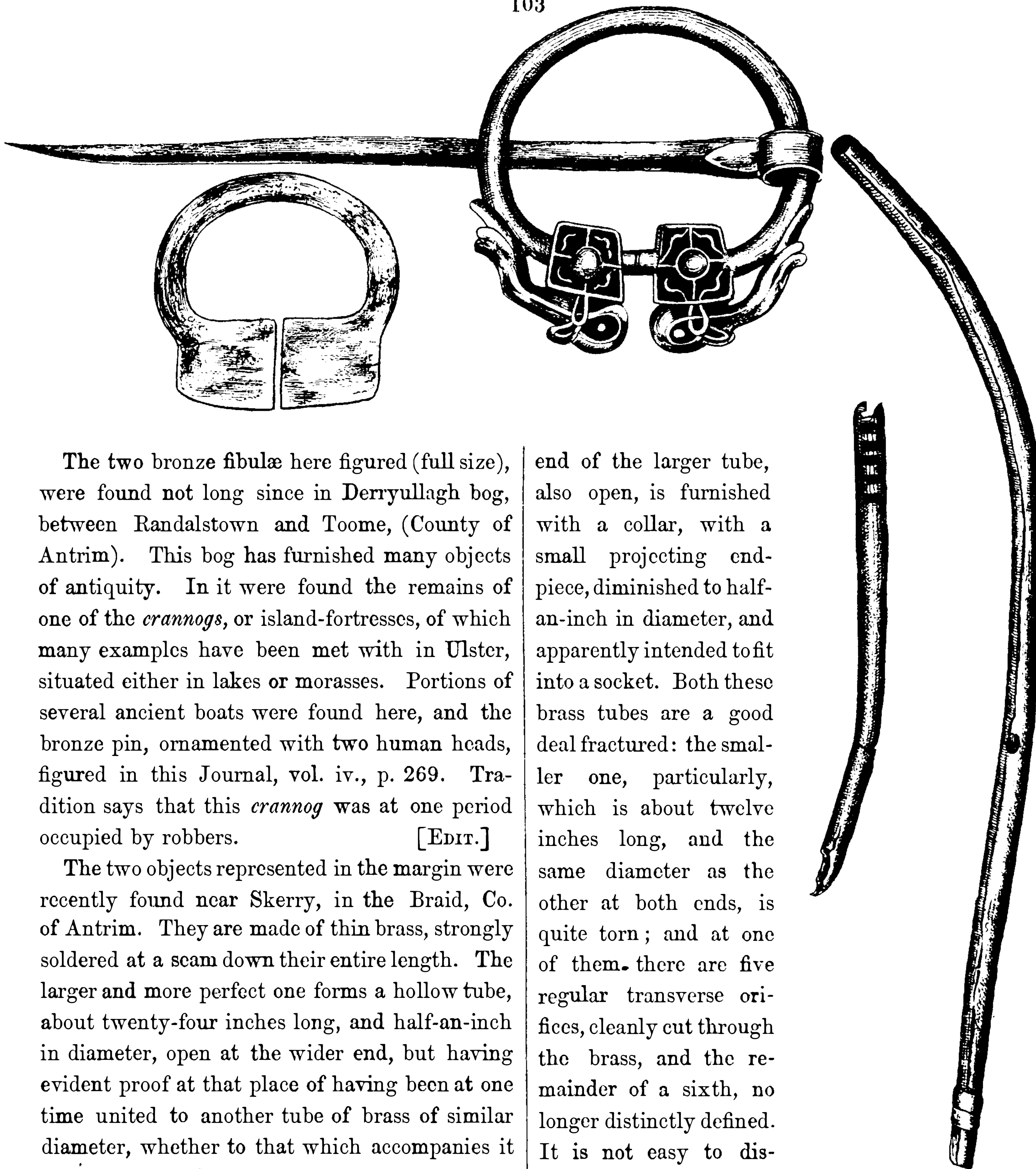
When I was a child, I remember an old cook in the family, on every Hallowe'en, baking a three-cornered oaten cake, with a hole in the middle, by which she strung it round my neck. It was called a *stroan*. No doubt there was some superstition connected with it; but what was it? and what language is the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

THE IRISH LANGUAGE.—I have read with great interest the remarks of J. W., of Cork, [*Journal*, vol. v., p. 243,] on the prevalence of the Irish language. It appears to me that his facts are correct, but his inferences erroneous. The capability of speaking a language is one thing, and the actual use of it another. Probably one tenth of the Jews in Europe can speak Hebrew; but no two of them make it the current vehicle of thought. In like manner, there may be two millions of people in England who can speak French; but there are, probably, not two hundred who speak it only. The Irish-speaking population has, unquestionably, increased in the course of years; but it is only in *absolute* numbers, not *relatively* to the whole population. In July, 1844, I met a wild sort of guide, on the Torc mountain, at Killarney, and, asking him if there were any who knew

Irish only, "Oh no!" he replied, "none but some wild fellows among the mountains." "Even with such a man as this," I remarked, "the Saxon tongue is the symbol of civilization." In 1850 a statistical return was made of 5,439 families, embracing a population of 29,690, in a low part of the town of Liverpool. It was found that not fewer than 1,356 families had some adult members who could speak Irish. Yet the Irish, except in occasional expressions, was not used by any of them as a means of communication. A written language, side by side with a mere spoken one, breaks it down eventually; and, had the Irish been sooner reduced to writing extensively, and books printed in it, there would have been a greater chance of its standing. Another generation will probably clear off many thousands of those who use it currently in speech; and, by the end of the present century, it will be driven into the almost inaccessible parts of the bogs and mountains. PHILALETHES.

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

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



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

The two objects represented in the margin were recently found near Skerry, in the Braid, Co. of Antrim. They are made of thin brass, strongly soldered at a seam down their entire length. The larger and more perfect one forms a hollow tube, about twenty-four inches long, and half-an-inch in diameter, open at the wider end, but having evident proof at that place of having been at one time united to another tube of brass of similar diameter, whether to that which accompanies it or not it would be impossible to say. The other

end of the larger tube, also open, is furnished with a collar, with a small projecting end-piece, diminished to half-an-inch in diameter, and apparently intended to fit into a socket. Both these brass tubes are a good deal fractured: the smaller one, particularly, which is about twelve inches long, and the same diameter as the other at both ends, is quite torn; and at one of them there are five regular transverse orifices, cleanly cut through the brass, and the remainder of a sixth, no longer distinctly defined. It is not easy to discover to what purpose

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

G. B. *non*

PARALLEL PASSAGES.—

“ Tell me where is Fancy bred,
Or in the heart, or in the head?
How begot, how nourishèd?—
It is engender'd in the eyes
With gazing fed; and Fancy dies
In the cradle where it lies:
Let us all ring Fancy's knell,
I'll begin it:—Ding, dong, bell.
Ding, dong, bell.”

(Merchant of Venice, III, 2.)

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

“ Amor

“ Quis puer ales? Amor. Genitor quis? Blandus ocelli
Ardor, Quo natus tempore? Vere novo?
Quis locus exceptit? Generosi pectoris aula,
Quæ nutrix? Primo flore juvena decens.”

“ Non metuit mortem? Non. Quare? Sæpe renasci,
Sæpe mori decies hunc brevis hora videt.”

This is at least a remarkable parallelism.

T. H. P.

A beautiful little sepulchral urn, in the possession of a gentleman in my neighbourhood, attracted my attention from the circumstance of having curves and bands on its bottom and sides arranged in threes. Another urn, figured at page 179 of Dr. Wilde's *Catalogue* of the Royal Irish Academy's Museum has “nine sets of upright marks each containing three cross-barred elevations.” Another in p. 177, (fig. 126.) has “three sets of leaf-like marks,” and the bands of ornaments on figures 125, 127, and 128 seem also to be three in each. If this peculiarity should be found in any other cases, it might point to some veneration in remote times for the number three and its multiples. Some very curious observations on the sanctity of the number twelve among the old Irish, may be seen in the Notes by the Hon. A. Herbert, to the Irish copy of *Nennius*, published by the Irish Archæological Society, at page 112.

T. H. P. *ndon*

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

ÆSAR.—[Queries, vol. 5, p. 351.]—Professor Pictet, of Geneva, in remarking on the improbability of this word being compounded of *aes* and *fear*, i.e., “man of age,” says it is not likely such an epithet would be applied to the Deity. Now, in colloquial Irish, I have more than once heard the word *fear*, “man,” used when speaking of God, but evidently in the general sense

of “individual” or “person.” Thus, in reply to the common salutation, “Go m-beannuigh Dia dhuit,” (God bless you,) I have received the reply, “Go m-beannuigh an *fear* céadna dhuitse,” (may the same person [man] bless you also;) showing that the Irish-speaking people do not consider the word as applied to human beings alone, or that the epithet is in any way deroga-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A. Hume

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

some time ago assumed the name of Fullarton.

G. S.

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

RAZORS.—[Queries, vol. 5, p. 350.]—CURIOSUS inquires how the old Irish contrived to shave themselves, when they had no steel for making razors. There are other sharp substances which can be used for this purpose, as may be seen from the following. In an account recently published (in *La Belgique Industrielle*, 30 Août, 1857) of the island of New Caledonia. it is men-

tioned of the natives that—“Ils se rasent avec des verres de bouteille disposés à cet effet, et cela avec une adresse dont nos artistes coiffeurs se formeront difficilement une idée!” Z.

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

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

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

Q U E R I E S .

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

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

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

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

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

In reading the curious and interesting poem called the *Circuit of Ireland*, written in Irish, in the year 942, and published with an English translation in 1841 by the Irish Archæological Society, several points struck me on which I should feel obliged by some information. The poet, in speaking of Dublin, calls it *Ath-cliath*, and the Danish inhabitants *Galls*. Now, is the latter term synonymous with our modern one *Gaels*? If not, what is the distinction, and to whom were the two names severally applicable?

If they were identical, what name did the native Irish give to themselves? because in applying the name to foreigners it was equivalent to saying—"You are Gaels, but we are not."—A few lines farther on the poet says:—

"A plentiful supply from an abundant store was
given [by the Danes]
To Muirheartach, the son of Niall,
Of bacon, of good wheat;

* * * *

Joints of meat and fine cheese were given

* * * *

A coloured mantle for every chieftain.

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

Another verse in the same poem is as follows:—

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

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

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

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

^a O’Conor’s Dissertation, 62.

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

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

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

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

^b Davys, in Vallancey, I.

^c Vallancey, I.

^d S. P. O.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

^l State Paper Office.

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

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

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

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

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

^m State Paper Office.

ⁿ Lately printed by the Kilkenny Arch. Society.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

^r Dublin University Magazine, April, 1848.

^s Harris's Hibernica.

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

Enough has, perhaps, been already said to enable our readers to form a sufficient idea of the state of central Ulster two hundred years ago. Yet, let us not quit the subject until, by some comparison between that state and its present condition, we may better estimate, by contrast, the advantages of security of tenure, with its consequent blessings, peace and "good-will" among men. In 1656,¹ the bulk of the inhabitants of our province continued to live as *creaghts* (a term then synonymous for the wildest of "the wild Irish"), according to their ancient but barbarous manner of life, having no fixed habitations, but wandering up and down, with their families and substance, a vague and savage mode of life, "contrary to Christian usage." This "substance" of theirs consisted of the cattle they drove before them. Whenever rebellion raged, these people and their kine were a ready made commissariat to the insurgent army. When pursued by the English soldiery, their best talent was shown in the crafty modes by which they eluded pursuit. If a hasty rush for a bog, a defile, or a wood, could not be made, they sometimes found it easy to secrete their live-stock by the methods they practised for avoiding payment of rent, either by sinking them up to their heads in water, or hiding them in glens and thickets. A herdsman would fight desperately with his staff and his *meadoge*, or short knife, to defend his cows, his sole means of life. He had no more clothes than a rugged woollen coat, or a narrow cloak, which he wrapped round his left arm, as a shield, in fighting; for he preferred to fight naked. He could run nimbly and securely where the heavy armed "red soldier" sunk. When half starving, a little rancid butter,

¹ Transac. Kilkenny Arch. Society. "Ulster Creaghts."

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

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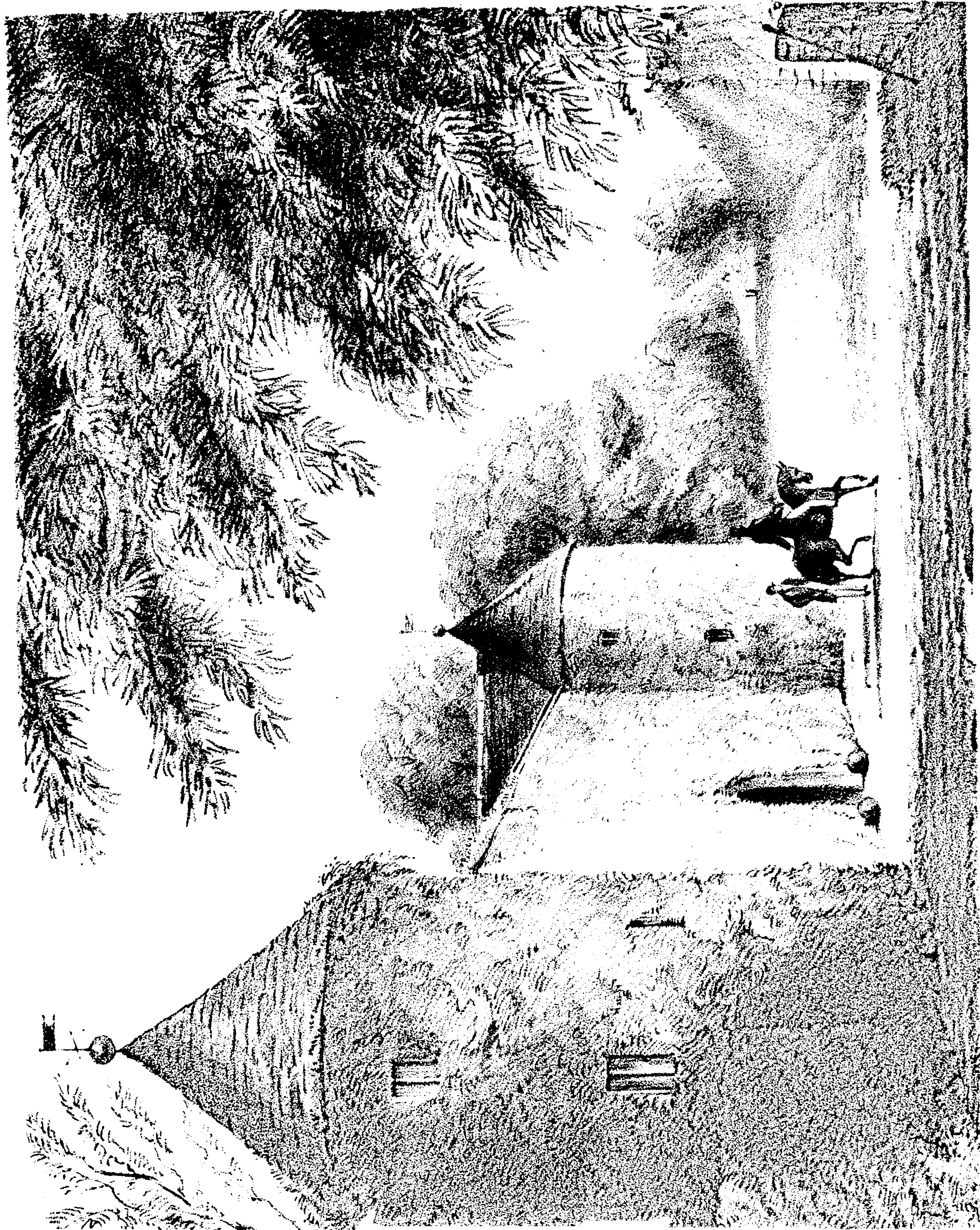
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in Ulster. It can hardly be but that some of the last-mentionéd class removed from, at the least, théir old habitations. When many another hamlet than Lissoy became, about that time, a “deserted village,” ejections and emigrations were surely-not confined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

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

NOTES ON BAWNS,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ONE

AT BELLA-HILL, NEAR CARRICKFERGUS.

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

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

Carrickfergus, a view and ground plan of which accompanies this account. *daingean* is the Irish word expressing a close-fast place, and, subsequently called a *bawn*, from the Teutonic *bawen*, “to construct” and “to build.” According to Richardson, *bawn* is derived from the gothic *bauan*, *Gstruere sedem ubi habitet;*—and *bauain* “domicilium,” occurs in the Gospel of St. Mark, v. 3 :—“He had his dwelling among the tombs.” The word is applied to any habitation or building, whether constructed of earthen or stone, for purposes of defence. Todd [*Spenser's Works*, vol. viii, p. 399,] has used it as used by Spenser for “an eminence.” He thus speaks of these buildings in the *Annals of Ireland* :—

“But those round hills and square *bawnes*, which you see so strong, were (as they say) at first ordained for the same purpose, that people might assemble therein; and therefore anciently they were called Folk-motes, that is, for the sake of talking or talking of anything that concerned any difference between parties, and was yet to me very requisite.”

Dean Swift [*Works*, vol. viii. p. 331, Ed. 1753,] wrote a poem celebrated, whether Hamilton's *Bawn*^b should be turned into a Barrack. The lines are as follows :—

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

In a note to this passage, a *Bawn* is described as “a place near the castle, surrounded by stone walls, to keep the cattle from being stolen at night. They are

The earliest kind of *Bawns* seem to have been an inclosure, square or rectangular, with a thick embankment of earth, impaled with wooden stakes or branches, and a deep trench. Numerous remains of such fortresses have been found in Britain, Germany, Sweden, and almost every part of Europe.^c The early English settlers for many centuries, by fortifying passes by means of *Bawns* in this manner, so that it was very tedious to cut through them. The name is derived from the Franco-Gallic word *plasser*, which, like *bawen*, signifies “to pass.” In that part of the barony of Forth, in the county of Wexford, which is bounded by the river Gill, the descendants of the first English colony still retain

^a *Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 196.

^c *Rees' Encyclopedia*, under the word *Bawn*.

^b In the county of Wick, under this name, and remains

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

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

“COUNTY OF CAVAN.

John Hamilton, Esq., hath 1000 acres, called Kilcloghan. Upon this Proportion there Bawno of Lime & Stone eighty feet square, and thirteen feet high, with two round ' Flankers, being twelve feet le Piece in the diameter. There is also begun a Stone House now one Storie high, and is intended to be four stories high, being 48 feet long & 24 f besides two Towers which be vaulted, & do flank the House.”^g

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

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

John Dallwaye; the first of that family who settled in this country, landed at Carrickf Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, and Lord Rich (according to family MSS.), on the 20th 1573. He was at this time a cornet in the army of Queen Elizabeth; and from a sketch of arms, painted on black oak, and which is still preserved at Bella-Hill, it appears that he Devonshire,^h probably in the suite of Sir Arthur Chichester, whose family resided at Rale county. In 1603, John Dallwaye was Constable of Carrickfergus Castle. Previous to t married Jane O'Bryne, niece of Sir Phelim M^cBryan O'Neill, and grand-daughter of Hu Tyrone, and nearly related by her mother to Shane M^cBryan O'Neill, of the Lower Cland consequence of this marriage, he obtained a grant from Shane O'Neill, of the greater p

^f Ledwich's *Antiq.*, p. 197.

^g Harris's *Hibernica*, p. 141.

^h Dalway MSS.

The arms are: *Arg.* two lions in chief, counter-pas- sant, and one in base, passant, all guardant, *gu.* armed and langued, *az.*—Crest, a demi-lion rampant, holding

first.—Motto, “Virtus suo munimine tuta.” motto is the inscription “Insignia Gentil DALLWAY, de Bello Monte juxtà RUPEM Com. Antrim armigeri, qui sub vexillis E REGINÆ in Com. Devonix in Angliâ venit in circiter An. 1573.” The present motto of

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

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

JOHNE DALLWAYE.

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

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

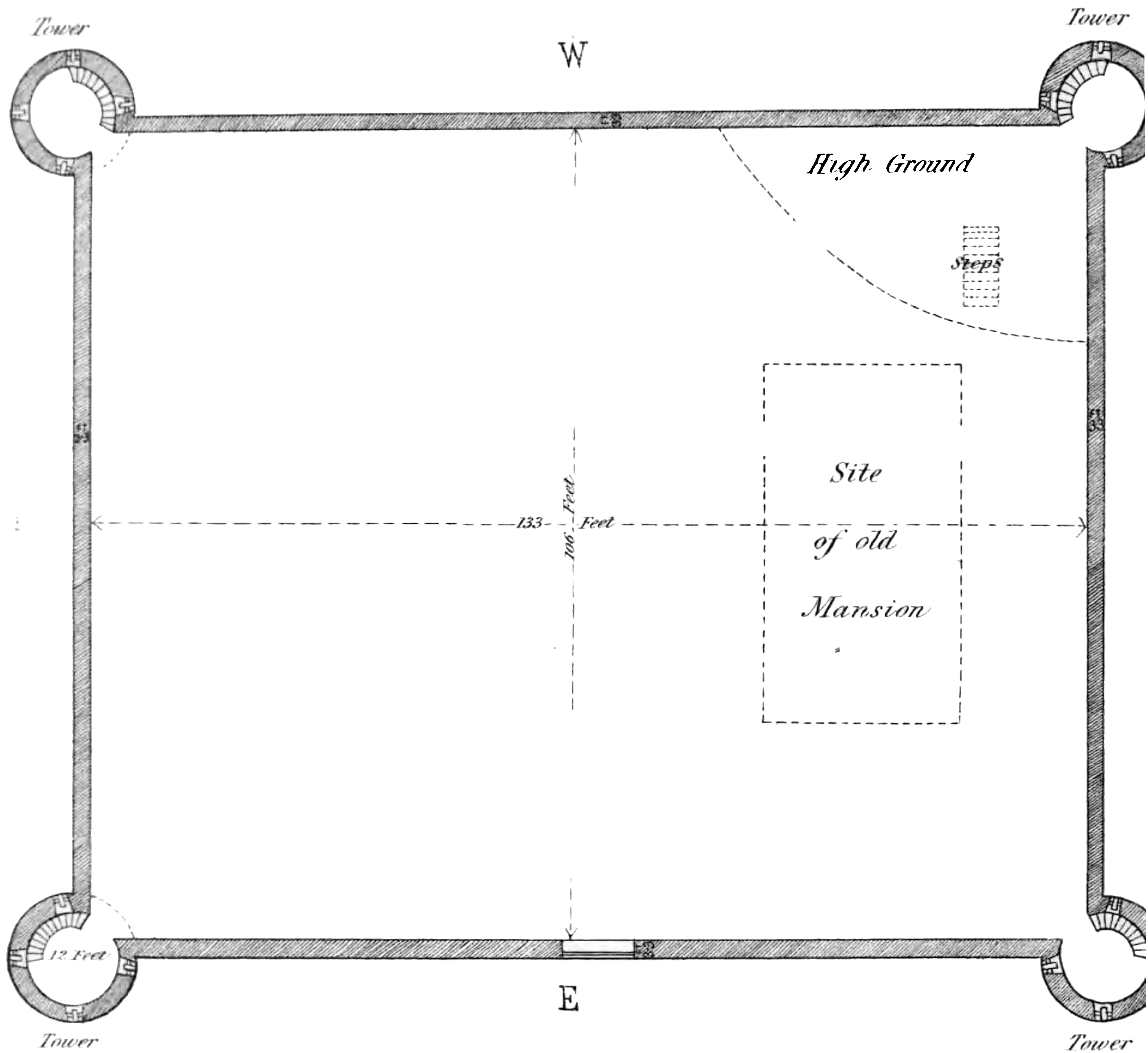
Shane O'Neill died in 1595, and, in consequence of his having joined Tyrone's rebellion, all his lands (including those granted to John Dallwaye), became forfeited to the Crown. John Dallwaye, however, on the 8th of October, 1603, obtained a grant from James I. of the “Barony of Braidisland, Harrington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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

stone and clay one hundred feet square.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

^b *Which End in An.* Spenser here mistakes what the Irish had told him, viz., that all those surnames ending in *an* among the Irish, are of English origin, as Suttun, Hugun, Dalatun, Barun, Masun; i e., Sutton, Huggon, Dalton, Baron, Mason.

^c The great houses he had in view were, according to some MS. copies of his work, those of De Burgo of the Co. of Mayo, the Birminghams of Athenry and Carbury,

and the De Courceys of Kinsale: some MS. copies also mention the great Mortimer, but this was MacNamara of Thomond.

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

^e On the idea entertained in Ireland, concerning the gentility of the different members of a tribe in the reign

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

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

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

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

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

“Those of the lowest rank among a great Irish tribe, traced and retained the whole line of their descent with

the same care which in other nations was peculiar to the rich and great; for it was from his own genealogy each man of the tribe, poor as well as rich, held the charter of his civil state, his right of property in the cantred in which he was born, the soil of which was occupied by one family or clan, and in which no one lawfully possessed any portion of the soil if he was not of the same race with the chief.”—[See the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, p. 144, and *Cambræ Descriptio*, cc. i, and xvii.]

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

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

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

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

ursula, *i.e.*, son of the Bear; but granting that the names are synonymous *ghamhan*, a man's name, is explained *ursus* in a MS. Glossary in Trinity 13.]—it does not thence follow that the one is derived from the other; as to urge than etymological conjecture to prove the utter futility of this the Fitz-Ursulas never settled in Ireland; and, secondly, that we have the Irish pedigrees and annals to prove that the Mac Mahons of Ulster had a story of Oirghialla, or Oriel, and had borne the name of Mac Mathghamhna, (atthæorum, as Colgan calls them in Latin) long before the English invasion of Mac Mathghamhna, *i.e.*, Fitz-Mahon, or Fitz-Matthew, from a Mahon (son of Laidhgnen, son of Cearbhall), lord of Farney, who was slain at [*Annal. Ult.*] This Mahon may have been, in character, a bear, as his name certainly was not the same *Ursula*, or bear, from whom the Fitz-Ursulas of the name and descent. [See Shirley's *Account of Farney*, p. 148; and *Annals of Ulster* 1022.] It may not be out of place here to remark, that Dr. Hanmer, in his History of the County of Wick, introduces Sir John De Courey so early as the year 1178 (a long 385) as fighting against the rebel Mac Mahon in Farney; but in this Dr. Hanmer is incorrect as Spenser, for Sir John De Courey fought no battle against Mac Mahon; the story is invented to turn them to account against the Mac Mahons of Farney who were very troublesome to the government in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; the one story is a source of hatred to the Irish and English people, as being descended from the family of Becket; and the other to show that they were "irreclaimable savages, the most barbarous to kick and spurne at English government." [See *Annals of the Four Masters*, and Sir Charles Coote's *Statistical Account of Monaghan*.]

of Munster.—That these are not Fitz-Ursulas, but a family of the highest rank derived from their pedigree and consecutive history, which is as certain as that of any family in Europe. They derive their name and descent from Mathghamhain, a great O'Brien monarch of Ireland, who died in the year 1110.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JOHN O'DONOVAN.

WOODS AND FASTNESSES IN ANCIENT IRELAND.

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

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

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

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

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

^a Leinster has already appeared in the Kilkenny Archæological Journal,

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

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

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

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

• West Connaught, p. 191.

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

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

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

“Foe to the dryads of his fathers' groves.”

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

U L S T E R .

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

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

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

“Killoutrey” is *Coill-uachtrach*, the upper wood.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

the well-known names of "Invermullane" and "the Moiry pass," the passage of these woods by armies during war is celebrated in history. These "Fewes" were the special resort of an Irish "Rob Roy," the renowned "Count Hanlon," to check whose highway exploits a barrack, capable of containing two companies of foot, was erected in them. Yet the bold Count contrived to make the military subservient to his purpose; for, having slain several of the soldiers, he put their uniforms on his men, and, until the trick became notorious, many a traveller suffered by it.

The ancient wood-kerne,—bands of outlaws and "guerillas," closely resembling the caterans of the Scottish Highlands,—"living," as stated by O'Flagherty, "in woods in a barbarous manner, and subsisting on depredations," the predecessors of tories, rapparees, and highwaymen, have been already mentioned; but it may be noted that those of Ulster were the most consummately wild and daring of the whole national fraternity. The northern Gaels are indeed well known to have surpassed the southern in warlike qualities. These outlawed banditti were "the wylde Irish," so dreaded by English colonists, and whose havoc and slaughterings almost paralysed the settlement in central Ulster prior to the outbreak in 1641. It may be said that every great glen or wooded vale throughout the kingdom was the heritable haunt of a *clann* or race, who were "the old evil children of the wood," as a marauding southern tribe was called. Indeed, to these wretched pariahs of a land, the noblest of whose Gaelic race gloried in making war on and despoiling the Saxon, and in which the arts of peace were almost altogether confined to the enemy, there was nothing left but to continue their hereditary course of life. The desperate recklessness of the wood-kerne robbers in this respect became proverbial in an antique Irish "rhyme," the gist of which is, that if their lives were lost in any excursion in quest of cattle, their children, "when their teeth grew," might betake themselves to the Glynnns, as their fathers had done before them!

MUNSTER.

In the south-west of this province lay the five great forests that formed the natural fastnesses of the Earls of Desmond, those strongholds in which these lords so trusted; for it was the possession of these retreats, which they were confident were almost impregnable, that led to their frequent revolts against any superior authority. Glengarriff and Killarney, at one period the least accessible of these mountain holds, are now visited at ease by "the million," and reward connoisseurs of the picturesque, however far travelled, with a wild yet perfect beauty that may claim to be unsurpassed by any scenes to which these miniature ones may fairly be compared.

During the height of the last Earl of Desmond's rebellion, in 1579, Sir Warham St. Leger wrote to Lord Burleigh, that "the scope of the Geraldines' range includes the Great Wood, Aharlogh, Dromfynine, Glanmore, and Glanflesk, which are their chief fortresses;" and he proposed to employ a force of 4,000 English soldiers, besides the army already in the field under the Earl of Ormond,

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of these chiefs, the Baroness of Kerry, is described by the annalists as, during the Geraldine rebellion, "passing her last days upon the lake, moving from one island to another," for fear of robbers.

The two sylvan districts of Clenglas and Kilmore formed a mass of wood which, with the exception of Glenconkeyn, was the largest forest in Ireland. *Claon-ghlais*, now anglicised Clonlish, a wild district in the south-west of Limerick, was, when dense with wood, the first gathering-place of James Fitz-Maurice in his outbreak of 1579; and here perished miserably his companion, Dr. Saunders, the papal legate. The name of "Jhon of the Grene Wode," which appears on the map of Ireland made in 1572 for Sir Thomas Smith, Colonel of the Ards, was probably that of John Fitz-Gerald, chief of a Geraldine clan that possessed Claenglais, "the green retreat."

Another chieftain of Geraldine race, John Fitz-Gibbon, was lord of *Coill-mhor* [the great wood], now Kilmore, a barony in the County of Cork, and in modern times a well-known haunt of insurgents.

Druim-Finghin [*i.e.* Fineen's ridge,] divides the two baronies of Decies. Gerald, the 16th Desmond, is described as, during his rebellion of 1582, passing and repassing from the shelter afforded by this wood to that of Aharlagh and Coill-an-choigidh, and from thence sending out his men to lay waste the lands of his enemy Ormond.

Gleann-Eatherlach is the Gaelic name of "Arlogh," now called "Harlow," the most renowned forest in the south, as having been the principal fastness of the western Geraldines during rebellion, and rendered famous from being frequently celebrated by Edmond Spenser. "Who knows not Arlohill?" asked the poet, declaring that it was—

"Of old the best and fairest hill
That was in all this Holy Island's hight:"

and that, whenever Diana visited Erin to chase the deer, her favourite resorts were—

"All those faire forrests about Arlo hid;
And all that mountaine, which doth overlooke
The richest champain that may else be rid."

In later ages, Mars and Mercury were the presiding deities. During the protracted war between James Fitzmaurice and the English forces, the wily chieftain, if overmastered by numbers, generally retreated with his men into this easily defended wood, and either fought a flying skirmish through it, or succeeded in daunting his pursuers from following him. The annalists describe his horse-troopers, after the sack of Kilmallock, in 1571, as being occupied for three days and nights in carrying the spoils of the town "to the woods and forests of Eatharlach," and then so completely destroying the town that it became the abode of wolves.

The following "description of Arlough wood" was given by Sir Warham St. Leger, lord president of Munster, in 1580, at the time this extensive tract was a vantage-ground to the rebel Desmonians:—"It conteyneth in length three miles, in breadth six miles, distant from Limerick,

And as the same Arlough is altogether wood between the twoe mountains, so there is a ryver from the west to the est of the said wood, dividing them almost equallye in the middest of the vallye, untill the said river, through Muskrie Corck on the est, falleth into the river of Sure that leades to Waterford.”

Gleann-Eatharlach seems to have owed its serviceableness as a fastness to its proximity to numerous lurking-places afforded by the ravines and caves of the surrounding mountains, and to the miry nature of the ground among its dense thickets, alluded to by Spenser when comparing it to his poetic “salvage wood” in “Astrophel:”—

“So wide a forest and so waste as this.
Nor famous Ardeyn, nor fowle Arlo, is.”

In these hiding-places, the “*sugane*” Earl of Desmond long attempted to elude pursuit, shifting from one to another; but was at length taken in a cavern in Slieve Grot.

“Kilhuggy” [*Coill-an-choigidh*, the wood of the province], anglicised “Kilquegg,” was the bleak place in which the 16th Geraldine Earl kept a cold Christmas in 1582. *Glenflesk*, the wooded valley of the river Flesk, was the country of O’Donoughue of the Glens, chief of a branch of the Clan-Carthy.

Besides the foregoing forests, Carew, in another document, enumerating the “Eyries of Hawks sequestered after Desmond’s rebellion,” notices other woods, viz., “Reynyss, in Kennale; Ross y-Donoughow,” (now Lord Kenmare’s seat, at Killarney); “Dungcrott; Dunbekan, in Carbery;” Lord Condon’s woods; and “Clanmaurice woods;” in all which there were eyries of those prized means of sport—falcons and goshawks. These substitutes for “fowling-pieces” were only part of the *deliciae* afforded by our woods to the ancient sportsman; who, be it observed, if, like Chaucer’s yeoman, “of wood-craft could he well all the usage,” found in their deer, wolves, tree-birds, &c., plentiful objects for the indulgence of his manly pursuits.

After the destruction of the 16th Desmond, a document was presented to the Queen, giving a list of “such lands as have tymbre-trees fit for building of shippes, to be reserved for her majesty’s use” in the grants of the forfeited estates of the Earl and his adherents, viz. :—

“The lands and castle of Strancally, standing towards the mouth of the brode water by Yoghall.

“The lands of Condon, adjoining to the brode water.

“The lands adjoining to Maccollop, if any way they may belong to your majesty, and Maccollop itself.

“The lands and woods called Lisfynnin, sometyme belonging to Sir John of Desmond and others.

“The lands and tymbre woods of Lismore, scituat nere the brode water, with all other woods lying within four miles of the said brode water, or uppon any of the branches of the said river, which shall be fitt to convey tymbre to the mouth of the same.”

The “brode water” is, of course, the Blackwater, of which Spenser wrote—

“Allo hight—Broad water callèd farre.”

Payne, the English “undertaker,” stated in 1589 that there was much good timber in many places in this province, and that it was so straight and so easy to rive, that a woodsman with a brake-axe could easily cleave a great oak into boards, which, at 15 foot long and 14 inches broad, by 1 thick, were sold at the low rate of 2½d. each. In this year the value of the oak on the forfeited lands in Munster was again pressed on the notice of government; and it was recommended that a high steward should be appointed over the royal manors in Ireland, who should also be “wood-ward and chief forester” in this province. But neither this proposition, nor the recommendation of the foregoing state paper, (the original of which has some notes in the autograph of Lord Burleigh,) were attended to when the grants of the forfeited lands were made. Richard Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork, who is remarkable for having acquired a vast estate, (which was obtained, however, in a manner very different from that described by himself,) and who is justly celebrated for the great improvements he effected, bargained with Sir Walter Raleigh, at the time of the attainder of that chivalrous adventurer, to buy his grant of 12,000 acres for the inconsiderable price of £1,500, (of which only a third was paid,) and immediately began cutting down the woods; in imitation of a notorious English usurer of the day, who inveigled men into selling him their estates, and afterwards sold the timber so profitably that it paid for the land; making, as he said, “the feathers pay for the goose.” Boyle joined in partnership with one Henry Pyne in purchasing the woods belonging to Lord Condon, the Anglo-Irish owner of a barony named from his family. These partners also bought the timber property of other native lords and chieftains, whose simplicity, or ignorance of the market, or perhaps, as in the cases of Raleigh and Condon, impending attainders, led them, as was said of similar sales, to part with what was worth thousands for a song. The attention of government in England had been frequently drawn to the public value of the vast quantity of oak then existing in Ireland; and in 1608 one Philip Cottingham was sent over to survey the woods, and report what amount of timber he found suitable to build ships for the royal navy. This surveyor does not seem to have inspected any woods beyond those in the counties of Waterford and Wexford; and, in September, he wrote to the secretary of state, from Mogeely Castle, stating that he had examined the woods belonging to Sir Richard Boyle, and that, although the best and most accessible timber had been cut down for pipe-staves and planks, there still remained much that was valuable for ship-building; and he adds that the woods called “Kilbarrow” and “Kilcorran,” in the county of Waterford, were at that time being cut by Boyle, who had also purchased the forests of Glengarriff and Glenlawrence, in Desmond, with a view to their sale. The

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Bourkes of Mayo and O'Flahertys of Connemara were declared to possess a stronger country than any other clan in Ireland. Their territories were indeed rendered secure by vast forests, numerous loughs, with their islands, and the river Shannon with its lakes, which encompassed them; while the ocean, with its many isles, presented itself as a last refuge, whither they might retire if overpowered. Such was the case in 1582, when, as the annalists state, the fierce governor of Connaught devastated Tirawley, and drove out the inhabitants so determinedly, that neither castles nor even woods and forest valleys proved any shelter against him.

Coill Conchobhair [or O'Connor's wood], in the barony of Boyle, County Roscommon, which gave M'Dermot Roc his title of "Lord of the Woods," as he was chief of the clan then inhabiting them, probably had more anciently been the fastness of O'Connor himself, when dispossessed of the plains of Connaught by the Englishry.

The *Feadha* or "Faes" of Athlone was the name of O'Naghton's country. O'Sullivan describes how the brave and patriotic chieftain, Donnell O'Sullivan-Beare, when endeavouring to effect a junction with the northern insurgent lords, concealed himself and his men in the thick woods near Ballinlough in Roscommon, which were so wide that an entire night was spent in marching through them. It is stated in the *Four Masters* that the Faes contained 30 quarters of land.

The "woods and boggs near the Corleus," named in the foregoing list, were the *Fasach-Coille*, or wilderness of wood, in the north of the County of Sligo. The woody and dangerous defile through the Curlew mountains is memorable for the defeat of Sir Conyers Clifford in 1598.

Our few notes on *the Woods and Fastnesses of Ireland, divided into Provinces*, must not close without reference to the marked historic fact, that the isolated and remote positions of the four principal fastnesses caused Erin of old to be quadriparted, and, subsequently, deprived the resistance made by the native provincial dynasties of all national character. This circumstance is somewhat illustrated by Chief Baron Finglas' list of "Dangerous Passes," *anno* 1529, which he gives thus, with a preliminary recommendation:—

"That the lord deputy be eight days in every summer cutting Passes in the Woods next adjoining to the king's subjects, which shall be thought most needfull.

The Passes names here ensueth:—

Downe, Callibre, the Newe Ditch, the Passes to Powerscourt, Glankey, Ballamore in Foderth going to Kearnes,^f Le Roge, Strenantoragh, Pollemounty,^g Branwallehangry, Morterston, two passes in Feemore in O'Morye's country, the passes in Ferneynobegane, Killemark, Kelly, Ballenowe, Toghernefine, two passes in Reynalegh,^h the passes going to Moill, two in Kalry, the passes of Brahon Jurync, Killkorky, the Lagha, and Ballatra, Karryconnell and Killaghmore, three passes in Orior, one by Donegall, another by Taghert, and the third by Omere, Ballaghkine and Ballaghner."

This suggestive catalogue of ancient military passes around the Pale has been given in the hope that some reader of it, who can elucidate its obscure names, will favour us with annotations; telling

^f Ferns. (?)

^g Between Mt. Leinster and the Barrow.

^h Ranelagh.

us of the chivalry that was wont to charge through these defiles, and of the bravery with which they were defended, in times when many an Irish forest-road was so often strewn with helmet feathers as to be, like that where Essex was encountered by O'More, a "Pass of Plumes." For example, one of the passages mentioned as leading into Ranelagh is, probably, the glen still known as "the Deputy's pass;" but neither legend nor local tradition tell who the Lord Deputy was that first forced this *bearna baoghail*, or "gap of danger." Again, some resident near Ravensdale, the romantic seat of Lord Clermont, might oblige us with a description of the glen country between Carlingford and Newry, which comprises the most renowned historic passes in Ireland. Although we have refrained from much comment on the mere notes now strung together, we cannot quit our delightful theme—which embraces a period extending from pagan days, when Celtic kings of Connaught used to propitiate the god of victory, by clothing with their mantles a sacred oak at Bearnasmore, the grand defile among the Donegal mountains, (probably in traditional memory of the Scythian ceremony described by Herodotus,) down to the transformation of Irish woods, during the Commonwealth, into pipe-staves and beer-barrels—without making one concluding observation. We have made antiquarian pilgrimages to some of our most famous sylvan scenes—at one time to Carew's-Wood, where Henry the Fifth received his spurs of knighthood, and where the courtly and gallant Sir Peter Carew may have often stalked a stag, and recalled to mind the "three-men song" he used to sing with the jovial Harry the Eighth and the sentimental Surrey, commencing, "As I walked the wood so wild;"—thence turning our steps to Fairwood, we have searched for the site of Strafford's timber-palace, constructed within his "park of parks," as he fondly styled the land he enclosed from the wilderness of Shilelagh;—and, at other times, we have sought "the great wood of the Picts," near Tara, in which Robert Bruce bivouacked; and the spot in Glenaginta, once a wood in Kerry, notorious as the scene of the 16th Desmond's decapitation;—in all these once celebrated woodlands, we found small trace of goodly timber, and nothing worthy to be compared to the venerable trees and rich glades of Savernake, in Wiltshire, perhaps the finest forest in Great Britain, and which, together with Tottenham Chase, composes the most magnificent breadth of sylvan scenery she possesses. This stormy isle of ours is deficient in the deep soil and the constant shelter, physical and moral, indispensable to a luxuriant growth of trees, those feathery plumes of the land, lacking which we see but baldness. But "*non omnes arbusta jurant;*" so we must now take our literary walking-stick, and our leave, offering the trite remark, that since Irish oak is long in arriving at maturity, this should be a cogent reason, with all who love to enrich and adorn their native soil, to lose no time in following the dying laird's advice to his son—"Be aye planting a tree, Jock; it'll be growing while ye're sleeping!"



Fig. 1.

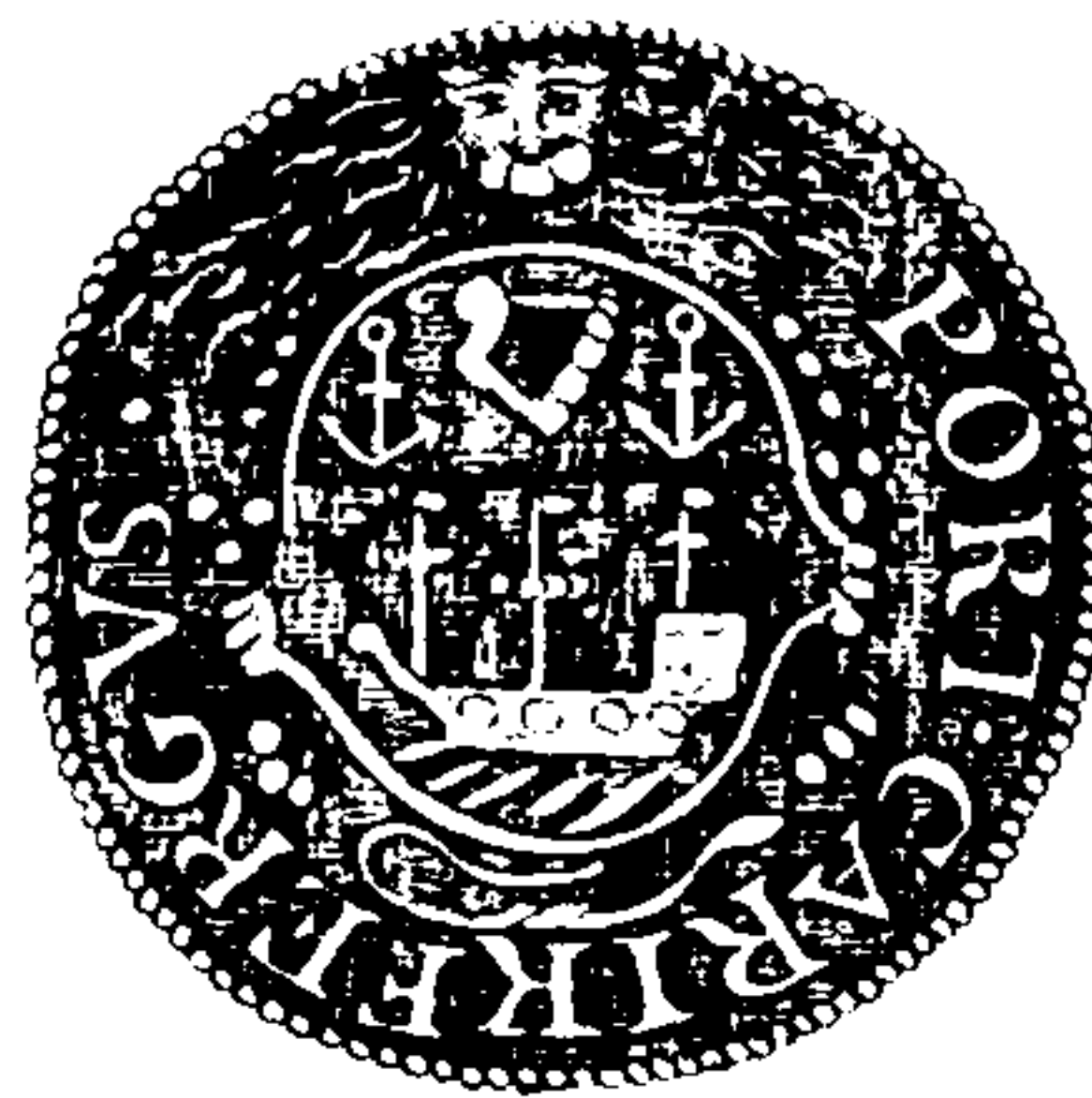


Fig. 2.

ANCIENT SEALS FOUND AT CARRICKFERGUS.

The seals, of which the above are engravings, have been found at different times, at Carrickfergus, by Mr. James Stannus, the present harbour-master of that ancient borough. The first (Fig. 1) was discovered by him in cleaning out a well in the keep of Carrickfergus Castle in June, 1843, which had been for a long period filled with rubbish. The well was sunk in the living rock, and, in a chink at the bottom of it, the seal was discovered. It is of yellow brass, oval in shape, and well engraved. It is in a state of perfect preservation, and had probably lain in its resting-place for centuries. It is not unlikely that it may have been brought over from Scotland by some of the monks who accompanied Edward Bruce to this country in 1315, when he besieged and took Carrickfergus Castle. St. Margaret being a Scottish saint, would strengthen this supposition. She is represented on the seal at full length, robed, and standing with her feet on a dragon, holding a cross in her right hand, the end of which is inserted in the dragon's mouth. Round the seal is engraved the legend, "MARGARETA, ORA PRO NO[BIS]." All but the three last letters of this inscription are perfectly legible.*

A few words respecting the history of this saint may not be unacceptable to our readers. There are six saints of the name in the Roman calendar. (See Butler's *Lives of the Saints*.)^a The most

* Since the foregoing was set in type, the seal has been carefully cleaned and examined, and the indistinct letters now prove to be AB. (joined) RA. Our learned and ingenious friend ERIGENA, to whom we submitted the seal for inspection, has suggested what we consider the correct reading. ORA PRO NO[BIS]. AB[BATISSA] R[EGINA] MARGARETA. The asterisk before ORA indicates clearly that the inscription commences there. The *Crown* represented on the figure of the saint corroborates the idea that Queen Margaret of Scotland is intended.

^a Five of them are as follows:—

Day.	Born.	Died.	
June 29	1243	1271	Princess of Hungary.
Feb. 22	1247	1297	Cortona.
June 10	1046	1093	Queen of Scotland.
July 20	—	—	Antioch.
Sept. 2	—	cir. 1230	Louvain.

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CINERARY URNS,

DISCOVERED NEAR DUNDRUM, COUNTY DOWN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY.

DEAR SIR,—I send you for insertion in your journal particulars of an interesting discovery recently made near Dundrum, county Down, where the Marquis of Downshire is making a bridge to connect Keel point (said to be so named from the quantity of red ochreous clay found there, and called “keel” by the country people,) with the promontory of Murlough, upon which his Lordship is about to build a marine villa.

The workmen in cutting away a bank of shingly clay, so as to procure filling-up materials, came upon two graves, made of rough slabs of whin-stone, and containing human bones. As they were hastily broken up, and the stones themselves used in the work, their dimensions cannot now be given with certainty; but the foreman carpenter, Mr. William Greer, a most intelligent man, told me that one of the graves measured about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, 14 inches broad, and 18 inches deep.

In the same cutting were found, at the depth of 3 feet, ten cinerary urns of unbaked clay, standing 3 feet apart, and all but one turned bottom upwards, resting upon flags, and containing charred human bones. On being brought to light, between the exposure to the air and the roughness of the workmen, they all fell to pieces except two, a drawing of which I send you, one-fourth of the real size.

The larger of the two has a rich ornamental border round the mouth, about $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches deep, made evidently by pressing a cord upon the clay while in a soft state; for the marks of the fibre of the cord are still to be seen. This urn contained large pieces of charred bones, and a ring made of shale, a sketch of which (of the actual size) accompanies the drawing of the urns.

The smaller urn was found with its mouth upwards, and contained very small fragments of charred bones, mixed with charcoal in about the proportion of half and half.

These urns are now in the cabinet of Lady Downshire, at Hillsborough Castle.

GEORGE A. CARRUTHERS.

Belfast, 19th March, 1858.



1/4 ACTUAL SIZE.

CINERARY URNS.

Found, with eight others, near DUNDRUM, Co. Down, March, 1858,
also a ring made of shale (actual size) found in the largest urn.

M. Wain & Co. Dublin, Lith. & Engrs.

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trious poet who addressed his gorgeous epic, *The Faerie Queene*, to the English court, and Irish country rhymers who sung Gaelic verses to a Celtic public. His lofty spirit was incapable of envy; and, in his *View of Ireland*, he has, while discriminating between native bards, bad and good, borne graceful testimony to the fancy and wit of their best effusions.

But our apothecary's paper, on a similar subject, bears evident marks of professional jealousy, as well as national antipathy: let it speak for itself.

“Their is in Irland four shepts [septs] in maner all Rimers. The firste of them is calleid the Brehounde, which in English is calleid the Judge; and, before they will geave judgement, they will have pawnes of both the parties, the which is called in Irish *Ulieg*, and then will they geave judgement according to their one discrecions. Theis men be neuters, and the Irishmen will not praie them. They have great pleantie of cattell, and they harbour many vacabons and ydell persons; and if their be anye reabell that moves any rebbellione ageinste the Prince, of theis people they ar chiffie mantayned; and if the English armye fortune to travell in that parte where they be, they will fle into mountains and woodes, by cause they wold not sucker them with vittalls and other * * * ; and further they will take appon them to judge matters, and redresse causes, as well of inherytans as of other matters, although they are ignoraunt; they which is a greatte hinderans to the Queen's Majesties lawes, and hurtfull to the whole English Pale.

“The seconde sourte is the Shankee,^b which is to saye in English, the petigrer. They have also great plaintye of cattell, wherewithall they do sucker the rebells. They make the ignoraunt men of the country to belyve that they be discended of Alexander the Great, or of Darius, or of Cæsar, or of some other notable prince; which makes the ignorant people to run maddo, and cerieth not what they do; the which is very hurtfull to the realme.

“The thirde sorte is called the *Æosdan*,^c which is to saye in English, the bards, or the rimine septes; and these people be very hurtfull to the comonwhealle, for they chiffie manyntayne the rebells; and, further, they do cause them that would be true, to be rebelious theves, extorcioners, murtherers, ravners, yea and worse if it were possible. Their furst practisse is, if they se anye younge man discended of the septs of *Ose* or *Max*, and have half a dowsen aboute him, then will they make him a Rime, wherein they will commend his father and his aunchetours, nowmbrying howe many beades they have cut of, howe many townes they have burned, and howe many virgins they have defloured, howe many notable murthers they have done, and in the ende they will compare them to Aniball, or Scipio, or Hercules, or some other famous person; wherewithall the pore foole runs madde, and thinkes indede it is so. Then will he gather a sorte of rackells [rake-hells] to him, and other he most geat him a Proficer, [prophet], who shall tell him howe he shall spode (as he thinkes). Then will he geat him lurking to a syde of a woode, and ther keepith him close til morninge; and when it is daye light, then will they go to the poore vilages, not sparinge to distroye young infants, aged people; and if the women be ever so great withe childe, her they will kill; burninge the houses and corne, and ransackinge of the poore cottes [cottages]. They will then drive all the kine and plowe horses, with all other cattell, and drive them awaye. Then muste they have a bagpipe bloinge afore them; and if any of theis cattell fortune to waxe wearie or faynt, they will kill them, rather than it sholde do the honeur's [owners] goode. If they go by anye house of fryers or relygious house, they will geave them 2 or 3 bcifs, [beeves,] and they will take them, and praie for them (yea) and prayes their doings, and saye his father was accustomed so to do;

^b *Senachie*.

^c *Lois-dana*, i e., men of songs.

“The fourth sort of Rymers is called Fillis,^d which is to say in English, a Poete. Theis men have great store of cattell, and use all the trades of the others, with an adicion of prophecies. Theis are great mayntayners of whitches and other vile matters; to the great blasfemye of God, and to great impoverishinge of the comenwealthe. And, as I have saied of the foure seektes, ar devided in all places of the fowre partes of Irland, as Ulster, Launster, Munster, and Conet; and some in Methe; and some in the Ilands beyond Irland, as the land of Sainctes, the Ynce Bofine, Ynce Tirke, Ynce Mayne, and Ynce Clire. Thes Ilands are under the rule of Homaile,^e and they are verie pleasaunt and fertile, plentic of woode, water, and arabell ground and pastur and fishe, and a very temperate ayer.

“Their be many braunches belonging to the foure sortes; as the Gogathe, which is to say in English, the glutayne, for one of them will cate 2 or 3 galons of butter at a sitinge, halfe a mutton. And an other, called the Carruage;^f he is much like the habram’s man, and comenlye he goeth nakid, and carise dise and cardes with him; and he will play the heare off his head, and his cares; and theis be mantained by the Rymers.

“Ther is a sort of women that be calleid the goyng women; they be great blasphemers of God; and they rune from contry to contry, soynged sedicione amongst the people. They are comen to all men; and if any of them happen to be with childe, she will saye that it is the greatest Lorde adjoining, whereof the Lordes ar glad, and doth appoincte them to be nurysed.

“Ther is one other sorte that is calleid the Mannigscoule. Ther order is for to singe; and the chyfest of them most have but one eye, and he is calleid Lucas; they do much harme.

“Their is other towe sortes that goithe about withe the Bachell of Jesus, as they call it. Theis run from contry to contry; and if they come to any house wheir a woman is with child, they will putt the same about her, and, wither she will or no, causithe her to geave them money. They will undertake that she shall have good delivery of her childe; to the great distruxione of the people conserninge ther soule’s health. Others goith about with St. Patrike’s croysur, and playse the like partes or worse; and no doubtc as longe as theis bene usyed, the worde of God can never be knowne amongst them, nor the prince fearyed, nor the contry prosper.

“For the redresse theirolf it might be esaly holpen if your honours will geave care ther unto; and if it may stand with your pleasures that I should make any further sertifycate how this nowghty people may be ponyste, and to cause them to leave their yle facions, I will, if it be your pleasurs, showe by what mayne they may be redressed. And as concerninge the fostering of the Irishe men’s children, it needed as much redress as any other matter that can be movyed. The which I will showe your honours when it pleasith you.”

(To be Continued)

^d Filcadhcs

^e O’Mally.

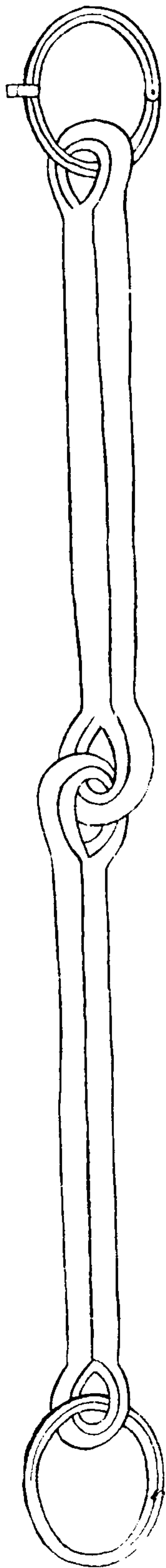
^f Gearbhach.

A N C I E N T I R O N F E T T E R S .

I herewith send a sketch of a pair of ancient fetters, found in this neighbourhood in the year 1848, which lately came into my possession. They were found in the remains of an old building, situated on an island in Port-Lough, on the main road from Derry to Letterkenny, about six miles from the former city.

About the year 1832, this lough having been lowered considerably by drainage, the island unexpectedly made its appearance, although I believe, for many years previous, a local tradition recorded that there was such an island submerged. Some years subsequent to 1832, there was a hard frost, which gave opportunity for examining the island more closely, when it was discovered that there was a building on it. This was minutely inspected by an intelligent person in the neighbourhood, who found that it was built of stone and lime, of an octagonal shape, each of the eight sides measuring 10 feet, and the walls about 4 feet high. There was no appearance at that height of any door; but iron hinges and hooks were found inside. In the year 1848, the fetters were found inside the building. They are 3 ft. 4 in. long, and about 10 lbs. weight, although much corroded from lying so long in the water. There was found along with them a piece of iron, which, although much corroded also, was evidently the head of a small hatchet. There were likewise some rude fragments of pottery, and bones of sheep or deer.

The island itself was formed altogether artificially; the foundation being composed of a platform of beams of wood (oak and willow), notched and pinned together. I think, from all these circumstances, there can be little doubt that this building was a stone *crannog*. But who built it?—by whom was it used? We find in the volume of the *Ordnance Survey of Derry*, published under the superintendence of Colonel Colby, (page 207,) that Port-Lough was formerly known as Lough Lappan, or O'Lappan's Lough. We also find, under the year 1011, in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, that Ængus O'Lappan was lord of Kinnel-Enda, or Tir-Enda, and died in that year. Tir-Enda comprised that district of country south of the peninsula of Ennishowen, and between the Foyle and Lough Swilly, consequently Port-Lough was included in the district; and there are still traces of the foundations of a large castle on the shore of the lough, just opposite the island. I think, therefore, we may reasonably suppose that our building was the state-prison of the O'Lappan; for we know that almost all Irish chiefs or princes built their *crannogs* on artificial islands in lakes, wherever they



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when in the state of lava, may have flowed in separate streams, and the bottom of which has evidently been covered with fresh water for a lengthened period. The clay, now covering the plain, conceals the rocky sub-stratum, which is probably a portion of the green-sand formation underlying the chalk. The occurrence of rolled fragments of trap, chalk, and flint, dispersed through this stratum of clay, is every where observable. The tumulus is nearly circular; at its greatest elevation not reaching higher than 7 feet, its diameter being 45 feet. The work of examination commenced on Thursday, January 28, 1858. A trench about three feet broad was dug, from east to west, commencing from the western extremity. On coming within a foot of the level of the field in which the tumulus stands, a few flat stones were found, underneath which lay a layer of fossil earth, interspersed with clay. This fossil earth, on being placed under the microscope, was found to contain about twenty different species of siliceous organisms (*Infusoria*), such as are often found at the bottom of lakes; most of which species are common in fresh water, in this part of the country. Numerous fresh-water shells were also found mixed up with the *Infusoria*, the chief of which were those named by conchologists *Lymneus truncatulus* and *Planorbis vortex*, both common in fresh water. Along with these were mixed a few common land shells, viz., *Helix arbustorum*, *Helix rotundata*, *Clausilia nigricans*, and *Zua lubrica*. These are all species very likely to fall accidentally into streams or pools. The fossil earth was found to extend on the same level throughout the whole base of the tumulus, and it was in it that all the remains of animal bones which were discovered were found. Several flat stones, from two to three feet in length, were met with near the eastern end of the trench, placed on a line $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the surface of the mound, and 5 feet from its eastern extremity. A few also were placed north and south.

When this trench had been completely examined, a deeper and broader one was made from north to south; and finally the whole of the eastern half of the tumulus was removed. Beneath the fossil earth lay a stratum of clay, underneath which was a thin layer of peat, about a foot in depth; beneath which, again, was a greyish clay, in which, as well as in the upper stratum of clay, numerous fragments of flint were found, all more or less bearing marks of having been artificially shaped in a rude manner by blunt instruments. Under this grey clay occurred another layer of peat, which was not penetrated.

Amongst the animal remains in the fossil earth, several bones of horses, oxen, pigs, and deer were found; some of the jaw-bones being perfect, with the teeth still in them. A quantity of bones belonging to some other animals, not determined, were also found, together with portions of the heads of the ox and goat.

On the 20th of February, on arriving at the level of the first layer of peat, exactly in the centre of the mound, four stones, placed in the form of a square (as seen in the accompanying sketch), and imbedded in the peat, were discovered. The inclosed space was filled with glutinous clay, mixed with ashes; at the bottom of which, at the depth of five inches, two semi-circular stones were found,

twenty-seven amber beads, of rude shapes, all pierced through the centre, and to all appearance formerly used as a necklace; the portion of the beads, where the apertures are, being much worn as if by the friction of a string. Several rude specimens of flint arrow-heads were also found in the clay, together with a number of globular stones, about the size of grape-shot, possibly used as sling-stones. No human remains were found, with the exception of a small bone, which has been pronounced, on competent authority, to be very like one of the small wrist-bones of the human body; but this alone would not be sufficient to determine the fact as to the existence of human remains in the tumulus.

The character of the remains discovered in this tumulus incline us to fix the date of its formation anterior to the Christian era. Its shape (much more flattened and less elevated than any other tumuli we have seen in this country,) may be accounted for by the continued action of the waters of the lake which probably surrounded it for centuries; the former existence of which is proved not only by the geological formation of the locality, but by the deposit of peat and the remains of fresh-water shells and lake *Infusoria* found in the sub-stratum on which the tumulus stands.

As the whole subject of the origin and date of the Irish tumuli is still enveloped in obscurity, I have thought it right to record the results, however unsatisfactory, of one examination of this kind, to afford to future explorers the means of comparison.

ALFRED T. LEE.



SIX HUNDRED GAELIC PROVERBS COLLECTED IN ULSTER.

~~~~~  
 BY ROBERT MAC ADAM.  
 ~~~~~

We have in Ireland, at the present moment, two distinct races of inhabitants, who differ totally from each other in language, and whose early thoughts have been trained in two very different schools. The remains of the old native clans, who still habitually employ the Irish tongue amongst themselves, are only able to hold an imperfect intercourse with their Anglicised neighbours in a language which they speak with difficulty. The native Irishman is obliged to address his landlord, or to sell his cow to his customer, in English (such as it is); but these persons have at present no interest in learning to understand his mother-tongue. Hence numberless instances occur daily in many parts of the country, in which it is found impossible to carry on a lengthened conversation between individuals of the two races. According to the last Government Census, the number of persons returned as still using the Irish language in this country was 1,524,286, or nearly one-fourth of the whole population; but even this large figure by no means indicates with accuracy the entire number of persons who understand it, or who have learned it in their infancy. It is well known that in various districts where the two languages co-exist, but where the English now largely predominates, numbers of individuals returned themselves as ignorant of the Irish language, either from a sort of false shame, or from a secret dread that the Government, in making this inquiry (for the first time), had some concealed motive, which could not be for their good. Their native shrewdness, therefore, dictated to them that their safest policy was to appear ignorant of the unfashionable language. For this reason, we may add very considerably to the number given by the Census.

Now all these individuals have obtained whatever intellectual cultivation they possess, and most of the rules which regulate their conduct and morality, through the medium of a tongue which is now proscribed, and which (even if they could avail themselves of it) possesses no published literature. Hence the early knowledge they have acquired from their mothers, their nurses, or their companions, has all been of a traditional kind; and we may feel assured that the old sayings of their forefathers have formed a large portion of their education. We, whose earliest years are associated with books and schools, cannot readily realise the condition of persons who have obtained all their education without them; and yet such is the case with the existing Gaelic-speaking population of Ireland. The children of the last ten years, indeed, in a great majority of districts, are reaping the advantages of our new English national schools; and in the localities where the English language far preponderates over the Irish, the change will be immediate, and we may expect

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language, as to preserve descriptions or representations of material objects of antiquity still existing among us. We occasionally meet with words embalmed in proverbs which are only to be found in old manuscripts. To the archæologist these popular sayings have an additional value. It is among the lower classes of a community that we must look for traces of old customs; and frequently, when these customs themselves have ceased to exist, the vestiges of them are to be found retained in popular expressions which, in the course of time, have been turned into proverbs.

Nor is the subject one that can be considered as mere literary trifling. Proverbs in many countries (perhaps in all) are in such constant use among the masses of the people, particularly the uneducated, and so interwoven with their daily speech, that they may be looked upon as very correct indexes of the national mode of thought and tone of morality. Lord Bacon long ago observed that “the genius, wit, and spirit of a nation are discovered by their proverbs.”—“I am convinced,” says another writer, “that we may learn, from the proverbs current among a people, what is nearest and dearest to their hearts, how honour and dishonour are distributed among them, what is of good, what of evil report in their eyes, with very much more which it can never be unprofitable to know.”* The difference between the English and French people, for instance, could scarcely be better expressed (certainly not more briefly) than by two of their very familiar proverbs, both recommending courteous behaviour, but each for a reason peculiarly national:—

English.—Civility costs no money :

French.—On attrape plus de mouches avec du miel qu’ avec du vinaigre.

The present collection may therefore serve to throw some light on the character of the native Irish population of Ulster, comprising, as it does, their favourite sayings on a great variety of subjects.

Every civilised language possesses a large store of proverbs, the accumulated gatherings of the wit and homely wisdom of many generations. Numbers of these are identical, or nearly so, in all countries, seeming, as it were, to be citizens of the world. Many are of extreme antiquity, and appear to possess a perennial existence; being evidently so true to human nature that they are as applicable, at the present time, to human conduct and feelings, as on the first day they were uttered. But many are also of modern date; and the crop has not ceased to grow even yet. The poets have furnished not a few; and we almost forget already that it is to Young we owe “*Procrastination is the thief of time,*” and to Pope “*A little learning is a dangerous thing.*” The same has been the case at all periods, and in all countries where poetry exists; and where does it not? Horace and Juvenal have contributed many a pointed adage to the common stock, and so, no doubt, have our own Irish bards. Indeed, the qualities necessary to produce a good poet—imagination and force of expression—are often superlatively observable in proverbs;

* Trench on “*The Lessons in Proverbs,*” p. 48.

will embrace most of the species. But there are many such popular phrases in all languages, which contain neither wisdom nor wit (so far as we can now see); and therefore we must content ourselves with a less brilliant definition. Proverbs (at least Irish proverbs) treat of the most miscellaneous subjects, in fact—*de omnibus rebus*; and perhaps, on the whole, the best name we can apply to them is the one given to them by the Irish themselves, namely, *Sean-Ràite*, “Old Sayings.”

The four provinces of Ireland seem, from a very early period, to have been distinguished from each other by peculiarities of dialect. This was naturally to be expected in a country in which masses of population were separated from one another, in many places, by tracts of dense forest and impassable bog, and their intercourse impeded elsewhere by the want of roads. This separation was still further perpetuated by the manner in which the invading colonists, Norman and English, distributed themselves over the island; occupying the level and fertile grounds which compose the centre of Ireland, and thus cutting off the communication between the natives on all sides. Hence it is, that in each important division of the Irish-speaking population we not only observe marked differences of pronunciation and accent, but find whole sets of words and of grammatical forms preserved in one district which are unknown or forgotten in another. One very remarkable example of this is the *negative*—a part of speech so important and so constantly in use that, of all others, it would seem the most likely to remain uniform in every dialect of a language. It is nearly so in all the Scandinavian and Teutonic dialects (Danish, Swedish, Dutch, German, English, &c.), and in the Latin and its modern descendants, the French, Italian, and Spanish. But, strange to say, in the Gaelic of Ireland we find two totally distinct negatives; the one (*Ni*) employed by the natives of the three provinces, Leinster, Munster, and Connaught; the other (*Cha*^b) used exclusively in Ulster, and likewise in the Highlands of Scotland and the Isle of Man, whose population have always been intimately connected with it. The geographical boundary of the northern negative in Ireland extends rather farther south than the limit of the present province of Ulster, embracing portions of the counties of Louth and Meath; in fact, bounded by the frontier of the old English “Pale:” but westward the boundary almost precisely coincides with the modern limit of the province; for, on passing a distance of only a single mile from the county of Donegal into that of Leitrim, we find every person using the negative *Ni*.^c It is a curious coincidence that, in the earlier period of the history of France, we find the North and South of that country distinguished by the

^b *Ch*, pronounced guttural, like the German *ch* in *noch*, or like the *gh* in our *lough*.

^c *Ni* and *Cha* are used indiscriminately in the southwest of Donegal.

word employed for *yes*, which in the former was *Oui*, in the latter *Oc*; the two dialects being hence named the *Langue d' Oui* and the *Langue d' Oc*. The first of these appellations has long sunk into oblivion, as the northern dialect, being the language of the dominant race and of their metropolis, Paris, took the name of *La Langue Française*; but the other old designation still remains in the name of a southern province of France, *Languedoc*. In a similar manner, we might separate Gaelic Ireland into two great divisions, characterised by "the Language of *Cha*" and "the Language of *Ni*."

The origin of the northern negative has not yet been satisfactorily traced, though some have supposed it to be the remains of a very ancient form, *Nocha*. But, be this as it may, the universal and exclusive use of this old negative in Ulster, and its frequent recurrence in speech, give a character to the northern dialect which is very strange and puzzling to a southern or western Irishman. It will be found a very marked feature in the collection of Ulster proverbs now given to the public; because I have thought it right to print these popular phrases precisely in the form in which they are spoken by the native Irish of this province, and not to substitute a word which, though now recognised as the more classic by our grammarians, is practically unknown in this part of Ireland. The negative *Cha* is employed exclusively, however, in all books printed in the Scottish Gaelic, though not hitherto to be met with in any Gaelic books printed in Ireland. It is necessary to add that the word takes the several forms, *cha*, *chan*, and *char*, according to certain grammatical rules, which need not be specified here, as they are familiar to all Gaelic scholars.

Some other peculiarities will be remarked by those familiar with the ordinary Irish of our printed books; though, as a whole, the language will be found perfectly intelligible to any one acquainted with the dialects of the other provinces. It will also be readily understood by a Scottish Highlander, although to him presenting some grammatical differences more striking. The language of Ulster, in fact, forms a connecting link between the two extreme divisions of the Gaelic, and possesses an interest from retaining some forms of words lost in both. As my present object, however, is not to enter into any examination of the dialects, I will pursue the subject no further here.

In order to facilitate future reference to the proverbs contained in the present collection, they are numbered consecutively; and, for further convenience, I have endeavoured to arrange a number of them under heads, where the subjects were similar; though many more, of course, admit of no kind of arrangement. It is interesting to compare together the proverbs of different nations, and to note the different modes in which similar ideas are expressed in various languages. Without attempting to institute anything like a general comparison of this kind, I have occasionally illustrated an Irish proverb by some similar one employed in another country. Various other examples will occur to any reader familiar with the subject. I have also thought it desirable to add, to

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8. Gcarr an gad is foisge do'n sgòrnach. [Cut the gad nearest to the throat.]
 This refers to a time when criminals or prisoners in this country were hanged by a twisted *gad* (or withe) made of willow rods, before hemp ropes were used; and probably meant that, if we wished to save the life of a culprit, we should cut the gad nearest his throat. Or, if a horse had fallen, entangled in this primitive harness, and was in danger of being strangled, the same advice would suggest itself. It now signifies, "Do the thing first that is of the most pressing need."
9. An tè nach g-cleachtann marcaigheacht, dearmadann se na spuir. [He that is not in the habit of riding forgets the spurs.]
 This has many applications. Sometimes it means—A man not used to good company is at a loss how to behave.
10. Cuireann duine snaim le n-a theangaidh nach bh-fuasglochaidh 'fhiacra. [A man ties a knot with his tongue that his teeth will not loosen.]
 That is, when a man marries.
11. Fanann duine sona le sèun, agus bheir duine dona dubh-lèum. [The lucky man waits for prosperity, but the unlucky man gives a blind leap.]
12. Cha n-diolaigh si a ceare a riamh 'sa là fhliuch. [She never sells her hen on a wet day.]
 A hen with wet feathers looks much smaller than when dry. The proverb recommends us to be cautious of having dealings with such knowing people.
13. Is fearr pilleadh 'as làr an atha nà bathadh 'sa tuile. [It is better to turn back from the middle of the ford than to be drowned in the flood.]
 Better stop in time than lose all. Said when any one repents a thing, and draws back at the last moment; as in the case of a marriage, when the couple are in the priest's house. Several Irish proverbs refer to fords in rivers, which were very important places before bridges were built.
14. Is scarbh d'a ioc an fion ma's milis d'a òl. [Wine is sweet in the drinking but bitter in the paying.]
 Spanish. *Al comer de los tocinos, cantan padres y hijos, al pagar sus à llorar.* [Whilst they eat the bacon, fathers and sons are merry, but when they pay for it they are sad.]
15. Is còir nidh a thaisgidh le h-aghaidh na coise galair. [It is right to lay by something for a sore foot.]
16. Is mairg a leigeas a rùn le cloidh. [Wo to the man that entrusts his secret to a ditch.]
 English. *Walls have ears.* Spanish. *Tras pared ni tras seto, no digas en secreto.* [Do not tell your secrets behind a wall or a hedge.]
17. Nà cuir an t-uisge salach a mach, go d-tiobhraidh tu an t-uisge glan a steach. [Do not throw out the dirty water until you have brought in the clean.]
18. Is iomad tuisleadh o'n làimh go d-ti an bèul. [There is many a slip from the hand to the mouth.]
 Spanish. *De la mano à la boca si pierdi la sopa.* [From the hand to the mouth the soup is lost.]

vasion of Ireland.

23. Cuid an taisgeàir aig an g-caithteàir.^e [The spender gets the property of the hoarder.]

English. *Fools build houses and wise men live in them.* Latin. *Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes.*

24. Chan fhuair an madadh ruadh teachdaire a riamh a b'fhearr nà è fèin. [The fox never found a better messenger than himself.]

25. Is maith dhà òrus a bheith air do chuigeal. [It is good to have two stricks of flax on your distaff.]

English. *It is well to have two strings to your bow.* Latin. *Duabus ancoris fultus.*

26. As a cionn a bhlichtear an bhò. [Out of her head the cow is milked.]

Signifying that, according to the manner a cow is fed, she gives better or worse milk. You may expect to be served by a man according as you treat him.

27. 'Nuair a chrionas slat, is deacair a sniomhadh. [When a rod withers, it is hard to twist.]

28. Is breàllan an té nach nglacfaidh airgead a d'fhuralochadh air. [He is a fool that will not take money that is offered to him.]

29. Is maith an sèideadh sròine do dhuine, smug fhaiccal air dhuine eile. [It is a good nose-blowing to a man to see snot on the nose of another.]

A very homely way of recommending people to take example by the faults or misfortunes of others. Latin. *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.*

30. Ni'l brigh 'san luibh nach bh-faghtar a n-àm. [There is no virtue in the herb that is not got in time.]

31. Nà caill caora le luach pighine de tharra. [Do not lose a sheep for the sake of a pennyworth of tar.]

32. Is fusa sgapadh nà cruinniughadh. [It is easier to scatter than to gather.]

33. Cha n-è là na gaoithe là na sgolba. [The windy day is not the day for fastening the thatch.]

The thatch on an Irish cottage is fastened down by a number of wattles or pointed rods of willow, called *sgolb*. The proverb signifies that a windy day is not the proper time for such work. It is applied in all cases where foresight is necessary.

^d The word usually given in Irish dictionaries for "a flock" is *trèud*; but *srèud* is what I have always heard used in Ulster. O'Reilly gives *srèud*.

^e All the masculine nouns which end in *dir* in other parts of Ireland, are here pronounced *àir*.

34. Nà dean crò a roimhe na h-arcaibh. [Do not build the sty before the litter comes.]
35. Nà beannuigh an t-iasg go d-tiocaidh se a d-tir. [Do not bless the fish till it gets to the land.]
36. Mur rinne tu do leabaidh, luidh uirrthi. [As you have made your bed, lie on it.]
Applied, for instance, to a bad marriage.
37. Sin ag cur muinighne a g-claidheamh briste. [That is putting trust in a broken sword.]
38. Is beag a t-èibheall a lasas teine mhòr. [It is a small lighted coal that will kindle a great fire.]
Spanish. *De pequena centella, gran hoguera.* [A small spark makes a great fire.] Scotch. *A sma' spark breeds meikle wark.*
39. Ma chcannaigheann tu droch-nidh, ceannochaidh tu a rist go h-aithghearr. [If you buy a bad thing, you will soon buy again.]
Spanish. *Comprar lo que no hàs menester, y venderàs lo que podràs escusar.* [Buy what you do not want, and you will sell what you cannot spare.] Latin. *Si inutilia emas, necessaria vendes.*
40. Ni'l ò mheud' an phràinn nach lughaide na gnothuidhe. [The greater the hurry the less the work.]
41. Ma shìneann tu le do làimh, cuairteochaidh tu le do chois. [If you stretch out with your hand, you will seek out with your foot.]
If you are too lavish with your hand, you may be driven to walk the road as a beggar.
42. Ma's milis a mhil, nà ligh-sa de'n drèasòig i. [Though honey is sweet, do not lick it off a briar.]
43. Nà cuntais na sicinidh no go m-beidh siad leigthe. [Do not count your chickens until they are hatched.]
Latin. *Ante victoriam ne canas triumphum.*
44. Ni sgèul rùin è, ò chluinneas triùir è. [It is no secret when three persons have heard it.]
45. Thainig a tòn chun talamh eadar a dhà sdòl. [The backside came to the ground between two stools.]
46. Faghann na h-eich bàs, fhad a's bhios a fèur a' fàs; or, Gheibh na h-eich bás, &c. [The horses die while the grass is growing.]
English. *Live, horse, and you'll get grass.*
47. Tarruing do lamh comh reidh a's thig leat as bèul a mhadaidh. [Draw your hand out of the dog's mouth as easily as you can.]
48. Sgèul a chuala mi-se, a's chuir me a m-briotal faoi dhò,
Go n-dean a beach dò fèin teach anns a g-ciùiu ghrian-lò.
[A story that I heard, and I committed it to memory twice,
That the bee makes a house for itself on the sunshiny day.]
49. Ni gheabhar an cù go n-imthigh an fiadh. [The hound is not found until the deer is gone.]
i e., When one thing is found another is not forthcoming.

¹ In other parts of Ireland *da mheud*; and so in other similar phrases, as *da laighiod*, &c.

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66. Char fhag se cloch gan tionta. [He left no stone unturned.]
67. Sgiste ghiolla an ghobha, ò na builg chun na h-inneora. [The leisure of the smith's helper, (that is) from the bellows to the anvil.]
68. Ma's gasta an gearr-fhiadh, beirtheair fa dheireadh air. [Though the hare is swift she is caught at last.]
69. Is minic a bhi cù mall sona, a's cù dona 'n a rith. [A slow hound has often luck when a swift hound has not.]

Alluding to dogs coursing a hare. Sometimes the hare, by a sudden turn, causes the foremost hound to run past her, when she is caught by a slower dog. It signifies that—"Often he who plods steadily at home succeeds as well as one who roams about looking for business or profit." Italian. *Chi va piano va sano, chi va forte va alla morte.* English. *The more haste the worse speed.*

70. Is minic a rug fear a deich air a dà fhichid. [Many a time the man with the ten has overtaken the man with the forty.]

This proverb refers to card-playing. One of the usual Irish games is won by marking forty-five. A player, who at the commencement of a deal has only marked ten, while his opponent has marked forty, may still overtake him and win the game. The proverb is intended as an encouragement to persons engaged in any business.

71. A n-dèigh a chèile tòghthar na caisleàin. [By degrees the castles are built.]

A proverb which, no doubt, took its rise when the Irish, to their cost, saw the Anglo-Norman castles rising one after another round the English Pale.

72. Is èigin do leanabh lamhachan sul ma siubhalaidh se. [A child must creep before he walks.]

73. Cha chruinnigheann cloch chasaidh caonach. [A rolling stone gathers no moss.]

Spanish. *Piedra movediza nunco moho la cobija* This is a proverb found in almost all languages.

74. Gheibh bèathach cheithre g-cos tuisleadh. [A four-footed beast will stumble.]

75. Faghann iarraidh iarraidh eile. [The seeking for one thing will find another.]

76. Mu'r* robh gnothuighe a mach acu, beidh a sàith gnothuighe a bhaile acu. [If they had no business abroad they have plenty of business at home.]

Said of persons idling their time, or going where they have no errand.

77. Da m-beidheadh aon ribe air do chuigeal, cha deantà sin. [You would not do that if you had any flax on your distaff.]

Said of a woman spending her time foolishly.

78. Is ionmhuin leis a chat iasg, acht ni h-àill leis a chrùba fhliuchadh. [The cat likes fish, but does not like to wet her paws.]

79. Is maith a saoghal è ma mhaireann se a bh-fad. [It is a very good time if it lasts.]

Addressed to a giddy thoughtless person.

80. 'Sè cuid an t-searraigh de 'n chliath a ta agad-sa. [You have the foal's share of the harrow.]

i.e. "You are an idle spectator:" because, while the mare is drawing the harrow, the foal walks beside her doing nothing

* The common abbreviation for *Muna*.

catch a trout.]

Wait patiently, and you will see the result.

87. Eisd le gaoith na m-beann go d-traoghthaidh na h-uisgidh. [Listen to the wind of the mountains until the waters ebb.]

Let the storm blow by.

88. Ni fiù an sògh an té nach bh-fulaingidh an-ndòigh tamull. [He that will not bear adversity for a while does not deserve prosperity.]

Latin. *Dulcia non meruit qui non gustabit amara.*

89. Is fada an ròd nach m-biann casadh ann :—and, Is dirceach an bothar nach m-biann càsadh ann. [It is a long road (or a straight road) that has no turn in it.]

90. Is faide go bràth nà go bealtuinn. [It is longer to the day of judgment than to May-day.]

i.e., There is time enough yet.

91. Is subhailce an fhoighid nach d-tugann nàire. [Patience is a virtue that causes no shame.]

92. An nidh nach fèadar a lèigheas, is èigin 'fhulaing. [What cannot be cured must be borne.]

93. Is olc an ghaoith nach sèididh go maith do dhuine èigin. [It is a bad wind that does not blow well for somebody.]

94. Chn 'uil* tuile ò mheud nach d-traoghann. [However great the flood, it will ebb.]

Or, more poetically expressed:—*Ni 'l tuile da mhèud nach d-tèid seall tamuill a d-tràigh.*

95. Nachar leòr do dhuine dhona a dhichioll a dheanamh. [Is it not enough for a poor man to do his best?]

96. Cha bhian imirce gan chaill. [There is no removal without loss.]

English. *Three removes are as bad as a fire :—and,*

I never saw an oft-removed tree,

Nor yet an oft-removed family,

That thrive so well as those that settled be.

(To be continued.)

* Universally employed instead of the *Ni'l* of the other provinces.

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

The remarks of your correspondent, Mr. A. HUME [vol. vi., p. 54], respecting the preservation in Ireland of old forms and pronunciations of English words, is deserving of much attention. In Scotland, in several of the provincial parts of England, and in America, many of the local peculiarities are nothing but the primitive English idioms, which have in the modern language been superseded by recent innovations. By attending to these peculiarities, we may often determine from what precise parts of England particular portions of Ireland were colonized. Thus, there is a striking resemblance between the dialect of Devonshire and the English spoken in the county of Cork: *e.g.*, such words as "boat" are pronounced in two syllables—"bo-at." There is one word used in Cork, the origin of which I have sought in vain in dictionaries. A "shed" (called in Ulster a "shade") is there named a "linny." Now, in Devonshire they call it a "linhaye." This word may perhaps be connected with the French "haye," a hedge or fence. In Exeter, two streets near the cathedral are called "Northern Haye" and "Southern Haye." May not "linhaye" be from "*ligne de la haye*," a pent-house erected *along a hedge*?—I may observe that the resemblance between the Cork Anglo-Irish and the natives of Devon and

Somerset extends beyond their manner of speaking, and is very obvious in their appearance and manners.

HERMES.

Among the instances of early English pronunciation remaining as provincialisms in Ireland, may be noticed the word "patron," pronounced "pattern," and used to signify the festival of a patron saint. The modern English word "pattern" is merely a corruption of the French "*patron*," the word for a model. The model used by a founder, in casting a statue, was probably called the "*patron*," as being the likeness either of the patron saint or of the employer [*patronus*] meant to be represented. HERMES.

The characters engraved on the stone found in the subterranean chamber at Connor (co. Antrim), and figured in your last number [p. 100], are clearly not an Ogham inscription. They are more probably Runic. We know from Olaus Wormius that Runic letters were inscribed by the old Scandinavians in every variety of situation, apparently as charms for protecting their persons or property. They had them on the hilts of their swords, the sterns of their ships, their seats, drinking cups, and other domestic utensils. The letter N especially figures as a charm of this kind on many occasions; and this letter is the one most distinctly shown in the Connor inscrip-

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most, if not all of these, are either connected with "the Church," or refer to circumstances and events with which our country could only have become acquainted through the Romans. But how are we to account for an affinity between this language and the dialects of Central Africa?

Belfast.

THOMAS HENRY PURDON.

SACRED NUMBERS.—In the paper on the Shamrock [Journal, vol. 5, p. 12], and the notes appended, there are references to the Egyptian superstitions respecting the sanctity of the number *three*. Whoever takes the trouble to wade through Plutarch's treatise on Isis and Osiris, and the doctrines of the Pythagorean philosophy, will find some wonderful properties and virtues ascribed to almost *every* number. Certain arithmetical or geometrical peculiarities are usually assigned as reasons for such especial reverence. Without detailing all the dogmas, it may suffice to notice that the beneficent divinity Oromasdes is designated by the *unit*, the malignant deity Arcimanius by *two*, and Mithras, the mediator, by *three*. This ascribing of evil to the number *two* seems to have given rise to the idea of ill-luck in that throw with the dice. Hence, too, the Prince of Darkness is among ourselves popularly called "the *Deuce*."—Again, the number *one* was assigned to Apollo, *two* to Diana, and *three* to Minerva. Plutarch adds:—"The number *two* [implies] strife and audacity, but the number *three*, justice." He also notices *thirty-six* as a most holy number. Oromasdes is likewise said to have created *six* gods, and Arcimanius *six* antagonist divinities.

At the same time, in Plutarch's treatise "Concerning the EI in Delphi," sundry sage reasons

are given for the consecration of the number *five*, as being made up of *two* and *three*—as it were, wedded together. Connected with this idea, he has some remarks on the form of the Trefoil and the fig-leaf, and ivy-leaf, which do not well bear quotation.

Now, it strikes me that, if we suppose the Druidical superstition to be more or less identical with these Oriental fancies, some light may be thrown on their practice. One of the Egyptian rites consisted in pounding in a mortar a certain plant called *Omomi*, and casting it, mixed with the blood of a wolf, into a place inaccessible to sun-shine, invoking *Hades* and darkness. Could this plant have been the *mistletoe*, or any plant having, like it, its leaves in pairs? The Egyptians held some plants sacred to the good god and some to the evil one. The number *two*, we have seen, was devoted to the latter; and what time was more fit for invoking darkness than the winter solstice? In your editorial notes to the paper on the Shamrock, you remark the etymological resemblance of the original name of this plant to that of the Sun; and we have observed that the number *two* was sacred to Diana, or the moon. All this seems to point to some early religious dogma, now lost in the obscurity of the past.

Among the arithmetical whims of the Pythagoreans was a dislike to the number *seventeen*, while holding *sixteen* and *eighteen* in estimation. I beg to suggest to Mr. Samuel Lover, that this would furnish as valid a reason as the one assigned in his humorous song for the 17th of March being the birth-day of St. Patrick, the destroyer of Irish Druidism. The festival of

Osiris was held at the time of the new moon, next the vernal equinox. The full moon, in a lunar month, falls about the *seventeenth* day, according to Plutarch's reckoning. Can the 17th of March have had any reference to the Paschal full moon?—A great many other strange theories, arithmetical, geometrical, and musical, are given by Plutarch, in his treatise “On the Generation of the Soul.”

TRISMEGISTUS.

THE SCOTCH IN IRELAND.—A few days past, when looking over a very miscellaneous collection of papers, relating to commerce, colonies, &c., formerly belonging to Abraham Hill, a fellow and treasurer of the Royal Society, and one of the first commissioners of the Board of Trade when it was instituted in 1696, I found the following memoranda, which may not be altogether devoid of interest to the readers of this *Journal*; as they happily illustrate an observation of Dr. Hume, in one of his valuable and interesting papers on Ulster ethnology, to the effect—I quote from memory—that Belfast, though originally an English town, in course of time became practically a Scottish one; and they also show, what many writers, by the way, are apt to forget, that, previous to the Scottish union, the English and Irish people regarded Scotland as a foreign state; which, indeed, commercially, and, I may almost add, politically speaking, it really was. I send the paper just as I found it, without either date or signature; but it is bound up with papers of 1697, and its own internal evidence declares it to be of that period. W. PINKERTON.

“Query. If true.

1. That the Scots have gott into their hands two-thirds of the trade of Ireland.

2. That the money they gott by the English

Armyes landing in the North, first putt them in Stock. That they presently traded to furnish the Armyes, & thenceforth went boldly into France, & had, for many years, connivance for all they imported, as it brought help & increase to the Publick Revenue.

3. That the seat of the Warr being in the 3 other Provinces, all the plunder of black cattle was sent & driven into the North for Security, where they had plenty before: soe as the Markett went from thence to all other Parts, when the Warr was over.

4. That the greatest Destruction falling on the sheep, & England refusing to lett any goe over,^a (as in 1654 had been allow'd, & for 3 years after that Warr), these Merchants gott from Scotland to the value of 300 thousand pounds in Scotch sheep, which served for eating, till the remaynes of the better stock could multiply.

5. That the last yeares want of Corne in Scotland brought over not lesse than 20 thousand poore, & not lesse than 30 thousand before, since ye Revolution.

6. That altho' Belfast is now counted the second place of Trade in Ireland, yett the Scotch Merchants are spread into all other the Trading Townes of that kingdom, & are made Magistrates in their Turnes. They are generally frugal, industrious, very nationall, & very helpful to each other against any Third.

7. That this Temper is the same in their Gentry, who have gotten great authority in the Armye, & in the Parliament of that Kingdom.

Whether this growing wealth & power, if found true, will center at last in England or in Scotland, is worth Consideration.”

^a For fear of encouraging Irish woollen manufactures.

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

USE OF THE PRONOUN "ME." [vol. iii., p. 323,]
 —The query proposed by Mr. EVANS would have been long since answered, but that I doubted if the querist, or any other well-informed person, could really have been ignorant that the insertion of the pronoun "me," in such passages as he refers to in old English writers, was *expletive*, and had no separate meaning;—merely giving *intensity* to the assertions by showing that the speaker's personal feelings were interested in the matter. Instances of this are abundant. A like idiom is familiar in Greek.

T. H. P.

"SEVENFOLD" [Queries, vol. v., p. 352].—The inquirer is in error respecting the form of this word. It is "*sevendible*," without an *r*. I once knew a fisherman at Newcastle, in the Co. Down, give his son a severe beating, and an old man describing the act, said, "He tuk the wee fella be the scruff o' the nack, and bleeched him most *sevendibly*." The word is apparently "*seven-double*," that is, "seven-fold," and the adverb is formed regularly from the adjective. Many English words, like "double," take a secondary meaning in Ireland, which is purely provincial; thus, we say an old man is bent "two double;" but a cart rope is "three double," and a rustic whip-lash is "four double." The well-known expression of Dr. Barrett sounds rational enough to a middle or lower class man in Ireland, though it tickles English ears:—"All Gaul is *quartered* into three halves." Nebu-

chadnezzar, who was a Babylonish king, gave orders to heat the burning fiery furnace "*one seven times more* than it was wont to be heated:" had he been a county Down man he would have simply said, "Heat it most *sevendibly*."

A. Hume

OLD NICK. [Queries, vol. v., p. 352; and vol. vi., p. 107.]—Names of this kind are usually jocular or provincial at first, but, for the sake of convenience, they become expressive in a much wider circuit. St. Nicholas was the patron of sailors, and, until within the last two centuries, offerings to him were not unusual, before going to sea, in the maritime towns of England. A part of the same custom was the sending out of ships on a Sunday, "after they had received the prayers of the church." In such circumstances, it was easy to confound "Old Nick" with "the prince of the power of the air," especially as every unusual fact in meteorology or navigation was then ascribed to supernatural causes. I have somewhere heard or read that the name "Old Harry," originated in the early part of the 16th century; the opponents of Henry VIII. identifying him with a supposed fiend. The name "Davy Jones," used by sailors, is a satirical allusion to the Welsh; and the allusion to his "locker" is explained by the second line in a nursery-rhyme descriptive of "Taffy."—"Hornic" and "Cloutie" are names derived from the supposed personal appearance of Satan; the English popular idea during the middle ages

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Q U E R I E S.

Are there, among our relics of antiquity, any remains of chariots? Are there any distinct proofs of their use recorded in ancient Irish poems or MSS.? How was it possible to employ them in a country so overspread with wood, and latterly with bogs, and badly provided with roads?

T. H. P.

Is it true that frogs are not indigenous in Ireland? O'Reilly's Irish Dictionary gives the word "*losgan*" as the name of the frog, and M^cCurtin's dictionary gives another word "*cnadan*" for the same. These words do not seem to be borrowed from any other language, and would therefore prove that the animal was known to the ancient Irish. Are these names for the frog still in use among the Irish-speaking population?

RUSTICUS.

In the "Epistle Dedicatory" to Boate's *Ireland's Naturall History*, published in 1652, the following passage occurs:—"I lookt also somewhat upon the hopefull appearance of replanting Ireland shortly, not only by the Adventurers, but happily by the calling in of exiled *Bohemians* and other Protestants also, and happily by the invitation of some well-affected out of the Low Countries."—Can any of your readers inform me what were the Bohemians here referred

to, and whether any of them came to Ireland?

SENEX.

I have never met with a satisfactory derivation for the word "Tory," as applied to a political party. Perhaps your correspondents may be able to enlighten me.

QUISQUIS.

What is the origin of the word "bon-fire?" Johnson, in his dictionary, makes it a compound of the French *bon*, good, and the English *fire*; but besides the improbability of such a combination, when it would be as short and as easy to say "good-fire" as "bon-fire," I can see no good reason for this derivation.

CURIOSUS.

The use of *mead* as a beverage seems to have been universal in ancient Ireland. Is it known at what period it was last used? I am not aware that even the mode of making it is now known in any part of the country.

ANGLICUS.

I am anxious to know where I can find a satisfactory account of the popular notions regarding the *Banshee*, and of the origin of that singular superstition. Most of the notices of the subject which I have met with are vague and superficial.

G. M^cL.

What is the actual legend of the "Bloody Hand," adopted as the arms of Ulster? And where is the original to be found?

A. H.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ANCIENT IRISH.

~~~~~  
BY JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL.D.,

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF BERLIN.  
~~~~~

It is now universally admitted by the learned, that the *Gaeidhil*—or ancient inhabitants of Ireland and of the Highlands of Scotland—and the Cymri or ancient Britons are the descendants of the Celtæ of Gaul, and retain dialects flowing from the language of that people. But the invariable tradition of the Gaedhil themselves is that they came from Spain to Ireland; and it is highly probable that the Milesian Irish were a colony from Celtiberia.

The earliest writer who mentions the Celtæ is Herodotus, who flourished about 413 years before Christ. He states that the Celtæ and Cynctæ dwelt in the remotest quarters of Europe, towards the setting sun, near the source of the Ister and the City (rather, mountain,) of Pyrene; but the most copious and valuable account of them which has descended to us, is contained in Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic war, written about 44 years before the birth of Christ. In this work they are described as a numerous and warlike people, who occupied nearly one-half of Gallia or France: their territories were bounded on the south by the river Garumna (now the *Garonne*); on the north by the Sequana (the *Seine*) and Matrona (the *Marne*); on the east by Mount Jura; and on the west by the Atlantic ocean.

A colony of the same people occupied a great part of the north of Spain, where they were called Celtiberi. They had crossed the Pyrenees from Gaul, and settled at first on the river Iberus (the *Ebro*), from which they were called Celt-Iberi. These, who were probably the ancestors of the Celtæ, or Gaedhil, or Milesians, of Ireland, are described as the most powerful and warlike of all the tribes or nations of Spain.

In the first chapter of the first book of the Commentaries of the Gallic war, Cæsar remarks that the people called *Celtæ* in their own language, were styled *Galli* in the Roman or Latin tongue, but nothing is to be found in the Commentaries to throw any light upon this difference of name. The probability, however, is, that the Romans called them *Galli*, i.e. cocks, from their pomposity and courage, though some are of opinion that *Galli* was but the Romanized pronunciation of *Celtæ*. At the present day the Welsh call the Irish and Highlanders *Guydhill*, and the two latter now style themselves *Gaoidhil* or *Gaedhil*, suppressing the *dh* in the present pronunciation, as the English do their *gh*, though it is probable that they pronounced the *dh* originally, as the Welsh do at present.

The identity of the race of the Celtæ of Gaul with that of the ancient inhabitants of Britain and Ireland has been argued from the same work, [lib. iii. c. 13,] where it is stated that the great school of the Druids of Gaul was in Britain.^a The next authority relied on in proof of this identity is Tacitus, who, in his Life of Agricola, [c. xi.,] states that “there is very little difference between the soil and climate, the religious worship, and dispositions of the inhabitants of Ireland and those of Britain.”

Of the language of the Celtæ of Gaul we have no undoubted specimen to shew its grammatical construction; but there are various detached words of it preserved by the classical writers, which afford strong ground for believing that it was a kindred tongue with the original dialects of the British islands. A curious list of the words so preserved was published at *Lipsia* in 1736, by Joannes Augustinus Egenolf, who seems not to have known that they bore any affinity to the Welsh or Gaelic of the British isles. In this list I find *aber*, a harbour or mouth of a river; *alp*, a mountain; *arden*, a wood; *barr*, loud singing or shouting; *bardi*, poets; *baril*, a barrel; *baro* or *vara*, a soldier; *bod*, earth; *bracchæ*, femoralia; *brenn* or *bryn*, a helmet; *brog* or *brug*, a district; *bron*, the breast; *bulga*, a leather bag; *cad*, a battle; *carn*, a rock; *celia*, beer; *cucullus*, a Gallic cowl or covering for the head, mentioned by Martial; *derw*, an oak; *dunum*, a city; *garw*, rough, fierce; *glas*, green; *læna*, a Gallic covering or shirt of linen, mentioned by Strabo; *lug*, light; *maer*, a superintendant; *mar*, a horse; *mor*, the sea; *pyren*, beer; *vargi*, robbers.

Pinkerton, in whose time Vallancey and others carried their ideas of the ancient civilisation of the Celts beyond due bounds, attempts to counteract the influence of their writings by assertions equally bold, and more groundless than anything they had advanced. “The real Celtic,” he asserts, “is as remote from the Greek as the Hottentot from the Lapponic. The mythology of the Celtæ resembled, in all probability, that of the Hottentots, or others of the rudest savages, as the Celtæ^b anciently were, and are little better at present, being incapable of making any progress in society.”

Now, without wishing to indulge in any of that Celto-mania which characterises the writings of the Irish and Welsh antiquaries of the last century, I may remark that Pinkerton has here calculated too much on the thoughtlessness or ignorance of his readers, for neither he nor any one else knew or knows a word of the ancient history of the Celtæ, except what is contained in the classical authors, and especially in the sixth book of Cæsar’s Commentaries; from which it is clear that the Celtæ of Gaul had made considerable progress in civilization; that they had an order of priests

^a “Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur; et nunc qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur.”

^b The name *Celtæ* is here applied to the Irish by Pinkerton. The earlier calumniators knew nothing of the word *Celtæ*, as applied to the Irish. It was never applied to them before the 17th century. They never assumed

the name themselves, but always understood it to be that of the ancient inhabitants of France. “SCOTI sumus non GALLI.”—“We are Gaels, not Galls.”—*Vit. Malachiæ*. But as soon as the writers who wished to favour them had succeeded in making the literary public believe that the ancient Irish were *Celtæ*, then their enemies endeavoured, with all their might, to prove that their ancestors of Gaul were mere savages!

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Another point of agreement between the Celtæ of Gaul and Gaedhil of Ireland is the belief of both in the transmigration of souls. Of this belief the most ancient traditional Irish stories furnish many instances, as the legend of *Fintan*, the Methusalem of Irish tradition, who is said to have survived the deluge, and to have lived down to the sixth century, when he conversed with St. Finian of Movilla.

Another argument, on which I beg here to emphatically dwell, may fairly be deduced from the great stature of the Celtæ of Gaul and Gaedhil of Ireland. In the 30th chapter of the second book of the Commentaries, Cæsar makes the following allusion to the great stature of the Aduatici, in comparison with the short stature of the Romans:—

“And on the first arrival of our army, they made frequent sallies from the town, and contended in small battles with our men. Afterwards—having fortified themselves with a rampart twelve feet in height, and fifteen thousand feet in ambit, and with numerous castles—they kept within the town. When the mantlets were advanced and a mound constructed, they saw a tower being erected at a distance, they began first to mock from the wall, and to upbraid the Romans by speeches: saying, to what purpose was such a machine set up, at such a distance. With what hands, or with what force, did they expect to bring forward a turret of such a bulk to the walls, especially as they were men of such small stature (for our short stature is a matter of derision to most Gaulish men, in comparison with the magnitude of their own bodies.”)^e

These were the Aduatici, who were Belgæ; but the observation in parentheses alludes to the great stature of the Gauls *in general*. That the ancient Gaedhil or Scoti of Ireland were remarkable for their great stature, vigour, and valour, we have various authorities to prove.

The first important notice of the valour of the inhabitants of Ierne, or Ireland, is found in the poet Claudian, who describes the success of Stilicho in repelling them. “By him,” says this poet, speaking in the person of Britannia, “was I protected when the Scot moved all Ierne against me, and the sea foamed with hostile oars.”^f From another of this poet’s eulogies it appears that the fame of that Roman legion, which had guarded the frontier of Britain against the invading Scots and Picts, procured for it the distinction of being one of those summoned to the banner of Stilicho, when the Goths threatened Rome:—

“Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat trœna truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exanimis Picto moriente figuras.”^g

The Scot here referred to by Claudian was no other than the celebrated Irish monarch, Dathi, who,

“Ac, primo adventu exercitûs nostri crebras ex oppido excursiones faciebant, parvulisque præliis cum nostris contendebant: postea vallo pedum xii in circuitu xv millium, crebrisque castellis circummuniti oppido sese continebant. Ubi vineis actis aggere exstructo turrim, procul constitui viderunt, primum irridere ex muro, atque increpitare vocibus, quo tanta machinatio ab tanto spatio institueretur? quibusnam manibus aut quibus viribus, præsertim homines tantulæ staturæ (nam plerisque hominibus Gallis, præ magnitudine corporum

suorum, brevitâs nostra contemptui est) tanti oneris turrim in muris collocare confiderent?”

^f “Totam cum Scotus Iernen
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.”
^g “There arrived also the legion spread over the furthest Britons,
Which bridles the ferocious Scot, and examines on the dying Pict
The hideous figures punctured by the steel.”

one “*Scotorum pultibus prægravatus,*” and the other, “*Albinum, canem grandem et corpulentum, et qui calcibus magis possit sævire quam dentibus.* Habet enim progeniem *Scoticæ gentis de Britannorum vicinid.*”^h

Some have thought that by “*Scotorum pultibus,*” i.e., Scottic stirabout, St. Jerome meant the Pelagian heresy; but *prægravatus* evidently applies to his corpulency. It is much more reasonable to believe that he alluded to the national food of the Scoti, which remains the national diet to this day among the Scots of North Britain, and had been much used and valued by the Scoti of Ireland until the potato supplanted it, to the great multiplication but deterioration of the race. But *prægravatus* is evidently applied to describe the corpulency of a huge debater, “who could argue better with KICKS than SYLLOGISMS,”—*qui calcibus magis possit sævire quam DENTIBUS*—who could kick better than he could argue with his teeth. The figure is not very correct, but it is good enough for an old gentleman who was flogged by an angel for reading Cicero, and who saw the Scoti or Attacoti in Gallia eat the thighs and *nates* of boys, and the breasts of girls.

Passing over some fabulous accounts of the gigantic stature of the ancient Irish, quoted by Ussher and others,ⁱ we find the following most important and interesting description of the stature and personal appearance of the ancient Irish race at the period of the English invasion, before they had received any admixture of Saxon or Norman blood. Giraldus Cambrensis, who came over to Ire-

^h “Over-fatted with Scottish stirabout; and the other ALBINUS, a huge and corpulent dog, and one better qualified to argue with kicks than words, for he derives his origin from the Scotie nation in the neighbourhood of Britain.”

ⁱ In the year 1157, it is stated in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise and of the Four Masters*, that the head of Eochy Mac Luchta, who was king of North Munster in the first century, was, this year, taken out of the earth, at Fincorey. It was of such wonderful bigness that it might be compared to a large cauldron. The largest goose might easily pass through the two holes of his eyes, and through the hole of the spinal marrow.—In the oldest lives of the Irish Apostle, St. Patrick, it is said that he resuscitated a giant, Glas Mac Cas, who was 120 feet high!

In the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, it is recorded that Muirchertach More Mac Erca, monarch of Ireland in the sixth century, was fifteen feet high!

Entries of this description are, however, only records of the credulity of our ancestors. Nearly in a similar light I view all our poetical stories about the stature and unmatched valour of the heroes of the Red Branch

in Ulster, in the first century; and of Finn Mac Cumhail and his heroes, towards the middle of the third. Traditions of this nature exist among all ancient nations; but they prove nothing but the tendency in the human mind to exaggeration, and the respect which men have had, at all times, for great stature and valour.

Stories of this kind are found in the histories of every country in the world, even the most civilised, and coming down to a comparatively recent period. “In the year 1501 (as we are gravely informed), an countryman digging deep into the earth, near Rome, discovered a tomb of stone, wherein lay a body, so tall, that, being placed erect, it overtopped the walls of that city, and was as entire as if newly buried, having a very large wound on the breast, and a lamp burning at the head, which could neither be extinguished by wind nor water; so that they were forced to perforate the bottom of the lamp, and by that means put out the flame. This was said to be the body of Pallas, slain by Turnus, the following verses being inscribed on the outside of the sepulchre:—

“Filius Evandri Pallas, quem lancea Turni
Militis occidit; more suo jacot hic.”

land first about the year 1183; and again in 1185, as tutor to John, Earl of Morton, afterwards king of England, wrote a series of chapters on the topography, history, manners and customs of the Irish. In his *Topographia Hiberniæ* (Dist. i., c. xix.), where he treats “*De feris earumque naturis*,” he says that all the animals of Ireland were smaller than those he had seen elsewhere, and that *man alone retained his majesty of stature.*¹

Again, in the same work (Dist. iii., c. x), where he treats “*De Gentis istius naturâ moribus et cultu*,” he states that the Irish knew nothing of artificial nursing, but that they nevertheless grew up by nature into most beautiful, tall, symmetrical, and strong persons, of well-formed and well-coloured faces.²

The only Irishman whose person he describes in particular is Dermot Mac Morrough, king of Leinster; and this, coupled with his general description of the Irish as a race, is sufficient to satisfy any man that the Gaedhil of Ireland, in the 12th century, were as tall as the Celtæ of Gaul were in Cæsar’s time. Giraldus says that Dermicius was a man “of grand stature, of very large body, a man bold and warlike. From his continual shouting in war his voice was hoarse; he had rather be feared than loved by all; he was an oppressor of the nobles, an exalter of the humble,” &c.¹

We find no other particular reference to the stature or physical capabilities of the ancient Irish race till the reign of Richard II., A.D. 1399, when the seventh in descent from this Dermot (Art, son of Art, son of Murtough, son of Maurice, son of Murtough, son of Donnell, son of Donnell Kavanagh, son of the Dermot above mentioned by Giraldus) is thus described by the author of the *Histoire du Roy d’Angleterre, Richard*,^m who was himself an eye-witness of the scene:—

“Among the gentlemen, I was one that went with the Earl of Gloucester to see Mac Murrough, his behaviour, estate, and forces, &c. From a mountain, between two woods, not far from the sea, we saw Mac Murrough descending, accompanied by multitudes of the Irish, and mounted upon a horse without a saddle, which cost him, it was reported, 400 cows. His horse was fair, and, in his descent from the hill to us, ran as swift as any stag, hare, or the swiftest beast I have ever seen. In his right hand he bore a long spear, which, when near the spot where he was to meet the earl,

¹ “Ut autem breviter complectar: omnium animalium ferarumque, et avium corpora hic quam alibi suo in genere minora reperies: solis hominibus suam retinentibus majestatem.”

² “Non in cunabulis aptantur. Non fasciis alligantur, non frequentibus in balneis tenera membra vel foventur vel artis juvamine componuntur, &c. Sed sola natura, quos edidit artus, præter artis cujuslibet adminicula prosui arbitrio et componit et disponit. Tanquam itaque probans quid per se valeat fingere, non cessat et figurare quousque in robur perfectum, pulcherrimis et procæris corporibus, et coloratissimis vultibus homines istos provehat et producat.”

¹ “Erat autem Dermicius vir stature grandis et corpore peramplo: vir bellicosus et audax in gente suâ: ex crebro continuoque belli clamore voce raucisonâ. Timeri

a cunctis quam diligi malens: nobilium oppressor, humilium erector, infestus suis, exosus alienis,” &c.—*Hib. Expug*, lib. i., c. vi.

^m The writer of the *Histoire du Roy d’Angleterre, Richard*, gives an account in French metre of the four or five last months of Richard II’s reign. Of this very curious tract there exist two MSS., one of which is in the British Museum, and the other in the library at Lambeth Palace. A translation of that portion of the story which relates to Ireland was made by Sir George Carew, President of Munster in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, and published by Harris in his *Hibernica*, pp. 49 to 58. But the entire narrative has been recently translated, and published in the twentieth volume of the *Archæologia*, by the Rev. J. Webb.

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prisoner in a skirmish in Leinster, by an Irish chieftain, whose daughter he married, and with whom he lived for many years in the country. He was well acquainted with the Irish language, and was, therefore, employed by King Richard to instruct the native chieftains, as already mentioned. The manner of his capture is thus described by the French chronicler:—

“It chanced that in this pursuit my horse took fright, and ran away with me, in spite of all my efforts, into the midst of the enemy. My friends could never overtake me; and in passing through the Irish, one of them, by a great feat of agility, leaped on the back of my horse, and held me tight with both his arms, but did me no harm with lance or knife. . . . He seemed much rejoiced to have made me his prisoner, and carried me to his house, which was strong, and in a town surrounded with wood, palisades, and stagnant water. The gentleman who had taken me was called Brin Casteret, a very handsome man. I have frequently made inquiries after him, and hear that he is still alive, but very old. This Brian Casteret kept me with him seven years, and gave me his daughter in marriage, by whom I have two girls.”—*Froissart*, Johne’s translation.

The next curious reference to the warlike vigour and courage of the ancient Irish is found in a letter written to King Henry VIII. by the Lord Deputy St. Leger, from Maynooth, on the 6th of April, 1543. In this letter, St. Leger goes on to state that he had heard a report that “his Majesty was about to go to war with France or Scotland, and requests to know his Majesty’s pleasure if he should raise a body of native Irish soldiers to attend him in the invasion of France;” and he then proceeds as follows:—

“But in case your Majesty will use their service into Fraunce, your Highnes must then be at some charges with them; ffor yt ys not in their possibilitie to take that journey without your helpe; for ther ys no horseman of this lande but he bathe his horse and his two boyes, and two hackeneys, or one hackeney and two chieffe horse, at the leste, whose wages must be according; and of themselffes they have no ryches to ffurnyshe the same. And, assuredly, I think that for ther ffeate of warre, whiche ys for light scoores, ther ar no properer horsemen in Christen ground, nor more hardie, nor yet that can better indure hardeness. I thinke your Majestic may well have of them ffyve hundred, and leave your Englishe Pale well ffurnysshed. And as to ther ffootemen they have one sort whiche be harnessed in mayle and bassenettes, having every of them his weapon called a sparre, moche like the axe of the Towre, and they be named Galloglasse; and for the more part ther boyes beare for them thre darts a pceice, whiche dartes they throw er they come to the hande stripe: these sort of men be those that doo not lightly abandon the ffeilde, *but byde the brunt to the deathe*. The other sorte callid kerne ar *naked men*, but oncly their shorts and small coates; and many tymes whan they come to the bycker, but bare nakyd saving ther shurts to hyde ther prevyties; and those have dartes and shorte bowes: whiche sorte of people be bothe hardy and clyver to serche woddes or morasses, in the which they be harde to be beaten. And if your Majesty will convert them to Morespikes and hand-gonnes I thinke they wolde in that ffeate, with

r Highnes great service; ffor as for gonnors ther be no better in no land
er they have, whiche be more than I wolde wishe they had, oules yt
. And also these two sortes of people be of suche hardeness that ther
e that will or can endure the paynes and evill ffaro that they will sus-
when corne ys nere rype, they seke none other meate in tyme of nede,
cares of wheat, and eate the same, and water to ther drinke; and with
and at all tymes they eate such meate as ffew other could lyve with.
be, to have them in readynes to serve your Majestic in any these sortes,
e, as well to signifie your pleasure therein, as also what wages I shall
having knowledge of your pleasure therein, I shall endeavour myselffe,
ductie, to accomplishe the same. The sooner I shall have knowledge
affe, the better I shal be hable to perform it.

From your Majestic's castell of Maynothe,
the 6th of April, 1543.

ANTONY SENTLEGER.

tate Papers, vol. iii., p. 3, p. 444. London, 1834.]

ng, this lord deputy was recalled to give the king an account of his
Ireland; and Sir William Brabazon was sworn lord justice in his stead.
sand native Irish troops to Calais, under the command of three Anglo-
e, and Skurlock, the two former being nephews of the Earl of Ormond.
is preserved in the State Paper Office, London.

the daring valour of this Irish corps at the siege of Boulogne is scarcely
es that they were very serviccable to the king at the siege of Boulogne,
being light of foot, they would often range twenty or thirty miles into
urned, would burn and spoil wherever they came. "They had a pretty
t was to tie a bull to a stake, and set fire about him, and as the fire
ld bellow, and thereupon all the cattle within hearing of him would
e taken. These Irishmen would never give quarter; and therefore,

The next notice of the personal appearance of the ancient Irish is found in a *History of Ireland*, written in the year 1567, by the celebrated Jesuit, Edmund Campion, who writes in his *Historie of Ireland*, (chap. vi.):—"Cleare men they are of skinn and hue, but of themselves careless and bestiall. Their women are well-favoured, clear-coloured, fair-handed, bigge and large, suffered from their infancie to grow at will, nothing curious of their feature and proportion of body." And again:—"Their ladies are trimmed rather with massie jewells then with garish apparell; it is counted a beauty in them to be tall, round, and fat."—[*Ibid.*]

The next writer who notices the stature of the native Irish is the poet Spenser, who, in his *View of the State of Ireland*, written in the year 1596, has the following remark upon the Irish horseman:—"I have heard some great warriours say, that in all the services which they had seene abroade in foreigne countreyes, they never saw a more comely man than the Irish man, nor that cometh on more bravely to his charge; neither is his manner of mounting unseemly, though he lacke stirrappes, but more ready than with stirrappes, for in his getting up his horse is still going.—[*Dub. Ed. p. 116.*] Again, "Yet sure they are very valiaunt and hardie, for the most part great indurers of colde, labours, hunger, and all hardnesse; very active and strong of hand; very swift of foot; very vigilant and circumspect in their enterprises, very present in perils, very great scorers of death."—[*p. 119.*]

The next author who mentions this subject is Fynes Moryson, who was secretary to the Lord Mountjoy, 1599-1603. Speaking of the smallness of the Irish cattle, he writes in his *Description of the State of Ireland*:—"By this abundance of cattle, the Irish have a frequent though somewhat poor traffick for their hides, the cattle being in general very *little* (small), and only the men and the greyhounds are of great stature." He remarks more than once that the Irish were firmer on foot, and had a stronger push of the spear than either the English or Spaniards.

The next writer who notices the stature and characteristics of the native Irish is John Dymoke, who wrote about the year 1599. His words are:—"The people are of nature vain-glorious, francke, irefull, goode horsemen, able to endure great paynes, delighted in warr; great hospitallitye; of religion for the most parte Papists; great gluttons, and of a sensuall and vitious lyfe; deep dissemblers, secret in displeasure, of a crewell revenginge minde, and irreconsiliable. Of witt they are quicke and capable; kinde-hearted where they take, and of exceedinge love towards their foster-brethren. Of complexion they are cleare and well-favored, both men and weomen; *tall* and *corpulent bodies*, and of themselves careless and bestiall."—[*See Tracts relating to Ireland, printed for the Irish Archæological Society, vol. ii. p. 6.*]

These historical passages can never be obliterated, but must remain as evidences of the great stature and valour of the native Irish race as long as this world shall last.

I could adduce various instances of individual Irishmen of the Gaelic race who have been described by their contemporaries as of gigantic frame, such as Florence MacCarthy, who was born in

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Catholic himself. His end was most melancholy. In the Summer Assizes of 1849, he served on the County Grand Jury, although his embarrassments were notorious; and, instead of proceeding homewards, after the duties of a grand juror were over, he remained in the city of Cork, and was arrested by a wine merchant. He applied for his discharge on the score of being on duty as a grand juror; but the application was refused, and he was confined in the city gaol. The cholera then prevailing very severely, he was seized with it and died."

Another very remarkable man of the old Irish race, whose sons, Nicholas, Michael, and William, I remember, was Mr. William Gaffney, *alias* O'Gamhna, of Glenmore, in the barony of Ida, County Kilkenny. He stood six feet four inches in height, and was robust, strong, and athletic in proportion. He was so dexterous a swimmer that it was believed he could "walk on the water" from New Ross to Waterford. He commanded a party of eighty thousand rebels, in 1798, at Ballyverneen Hill, when Major-General Jackson defended the town of New Ross. Mr. Gaffney was executed, and his body thrown into a pit with several other bodies. But the nurse-tender and mid-wife of the district, commonly called "Mary of the Ring," who was much attached to him and his family, came at night, alone, by the light of the moon, and opening the pit, threw up all the bodies on the bank, and examining them one by one, recognised that of Mr. Gaffney by its vast proportions and noble features. She returned the other carcasses, which were covered with fresh lime, to the pit, and carried the body of Mr. Gaffney to the church-yard of Kilbride, where she buried it in the tomb of his ancestors; exhibiting a specimen of female heroism which Plutarch would have handed down to immortality.

IRISH BARDISM IN 1561.

(Continued from page 167.)

Thomas Smyth was, doubtless, identical with the Sheriff of Dublin of the same name in 1576, and Mayor in 1591. This surname is so common, being now equivalent to no name at all, that it is vague to suggest that he was nearly related to Thomas, natural son of Sir Thomas Smyth, or Smith, who, in 1572, formed a colony at "Smith's Castle," in the Ards (county of Down); and the present writer has already suggested [*Journal*, vol. ii. 219,] that this Dublin druggist was brother of the notorious John, called "Bottle-Smith," for his attempt to assassinate Shane Dymas by means of a bottle of poisoned drink. One of this family had his hand stricken off, probably in

Proposing to treat the interesting topic of THE IRISH BARDS archæologically in our future pages, we will, for the present, confine our comments to some passages in *Smyth's Information for Ireland*, which was, it should have been mentioned, drawn up for the information of the lords of the queen's privy council, to whom it is addressed. If the author was Mr. Thomas Smith, he was at that time about erecting a mint in Dublin. We are curious to ascertain his relationship to the adventurous gentleman of the same name who effected the first Elizabethan settlement in this province, and who (as well as his father, Sir Thomas, one of her Majesty's secretaries) was created "colonel of the Ards and Clandeboy," and who was himself slain in 1573. The secretary is author of a treatise on Roman coinage. However, we imagine that it was the apothecary who wrote this notice of the bards, since it bears more marks of an obstetric than a martial hand. From the primitive time of the *Tuatha De Danaan*, noted for their scientific knowledge, the healing art was greatly respected in Ireland. Derrick, in his photographic description of the feast of a chieftain of woodkerne, places the surgeon next in precedence to the priest, to whom a seat of honour, probably anciently occupied by his predecessor, the druidic priest of Baal, was assigned. The old Irish leeches, who probably derived their knowledge traditionally from the druids, had great faith in astronomic influence on the human frame; and some of the charms and spells still used by our peasantry, usually in verse, are manifestly relics of druidic paganism or demon-worship.

As to the "Brehon," the first functionary noticed by Smyth, we may refer to our previous article on *Irish Brehons and their Laws*; merely remarking, that for these men to "take upon themselves to judge in matters and causes of inheritance," was a sore offence in the eyes of the Government, whose object was to induce the Irish to abandon their old and pernicious laws of gavel-kind and tanistry, which were fraught with social evils.

The second personage noticed is that formerly important functionary, the *Seanchaidhe*, "petigrer,"

or repository of pedigrees, a whole Heralds' College in himself—nay, more, an embodied reference in questions of inheritance. However ridiculous the value anciently attached by clans to genealogy may appear to us now, we should bear in mind that, as every free-born clansman had a common right of inheritance, the preservation of his pedigree was a means of establishing his claim to the occupation of land, and, eventually, perhaps, to the rank and rents of senior of his particular sept. Prior, therefore, to the use of records, the sennachies of a tribe were the referees in all disputed cases as to lineage—questions of primary importance among the Irish Gael, involving legitimacy of birth, and traditional superiority of rank according to seniority.

The families holding the hereditary office of bards seem to have been wealthy in cattle, owing to their freedom from rent and taxes; to the fees or donations they received; and to their sacred character, and consequent immunity from plunder—an immunity religiously observed by even the royal English forces in earlier times. One of the charges on which Lord Leonard Gray was executed, was that “he had spoiled and depredated the rhymer's by the mountayne's side, who served the king's army with victual; by which spoil ensued not only reproach and infamy, but scarcity and dearth.” They frequently, however, as Smyth complains, supported “rebels,” or such of the natives as, being always at enmity with the Saxonry, were usually at war with them, and disobedient to the government.

Smyth's remark, that the sennachies filled the ignorant popular leaders with a mad pride, by comparing them to classic heroes, is borne out by much concurrent testimony; among others, by the annalist Dowling, who says that Rory Oge O'More, the dispossessed and fierce chieftain of Leix, whose eighteen years of continuous commotion were closed by his being killed in 1577, and who, having latterly burnt the towns of Naas, Athy, Carlow, and Leighlin, was extolled by the rhymer's “*like him that burnt Diana's temple.*” For ourselves, we must say this simile wears the semblance of an Irish bull, since we not only are unaware that Erostratus was ever extolled, but do not see the resemblance between his act of mere villany, done to perpetuate his name, and the very intelligible vengeance of the dispossessed lord of Leix. A sennachie's most dire offence was that, by his “holding their pedigrees and genealogies, ever to prove their descents from the ancient barbarous kings that were before the English conquest,”^b he kept up and cherished among the chieftains a bitter and galling memory of loss and injury, which, during five centuries, formed the political key-note to which the bard tuned his harp, and a sort of whet-stone on which the Gael sharpened his pike. When the stirring *rosg-catha* of an Irish Timotheus inculcated incendiarism with all the power of music, the Celtic “Alexander” rose hot from the feast, drunk with song and usquebaugh, and inflamed with fierce passions, which he forthwith carried into execution. Music, saith the muse, hath charms to soothe the savage breast; but some

^b Letter of Capt. Dawtrey, S.P.O.

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made by a troop of insurgent foresters, and described their ensuing feast, the doggerel poet continues :—

“ Now when their gutts be full, then comes the pastime in ;
 The Barde and Harper mellodie unto them doe beginne.
 This Barde, he doth reporte the noble conquestes done ;
 And eke in rimes shewes forthe at large their glorie thereby wonne.
 Thus he at random roameth ; he prickes the rebells on ;
 And shewes, by such externall deeds, their honour lyes upon.
 And then the more to stir them up, to prosecute their ill ;
 What great renown their fathers gotte, he shews by rhyming skill ;
 And thei most gladsome are, to heare of parents’ name,
 As how, by spoiling honest menne, thei wonne such endless fame.
 Wherefore, like graceless grafted, sprong from a wicked tree,
 Thei grow, through daily exercise, to all iniquitie.
 And more t’ augment the flame, & rancour of their harte,” &c.

The “ Piper,” described by Smyth as preceding a troop of kernes setting out on a *creach* or foray, is admirably portrayed in an engraving in Derrick. In a government letter, dated 7th December, 1572, it is mentioned that those spoilers of the Pale, the fierce Fiagh O’Byrne, Rory Oge O’More, &c., were accustomed to come by daylight with bag-pipes, and by night with torch-light, on their plundering incursions.

The “ Messenger,” mentioned by our writer, performed so active and useful a part in old Gaelic social life, that his services seem but meagrely rewarded by the offal which all records agree was his share of a feast. Captain Riche, who was quartered at Coleraine, and printed his quaint *Description of Ireland* in 1610, observes that “ every great man in the country hath his rymmer, his harper, and his knowne messenger, to run about the country with letters.” The Gaelic names for one of these couriers were *eaclach*, and *gilli-cosh*. The latter word signifies “lad of the foot;” and we must here correct an error fallen into in our article on *Gaelic Domestic*, in translating the word “jester.”

The “ Rakry,” also mentioned, was the *racraidhe*, or singer to the *cruit*, or harp, who recited the poet’s compositions, as also stated by Spenser. Lord Justice Fitzwilliam writes to Sir W. Cecil (Lord Burleigh), 14th April, 1562, that “ rymmers set forth the most bestlyest and owdyus parts of men’s ansestors’ doings, and their own lycke wyse for whom the rymes are made. Such,” he adds, “ be charessed and defendyd, even with their prysts; and rewarded with garments, till they leve themselves nackyd; besyds the best pecc of plate in the howse, and chefest horse away with them; not all together departyng empty handyd when they come among the Erles and other the nobylate of Inglysh race.” Spenser mentions an instance of as many as forty cows (misprinted

Any curiosity our readers may entertain on this latter question we may as well gratify by stating, that, according to the unanimous agreement of all prophets, Ireland will not be fully conquered much "before doomsday!"^c The extraordinary belief reposed by the Celtic people of the British Islands in prophecies, is a matter of history. This superstitious feeling shows its earliest trace among the Canaanites, whose priests of Baal were false prophets, and among whom witchcraft was profession. In the old Irish poem entitled *The Battle of Magh-rath*, the druids of the Pictish king of Ulster are represented as "making true magical predictions for him." Down to so late a period as the 17th century, the Irish chiefs were accustomed to encourage their troops, prior to an engagement, by assuring them that such or such a saint had foretold victory. Moryson mentions the accomplishment of two prophecies, in the battle of Kinsale and the destruction of the three northern Hughs. The former one is circumstantially referred to in *Pacata Hibernia*; and Story, in his *Wars of Ireland*, has a curious page giving "an account of some Irish prophecies." In times when tradition filled the place of the printing-press, nothing could be easier than to invent prophecies suitable to coming and past events.

The "Ollav Filea" was the poet, and an eminent man. The "Bard" was merely a versifier, or "rhymmer." This inferior class were scoffed at by the Fileas as "prattling Bards." "It is not," wrote the author of the curious *Book of Rights*, "the right of a Bard, but of a Filea, to know the

^c Cambrensis writes:—"The Irish people are said to have foure men whom they account to be great prophets, and whom they have in great veneration and credit, Merlin, Bracton, Patrike, and Columkill, whose books and prophecies they have among themselves in their own language; and all they, intreating and speak-

ing of the conquest of their land, doo affirme that the same shall be assailed with often warres, the strifes shall be continuall, and the slaughters great. But yet they do not assure nor warrant anie perfect or full conquest unto the English nation not much before Dooms daie."

this name was denoted not only a poet, but also such as were well versed in other sciences." Every one knows that the Latin *rates* signified a vaticinal, or prophetic poet. The annalist *Firbis* speaks of "poet-philosophers;" a class whom the author of *Hudibras* had, no doubt, in his mind's eye when he described his hero as—

" A deep occult philosopher,
As learned as the *wild Irish* are."

In the *Book of the Cruithne* (or Picts), contained in the Irish *Nennius*, the following vivid account of the pagan druids occurs:—

" There remained behind them in Ealga [Ireland],
With many artificers and warriors,
Who settled in Breagh-magh,
Six god-like Druids;
Divination, and idolatry, and mystical learning,
In a fair and well-walled house,
Plundering in ships, bright poems
By them were taught;
The observance of sneezings and omens,
Choice of weather, lucky times,
The watching of the voices of birds [augury],
They practised without disguise;
Hills and rocks they prepared for the plough.
Among their sons were no thieves."

To have become an adept in these several sciences must have demanded as clear an intellect as the study of an equal number of modern "ologies," inclusive even of Mesmerism and Spirit-rapping. *The Book of Rights* mentions the lucky times for certain *creachs* or forays; and, no doubt, those fortunate seasons were religiously observed. In that ancient tale, *The Banquet of Dùn na Ngedh*, the king of Ulidia's "sage and poet" is also styled a "seer and distinguished druid;" a character he may easily have gained by his supposed power of predicting conjunctions and eclipses of the heavenly bodies. It was, of course, to obtain the tremendous power acquired by such predictions that the druidic orders studied astrology. The learned editor of the tale just mentioned has appended a curious note on the subject of the prophetic powers of the pagan poets. Magic, systematically employed by the druids, descended traditionally, and, perhaps, scripturally, to their successors, the *Filcas*, who also retained other heathen attributes of the more ancient order, in their pretension

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perform "poetical miracles" by the force of satire, so far even as to cause the death of his victim. It is unfortunate that the superstitions of the Gael in the "Isle of Saints" receive but brief notice from the great author of the *Dialogue between Eudoxus and Irenæus*, and that he failed to perform his tantalizing promise of writing on the antiquities of old Erin.

"The Land of Sainctes," which Smyth refers to was, probably, that fabulous "iland beyon Irlande," commonly known as "I-Brazil, the Isle of the Blest," some account of which was given in our former article, "*Notes on old Irish Maps.*"

"O'Maylly, strong in galleys and seamen," as Sir Henry Sidney wrote, was chieftain over the western islands, which formed at that period, as we may believe, the *ultima Thule* of barbarism. Giraldus Cambrensis states that there were, in his time, districts in the west and south where people were to be found who had never been baptised; and that certain islanders had been discovered on the western coast clad in skins, or peltry, (the first clothing of savages,) and who had never heard the name of Christ.

Of those "idle losels, the brotherhood of Carrowes, that professe to play cards all the year long and make it their only occupation," Campion and Spenser give strange accounts.

We have not met elsewhere with the name *Gogathe*, as applied to the Irish glutton; the ordinary name for this professional exhibitor of a special talent having been *Ciocrach*, derived from the adjective, signifying greedy, or ravenous.

The "Abraham," or "Sham-Abraham," was an English vagrant, whose peculiar ways are described by Captain Grose, and who seems to have been a mendicant of the gipsy caste, an aged man, with a hoary patriarchal beard, and sufficiently nude to have formed a good study for painters. The bishop of Cork writes, in 1596, to Lord Hunsdon concerning the enormities and abuses at that time existing in Ireland, desiring among other points to be considered, that "some strict order be taken for idle persons, as *carvaghés*, hazards, rimers, bards, and harpers, which run about the country, eating the labours of the poor, carrying news and intelligences to the rebels, and bruiting false tales. Also the rithmers make songs in commendation and prayse of the treasons, rebellions, spoilings, preyings, and thievings made. They flock," he says, "to the *cuddies*, or night-suppers;" for it was during these nocturnal feasts that they poured forth their effusions.

One of the personal characteristics of the rather indefinite sort of person called a *hazard* is explained in another State Paper of 1575, which abuses "stout beggars, idle vagabonds, *naked hazards*, shameless flattering slaves, as bards, *owlers*, &c., nourished by the lords."

Spenser mentions the "wandering women, called Mona-Shull." The name means "travelling women," [*mna siubhail.*] These vagrant unfortunates, fully described in Derrick's *Image of Ireland*, seem to have abounded in Queen Elizabeth's time, as the Dublin council-book of that period has a proclamation "against Women and Doggs;" this latter denomination manifestly designating the greyhounds that ran at the heels of the native idel-men, or men of edel or noble birth; in

with nurses, and children, throughout the Irish countries, “spying, by day and night, all the roads and fortresses, whence the greatest possible mischief might hereafter arise.”^d *Aeshula* seems to have been the name of ballad-singers, called “ishallyn” in records. But we beg to repeat a hope that our columns of “Notes and Queries” may become a vehicle for elucidating the topic of archaic *caifs*, and Gaelic glee-maidens, with their one-eyed leader.

With regard to the *Bachul Jesu* mentioned in the foregoing account, the name seems, according to Campion and a note of Dr. O’Donovan to his excellent edition of the *Four Masters*, to have been a name for St. Patrick’s staff. A full account of the *Baculus Jesu*, or Staff of Jesus, is given in the introduction to *The Obits of Christ Church*, published by the Irish Archæological Society. This highly-venerated relic was burnt at the period of the Reformation. Counterfeits, or copies, may, however, have been fabricated, to be used in the manner mentioned by our apothecary. It is probable that the order of medical vagrants called *Bacagh*, who still stroll about, performing cures, and carrying a professional *baculus*, or staff, derive their appellation from having anciently carried such *Bachuls* as Smyth mentions.

The fostering of children noticed by Smyth was objectionable to the English on account of its constant result, viz., that the child imbibed strong Irish affections. On the subject of the extraordinary love between foster-brethren, and on the primary object of putting children out to be fostered, see notes by the Hon. A. Herbert to *Nennius*.

On the whole, this original “State Paper”—*Smyth’s Information for Ireland*—bids fair to rank as one of the most curious pictures of those remarkable people, the bardic castes of Ireland. Indeed, we know no *pendant* to it, save Spenser’s, and no parallel monograph by a native bard; and we believe, after having verified its details by testimonies of contemporary witnesses, that it does not err much on the side of caricature. The Irish correspondence in the State Paper Office certainly contains the fullest materials, and perhaps, the most trustworthy, for elucidating the singular social history of the Irish Gael. Flattery was the technical sin—*la spécialité*—of their poets, whose statements require, therefore, to be corrected by reference to less friendly sources, such as will satisfy modern archæologists, who, unlike a *Fílea*, do not calculate on gaining cows, or goblets, by adulating chieftains, but look simply to the truth as it then was, though assuredly with regret, whenever its revelations are little favourable to mankind of old, and the state of civilization at that period. As we propose entering fully, in future papers, on the History of the Irish Bards, we

^d Shirley’s *Farley*, p. 21.

has been made in collecting and publishing the remains of the many oral poetic appeals, which once roused so powerfully the passions of our ancient countrymen. On this subject, the editor of *The Ballad Poetry of Ireland* makes a just remark, which we will now repeat and extend. When all our stores are gathered and arranged—when we can read every Ossianic tale and poem—understand the native ideas as expressed in verse and prose, from the Danish times to the Jacobi struggles, and compare them with the later ballads sung in the farm-houses of the colonist yeomanry—then “shall we have insights into the heart of history which a tower-full of State Papers would not afford.” At the same time, be it remembered, these State Papers afford assistance of inestimable value to the scrutinizing historian. The great pulsations of the Irish heart, the electric shocks of insurrection that frequently agitated the stormy atmosphere, and those tempests of human violence that often terminated in deluges of blood, are all recorded in the English registry of State Papers, and that, too, by the hands of men whose wounds were rankling, and whose hearts were aching while they wrote.

HERBERT F. HORE.

PLOUGHING BY THE HORSE'S TAIL.

Several queries and remarks having appeared in this *Journal** respecting this once general but now, it is to be hoped, totally obsolete practice, I have been induced to put together the following notes, which may serve to throw some light on the subject.

In 1613, when a number of Irish noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, “shewed themselves before the king” with their grievances, the tenth grievance—under the heading of *Divers Disorders in the Kingdom of Ireland, committed by Martiall Men*—was as follows:—

“In the Northern Counties, the sheriffs, governors, marshals, & others do take, for permitting the inhabitants to use their short ploughs, after the rate of 10s. by the year for every plough, which is now come to be an exact revenue of extraordinary great value to these officers, to the great grief & impoverishment of the people, who have neither the skill nor means to use other ploughs; & unless in those places the people were of more ability, this might be forborne, there being no law against that kind of ploughing.”^a

Besides being grievances, which were submitted to the king on this occasion, (and, indeed, several of them deserve the name,) the student of Irish history knows that they were also charges of misgovernment against Arthur, Lord Chichester, then Lord Deputy, amounting to something more

* Vol. iii., 254; vol. iv., 171, 275; vol. v., 164, 257, 348; vol. vi., 134, 135.

^a *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*.

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the Agents that such as are employed under our Patentee, more respecting their owne proffit than our intention, have by way of contract drawne downe the 10^s on every plough to 2^s & 6^d, & soe by lessening the punnishment, opened a way for that rude & hatefull custome to spread it selfe: This we would have you to examine, & if it shall appear unto you that any such course hath been held, soe far differing from our Royal purpose, we shall upon notice thereof, call in the said graunt, & take some sharper course for the most speedy reduccing of the offenders into better forme.”^d

In March, 1621, the King appointed a number of Commissioners to enquire and report on the state of Ireland. One branch of their inquiries was directed to “*the general grievances suffered by patents, granted under the Crown or otherwise;*” and under this head, in the following June, they report as follows:—

“The grant of the penaltie of 10^s, to be imposed upon every man that should plough with his Horses by the Tayles, was to reforme a barbarous Custome, too frequently used in that kingdome, & your Ma^{tie}'s chiefest end thereby was to take away that abuse. The Agents complained of that as a grievance, but the reasons for it” [for it being a grievance] “we do not finde, more than that the assignees of the Patentee (as they alledged) had contracted with the offenders for a lesser Summe. And so the ill Custome was thereby rather continued than taken away. To this your Ma^{tie}. was pleased to answeare, that if the allegacion could be proved before your Deputie & Councell, you would call in the Patent, & reforme that lewd Customo by some sharper course. This, for ought we knowe, the Agents could not prove, & soe the Grant remaines as formerly it did. Which we cannot present as a general Grievance, being an Imposition laid onely upon some particular men for the Reformacion of an Abuse. At which, if your people doe repine, it is rather because the Penaltie doth goe to a private hand, than for any other cause. Your Ma^{tie}. may therefore be pleased, by giving some reasonable consideracion to the Patentee for his Interest, to convert the profits ariseing out of that Grant to your own use, soe long as that barbarous Custome shall continue. Which, being collected by your own Officers, & for the encrease of your Revenue, will be less offensive to the people than now it is.”^e

The English Council Chamber appended the following *postill* or note to the preceding report:—

“The Patentee for this Imposition is to be compounded with for his Grant, & the King to take the profit of it into his own hands, who (by suing the Penalties) may either reforme that Barbarous Custome in few years, or much encrease his Revenue thereby.”

It appears, however, that the patentee was not compounded with in the exact manner proposed. He paid £100 per year for his grant, and the first year he held it (1612), it produced a gross sum of £870. In all probability then he would be wealthy, and, according to the corrupt custom of the period, might hold his patent as long as he chose to pay well for it. And that an arrangement

^d Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 4756.

^e Ibid.

“The barbarous use of Ploughing with Garrons tyed by the Tailles was restrained by the Councell here. Afterwards the same was permitted, & a Mulet imposed of 10^s for every short Plough, which forfeiture in Anno 1612 was granted to Sir William Udale, whose Patent is still in force. And where it was directed that the Patentee should be compounded with, & the same taken in to your owne hands, we find noething done in that kinde; but, by a Letter from the Lords of the Councell in England, yo^r. Ma^{tie}. requires the Deputie to give warrant to the Patentee to levy the Penalties as before: by which means this barbarous Custome of ploughing with Horses tyed by the Tailles is still continued in many places, for restraint whereof we find noe Law or Statute here in force.

“And the Countrie hath renewed their Complaints that this annual excecucion of 10^s for every short Plough hath, in many places, hurt and impoverished the Country; & by colour thereof, of some have been taken & extorted Money for their Harrowes (as we are informed); & of some of less abillitie, compositiion made at less rates than the penaltie of 10^s appointed (as was directly proved). So that the use of this Patent lends more to a private Gaine than to a Reformation: In regard whereof, & the due Consideration of the now scarcity of Corne, & the Poverty of this People, we conceive it fitt, that short Ploughs be tollerated till the first of Aprill & no longer; that in the meantime Men may furnish themselves with such Ploughs as are in use in England, or learn to use their short Ploughs, setting their Garrons three or four Horses affront, which is free from unseemliness, & fitter for some mountaines & boggish grounds than the long Plough, as is now begun & practized in the Barony of Clankie, in the Countie of Cavan, which we rather advise; because we have received credible Informacion that the Earle of Antrim, in the Countie of Antrim, where he hath diverse Baronies, hath bannished that barbarous Custome, by holding all his Tennants to the fashion of English plowing, & Sir George Hamilton hath already reformed his Tenants, & so others. And your Ma^{tie}'s ayme appeareing by all the Acts to tend to Reformation of the Abuse, & to remove the barbarous Practise, Wee offer to your Ma^{tie}'s. consideracion, whether it were not fitt, that your Royal pleasure shall by a Proclamacion be published, inhibiting all your Subiects here, after the first day of Aprill next, from ploughing with Garrons or Bullocks tied by the Tayles, upon paine of your high displeasure, & such as shall offend, to be bound to their good behaviours till they reforme.”^f

In January 1623, Lord Deputy Falkland petitioned the English Privy Council to permit Udale, the patentee, to continue to collect fines for ploughing by the tail, and on the 8th March of the same year, he acknowledges the receipt of letters permitting fines to be continued.^g

On the 4th May, 1628, Falkland, writing from Dublin to Viscount Conway, says:—“We abound in wants and calamities of all sorts. Noe fortiffcations in state of defence: noe armes, noe munitiions, noe armye; an infinite mortalitie of cattle, dearth of corne presently sustayned, famine and pestilence threatened to ensue.” And further tells us that he had issued a proclamation commanding every one to fast one whole day in every week for two months!^h At this juncture, the Irish people again sent over Lord Killeen, Lord Poor, and others, as agents to petition relief from several oppressive laws. Charles received them graciously, ordered their expenses to be paid by the nation, and granted or relaxed the whole fifty-one articles of complaint of the Irish people, which

^f Ibid.
VOL. IV.

^h Ibid.

then and since have been technically termed “the fifty-one Graces.” One of those articles of complaint was the fine for ploughing by the tail, and Charles in his private letters to the Lord Deputy thus alludes to it:—“For reforming of the barbarous abuse of the short ploughs, wee are pleased that the penalty now imposed thereon shall be presently taken away; and that hereafter an Act of Parliament shall pass for the restraining of the said abuse upon such penalty as shall be thought fitt.”ⁱ

In 1634 an act was passed by the Irish parliament prohibiting ploughing by the tail, and another custom of pulling the wool off live sheep, instead of shearing them; and subsequently, in the same session, another act was passed prohibiting the use of the “fiery flail,” as it was termed, or in other words, burning the straw instead of threshing out the corn. The preamble to the first mentioned act recites as follows:—“Whereas in many places of this Kingdom, there hath been a long time used a barbarous custom of Plowing, Harrowing, Drawing, and Working with Horses, Mares, Geldings, Garrans, and Colts, by the Taile, whereby (besides the cruelty used to the Beasts) the Breed of Horses is much impaired in this Kingdom, to the prejudice thereof, &c.”^j

Acts of Parliament, however, merely relating to industrial and social progress, have but little effect among people utterly destitute of the simplest elements of material or intellectual civilisation. In 1777, Young found the three barbarous and unprofitable practices—plucking the wool, ploughing by the tail, and burning the straw—the common practice in the county of Mayo. In Cavan Young says:—“They very commonly plough and harrow with their horses drawing by the tail; it is done every season. Nothing can put them beside this, and they insist that, take a horse tired in traces, and put him to work by the tail, he will draw better; quite fresh again. Indignant readers of this is no jest of mine, but cruel, stubborn, barbarous truth! It is so all over Cavan.”^k

The practice was common as late as the earlier part of the present century. Wakefield, who travelled in Ireland in 1809, says:—“In Roscommon I heard of horses being yoked to the plough by the tail, but I had not an opportunity of seeing this curious practice. I was, however, assured by Dean French, that it is still common with two-year-old colts in the spring. And the Rev. Mr. Elliot, a clergyman of the Established Church in Ireland, who has a living at Pettigo, in the county of Fermanagh, said he had seen it in his parish in the spring of 1808.”^l

From the above, and numerous other notices of ploughing and harrowing by the tail, in Scotland as well as in Ireland, there can be no doubt that the practice existed in both countries from time immemorial down to, comparatively speaking, a very late period. Indeed, for myself, I have, when young, heard three persons at least, all of unimpeachable veracity, speak of having witnessed the barbarous practice.*

S P.O.

^j *Collection of Acts and Statutes at large.* Dublin: 1684.

^k *A Tour in Ireland.* London: 1780.

^l *An Account of Ireland.* London: 1812.

* The practice of drawing by the horse's tail still exists in some parts of Ireland, or did about a dozen years ago, when Otway published his tours in Connaught. In his *Sketches in Erris and Tyrawley*, (1845,) he gives the

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which M^cMurrough rode, [*Journal*, vol. v. 164,] was an English horse, smuggled out of England, or sold to him by some of the pale's-men; and its high price (400 cows), instead of shewing the goodness of Irish horses, proves, on the contrary, the extreme rarity of good horses in Ireland. Again, Mr. O'Keeffe also errs when he values an Irish cow in M^cMurrough's time at three pounds. I have before me an account of the seizure, appraisement, and sale, by the sheriff of Fermanagh, at Enniskillen, in 1622, of sixteen Irish cows, which fetched only nine pounds: at the same time, however, English cows, that is of the breed introduced by the "planters" of Ulster, sold for three pounds each. This very high price, for the period, was caused merely by the rarity of the breed; for in 1642, when the English breed had increased and multiplied, I find in the treaty made between the Marquis of Ormond and the Commissioners authorised by the Council of Kilkenny, that a sum of £7000 was to be paid to Charles I. in good beeves, at the value of £30 per score. By good beeves none other could be meant than the English breed, and even then they were worth only thirty shillings each. Indeed, I question if the Irish, or "Kerry" cow, as it is now termed (for, having lost its general appellation, it has acquired a local one,) was ever at any period worth three pounds, except as a curiosity.

Another correspondent, under the name of GEORGE [*Journal*, vol. iv. 98] asks if the Irish at an early period shod their horses? I reply that they did not; for people without either roads or wheeled carriages have no necessity for horse-shoes. On the pampas and prairies of the new world, and on the steppes of Central Asia, horse-shoes are unknown, simply because not required. The ancient Greeks did not shoe their horses. Homer, indeed, describes the horses of the car of Neptune as being "brazen-footed;" but that is merely a poetical epithet, like "brazen-lunged," or "brazen-faced." Xenophon, in his treatise on the management of the horse, says nothing about a shoe, though he gives minute directions for taking care of the horse's foot, and for preserving and hardening the natural hoof. The Romans, however, used shoes, or rather a kind of leather socks, faced with iron, which were fastened round the legs of the horse with cords made of a species of *spartum* or broom, supposed to be the *stipa tenacissima* of modern botanists. These shoes were used only in rough places, and could be taken off or put on by any person in a very short time, and with very little trouble, as we learn from a curious passage in Suetonius' life of Vespasian.^m At what period the modern shoe, that is nailed to the hoof, came into use is unknown; the earliest specimen of it is one found in the coffin of Childeric of France, who died in 481.ⁿ The Normans introduced the horse-shoe to England. The Scotch first began to shoe their horses about 1480.

According to the records of the Guild of Hammermen of Edinburgh, the essay, or trial of skill, which every candidate for the honours of membership had to perform, was, in 1584, to make "ane

^m Mulionem in itinere quodam suspicatus a calciandas mulas desiliisse, ut adeunti litigatori spatium moramque

præberet: interrogavit quanti calciasset: pactusque est lucri partem.

ⁿ Montfaucon. *Monumens de la Monarchie Française.*

thought my task was over, but the welcome arrival of the last number of this *Journal* me to say a few words more. I see that Dr. O'Donovan holds it impossible that even six could draw a plough, if yoked by their tails. I can see no difficulty in the matter; and I hat the Irish generally used but one or, at most, two horses for ploughing with, and fast their tails alone. The question is not, as Dr. O'Donovan says, "what ploughing by the ns;" this, I think, has been sufficiently shown in the present paper; but the question is, it managed? and to that I can only give a speculative answer, but one however, probably rom the truth.

It be observed that the penalty, though inflicted on ploughing by the tail, was imposed on or *Irish* plough, thereby implying that that mode of ploughing could not be effected by or *English* plough. Still, as we see from the Lord Deputy's letter, "if they drew their oughs with traces of ropes or withes, no penalty was demanded." What, then, was the ough like? Who knows? I do not. But as there is a strong general resemblance among ultural implements of all primitive races, if we can find a plough used from the earliest r down to the present day, by various peoples in different and widely separated parts of the a plough, too, that could be drawn without any other gear or harness than merely being to the horse's tail, we may conclude that we have fallen on an implement differing little "short plough" of the Irish. Now such a plough, used by the ancient Egyptians some rs ago, is depicted on the tombs of Beni Hassan and the catacombs of Thebes; and an imilar plough, used by the Romano-Britons, is represented by a bronze found at Piercefield, hire, and now in the collection of Lord Londesborough.

ost familiar description I can verbally give of this ancient and general type of plough, is is. Let the reader imagine a large pick-axe, with one arm of the pick (to which the share d) stuck in the ground; while the other or upper arm of the pick, bent slightly back, e handle of the plough. The handle of the pick elongated forms a draught-pole, which, etween two oxen, was fastened to the yoke,—and thus no traces or harness whatever were

esides the bronze statuette above alluded to, we have Virgil's description, in his first of the Roman plough:—

"Continuo in silvis magnâ vi flexa domatur
In burim, et curvi formam accipit ulmus aratri.

Huic à stirpe pedes temo protentus in octo,
 Binæ aures, duplici aptantur dentalia dorso.
 Cæditur et tilia ante jugo levis, altaque fagus,
 Stivaque, quæ currus à tergo torqucat imos;
 Et suspensa focis explorat robora fumus.”

Which may be briefly translated thus:—An elm tree, bent with great force, is formed into the *buris* (the lower arm of the imaginary pick-axe), and receives the shape of the crooked plough; it are fitted the *temo* (draught-pole, or handle of pick-axe), stretched out eight feet, the two *auris* and the *dentalia* (share and mould-boards), with the double back and the *stiva* (handle of the plough or upper arm of the pick), which bends the lower part of the plough behind.—There can be doubt about the respective positions of those parts of the Roman plough. Varro tells us that when the *buris* was broken, the share was left in the field.^p Valerius Maximus relates how, when Aulus Serranus laid down the rod, he was not ashamed to grasp the *stiva* or handle of the plough. Varro also derives *stiva* from *stando*, and says that a small cross-bar, called the *manicula*, passes through it, which the ploughman held in his hand;^r and the same author also deduces *temo* from *tenendo*, because it held the yoke.^s

An implement so light as the ancient plough, required great care and exertion on the part of the ploughman, who was compelled, by leaning on it, to load it with his own weight, so as to prevent its being pulled out of the ground altogether; and thus gave origin to the Roman adage, recorded by Pliny:—*Arator nisi incurvus prævaricatur*. I have not the original by me, but quaint Philemon Holland translates the passage thus:—“The ploughman, unless he bend and stoop forward with his body, must needs make sleight worke, and leave much undone as it ought to be done, a fault which in Latin we terme Prevarication: and this term appropriate to Husbandrie, is borrowed from thence by Lawyers, and translated by them into their courts and halls of pleas: if it be thought a reproachful crime for lawyers to abuse their clients by way of collusion, we ought to take heed how we deceive and mock the ground.”

In this sense, the Irish decidedly “deceived and mocked” the ground. As late as the beginning of the present century, the people of Cork believed that much or deep ploughing *weakened* the land, and even then they still carried out their old practice of sowing barley, oats, and wheat “under the plough,” (as they termed it,) that was, scattering the seed on the untilled ground previous to ploughing; a practice of the highest antiquity, for, in the Egyptian paintings already referred to, we see the sower in advance scattering the seed, followed by the ploughman turning over the soil.

^p “Terram boves proscindere nisi magnis viribus non possunt, et sæpe fracta bura reliquunt vomeres in arvo.”
De Re Rustica.

^q “Nec fuit in rubori eburneo scipione deposito, agrestem stivam aratri repeterere.”

^r “Supra id regula que stat. stiva a stando, et in ea transversa regula, manicula, quod manu bubulci tenetur,

qui quasi est temo inter boves.”—*De Lingua Latina*, Lib. iv.

^s “Temo dictus a tenendo, is enim continet jugum.”—*De Lingua Latina*. See also last note.

^t *Townsend's General and Statistical Survey of the County of Cork*.

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discovered, so situated as to leave no doubt upon the minds of the observers that it must have been deposited therein when the building was in course of erection. The skeleton lay in the direction of east and west, its several bones occupying their proper relative positions, and the head being towards the west. The bones of the right arm and of both the lower extremities were absent, whether in consequence of the body having been partially dismembered previous to its interment, or owing to subsequent decay, it was impossible accurately to determine; although appearances seemed, rather of the two, to favour the former supposition, as the condition of the remaining bones rendered it scarcely probable that so large an amount, and such important portions, of the skeleton could have been so completely destroyed by decomposition as to leave no trace of their having existed. The remainder of the skeleton, more or less decayed according to the original density of the several bones, bore testimony to its having belonged to a man of large and powerful frame, probably from 6 feet to 6 feet 2 inches in height: the head and trunk, measured *in situ*, being 2 feet 5 inches long, and the femur, or thigh-bone, 1 foot 10 inches; giving 4 feet 3 inches as the length from the crown of the head to the extremity of the knee; to which 1 foot 10 inches or 1 foot 11 inches may be added as the proportionate length of the leg and heel. The skull, considering the great length of time it must have been in the earth, was in a singular state of preservation. The nasal and turbinated bones, the interior and inferior walls of the orbits, and almost the entire of the zygomatic arches had been destroyed; not in consequence of decay, but apparently, from injury inflicted during its disinterment, the bones of the face having been separated from their attachments, and requiring to be artificially replaced and secured. The front teeth of the upper jaw had likewise been displaced by violence, their alveolar sockets broken away, and 4 of them lost—only 11 remaining, whilst but one appeared to have been removed during life. The lower jaw was partially decayed in some places, but otherwise uninjured, and contained its full complement of teeth. These were much worn down by attrition, particularly the molars or grinders, one of which was more than half destroyed by *caries*. For the remainder of the skull, (the *calvarium*, or brain-box proper,) it retained all the characteristics of recent bone, not having parted with any of its gelatinous constituents; and continued to exhibit, particularly in the frontal region, a more than usual hardness and density—the sutures being almost entirely consolidated by osseous union, but not so obliterated as to prevent their position being accurately determined. The state of the teeth and skull, conjointly, justify the conclusion that the individual to whom they belonged must have lived to an advanced age, probably 70, or thereabouts; whilst the condition of the skull itself countenances the inference that it had been tenanted to the last by an active and vigorous brain. The following are its principal measurements:—

	Inches.
Cubic capacity, - - - - -	96
Greatest length from 10 degrees, - - - - -	7.5
„ breadth, - - - - -	6.2
Circumference, - - - - -	21.6

								Inches.
Frontal arch,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.5
Parietal „	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.1
Occipital,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.9
Sum of do., or Occipito-frontal,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15.5
Mastoidal,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16.0
Proportional length and breadth,	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.0	∴ .83

The remainder of the proportional measurements are given in Table 1, at the end of this article.

If the reader will now so far anticipate our inquiry as to turn to those Tables, he will there find what, most probably, will appear to be, at first sight, a confused and incomprehensible array of figures, but which, nevertheless, when classified, and reduced into proper tabular forms, yield the following demonstrable general results:—1stly, that amongst the 104 skulls therein recorded, whose length and breadth have been accurately measured, individual specimens are to be found, of every variety of length, from $6\frac{6}{10}$ inches, the lowest, up to $8\frac{2}{10}$ inches, the highest;—that, in like manner, their breadths vary from $5\frac{1}{10}$ inches to $6\frac{2}{10}$ inches; and that these varieties are not thrown confusedly together, in irregular quantities, but appear to group themselves in obedience to some controlling law or order of arrangement, which will more fully develop itself as we proceed;—and that, of 50 skulls whose cubic capacity has been ascertained, a similar divergence, subject to similar control, may be observed within the limits of 75 and 107 cubic inches:—2ndly, that, of 26 skulls, whose proportional measurements have been carefully determined, upon the plan propounded in the introductory portion of this article (page 33 *et seq.*) the culminating point of each, measuring from the auditory axis, is at 90 degrees from the naso-frontal suture, with three exceptions only [see the table of proportional measurements in the present number, and the previous one at page 38], which, as the difference in each exception amounts to .005 only, or the $\frac{1}{200}$ th part of their respective long diameters, can scarcely be considered to affect the general rule;—that this radial line, which constitutes, therefore, the true index of the height of the head, ranges from 60 to 73 one-hundredths of the long diameter of the several skulls;—and consequently, that, as the other perpendiculars of the skull, within certain limits, approximate towards or depart from this standard, so will its respective portions be relatively high or low:—lastly, that from these numerical data are deducible various numerical averages, which can be employed as standards of comparison, by whose aid the hitherto vague and indefinite terms of *large* and *small*, *long* and *short*, *broad* and *narrow*, *high* and *low*, acquire, in relation to this particular subject of investigation, a more precise and intelligible meaning.

Tested by these criteria, the Drumbo skull proves to be one of very considerable size. In cubic capacity, it is only 4 inches below that of Spurzheim;^a and, though it does not approach within

^a At the instance of Edmund A. Grattan, Esq., her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Boston, U.S., the writer has been favoured with the following communication from Dr. J. Mason Warren, of that city, in consequence of

which he has been enabled to fill up the blanks left in the column of measurements, under the head of Spurzheim, at page 32; and he avails himself of this opportunity to tender to each of these gentlemen his respectful

11 inches of our Celtic extreme, it exceeds the Celtic average by $6\frac{6}{10}$ inches long, being only one-tenth of an inch shorter than Spurzheim's; whilst it exceeds the average of Professor Van der Hoeven^b by 0.46 inches, and the Celtic average although the Celtic extreme exceeds it by 0.5 inches. Its breadth is very greater than Spurzheim's by 0.2 inches, it exceeds the European average by 0.73 inches, and the average by 0.75 inches; whilst its proportional length and breadth ($1.0 \times .825$) are respectively .015 above the highest, .073 above the average, and .175 above the Celtic group; and it exceeds the European average by .035. It is scarcely being only .65 of our scale,^c which elevation it nearly attains at 40 degrees, and at 90 degrees, giving a full regular curve to the crown of the head, the transverse diameter however, are rather low and flat. Anteriorly to 40 degrees, the frontal bone is more prominent than the average; and posteriorly to 90 degrees, the parietal arch keeps throughout rather within the average.

The temporal bones, however, are remarkably prominent, the whole temporal bone far beyond the juxta-temporal, so as to give to the entire head a well-marked globular form, which clearly and unmistakeably characterises it as *non-Celtic*—a circumstance of considerable interest, when considered in connexion with the date and character of the building.

acknowledgments, for their very obliging and prompt compliance with his request:—

“ Boston, February 18, 1858.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. E. A. Grattan has conveyed to me your request in regard to the measurements of the head of Dr. Spurzheim, which is in my possession. There has been some delay in doing this, owing to the skull being with my anatomical collection and not at my house, and more particularly from its having been, for the sake of preservation, very carefully mounted and enclosed in a glass-case, from which it has been necessary to displace it. The head had also been sawed through, not only horizontally but also vertically, making it a somewhat hazardous matter, for fear of injuring it, to fill it with shot. This, however, I have safely accomplished by first burying it in sand, tightly packing it down, and then pouring in the shot. Even in this way, I found much care necessary to prevent it from opening, and the shot escaping through the points of junction. I send a specimen of the shot used, also the weight of the shot in avoirdupois. The cubic capacity has also been measured by an instrument belonging to our Society of Natural History, invented by Dr. Shortliffe, who made the cast which you have.

It will afford me great pleasure to give you any further information which lies in my power.

I am, very truly, &c.,
J. MASON WARREN.”

JOHN GRATTAN, ESQ.
Belfast.

From the information thus obtained, the following blanks can now be filled up:—

Cubic capacity,	-	-	-
Occipital arch,	-	-	-
Occipito-frontal do.,	-	-	-
Mastoidal do.,	-	-	-
Long diameter of Foramen Magnum			
Transverse do.,			
Angular position of do.,			

^b This is quoted from Dr. Carpen's *Cyclopædia of the Varieties of Mankind*, page 131. The dimensions there given are the authority of Professor Van der Hoeven, who gives the average of the European skull as 5.47 inches, which would be equivalent to our proportional scale. As the average is deduced, however, from only 20 skulls, and the variation of the races they represent, is not without considerable caution, inasmuch as in the Celtic group of 75 skulls, we find the average between the extremes of 6.9 and 8.0 inches, therefore, could not be a correct criterion of the average of the continent of Europe, nor, indeed, a representative of each.

^c It may be well to remind the reader that the proportional scale here referred to, is, $1.0 \times .825$, the long diameter of each skull being divided into equal parts—by employing which, the measurements of every skull are expressed in divisions of its actual length.

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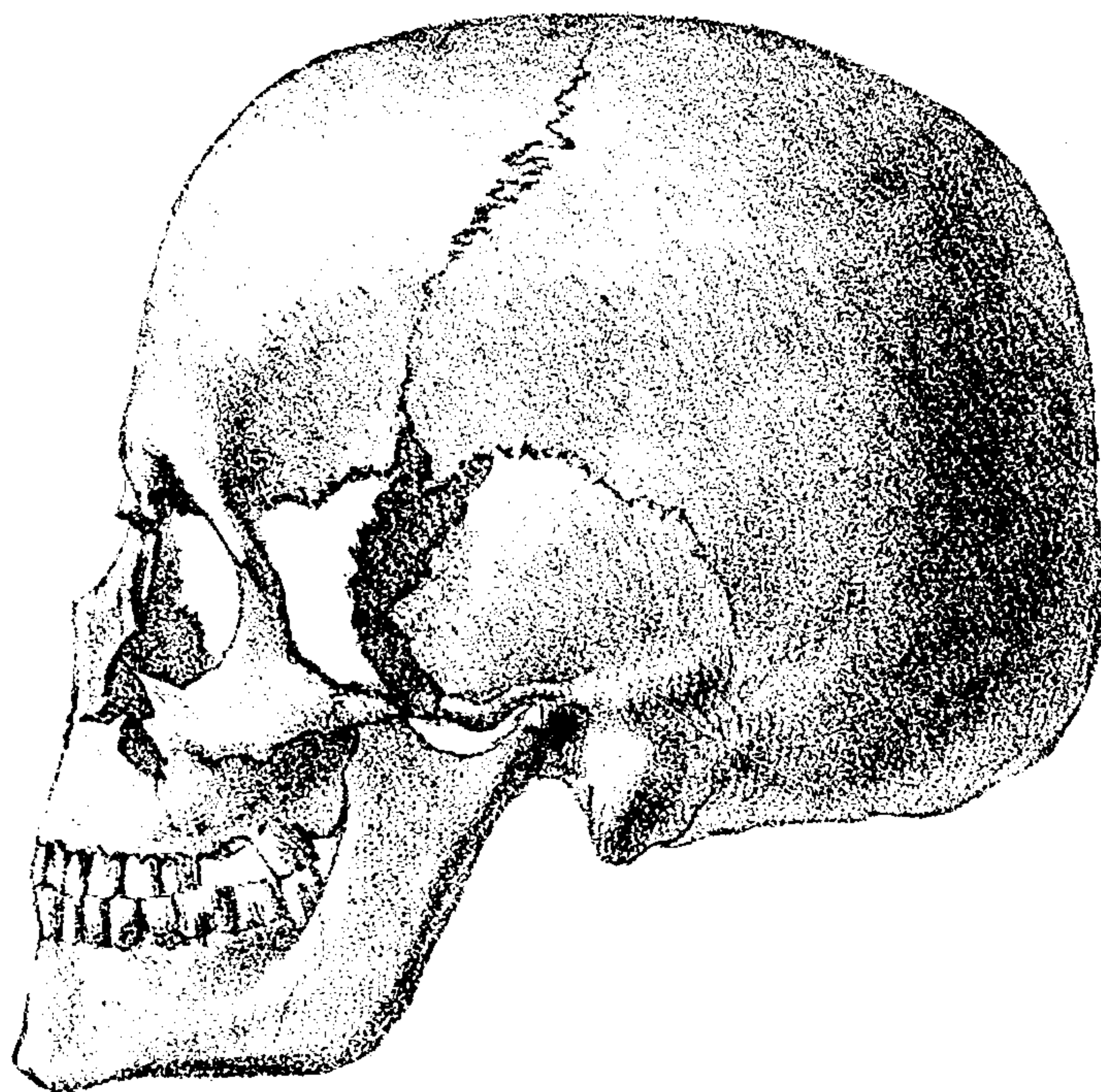
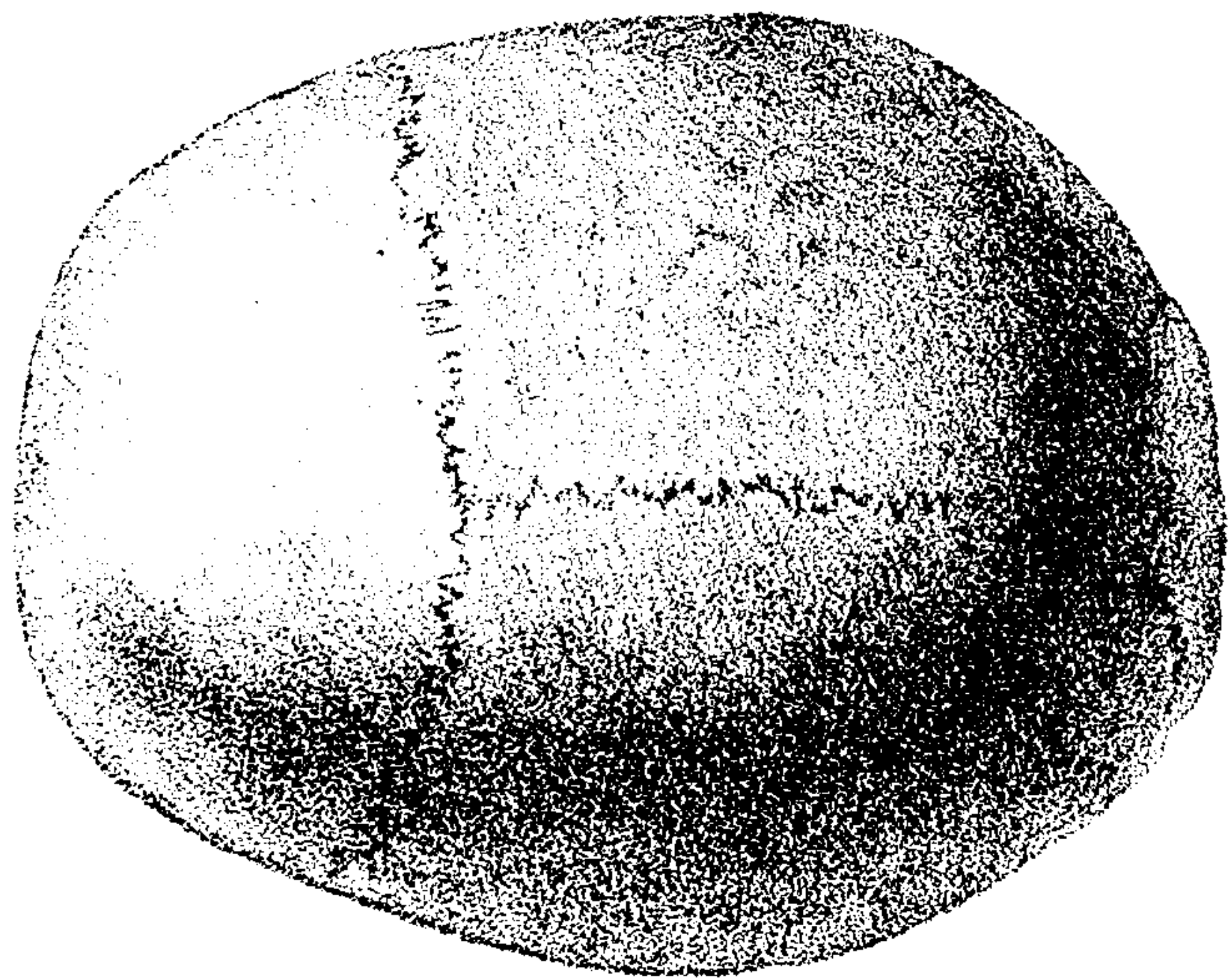
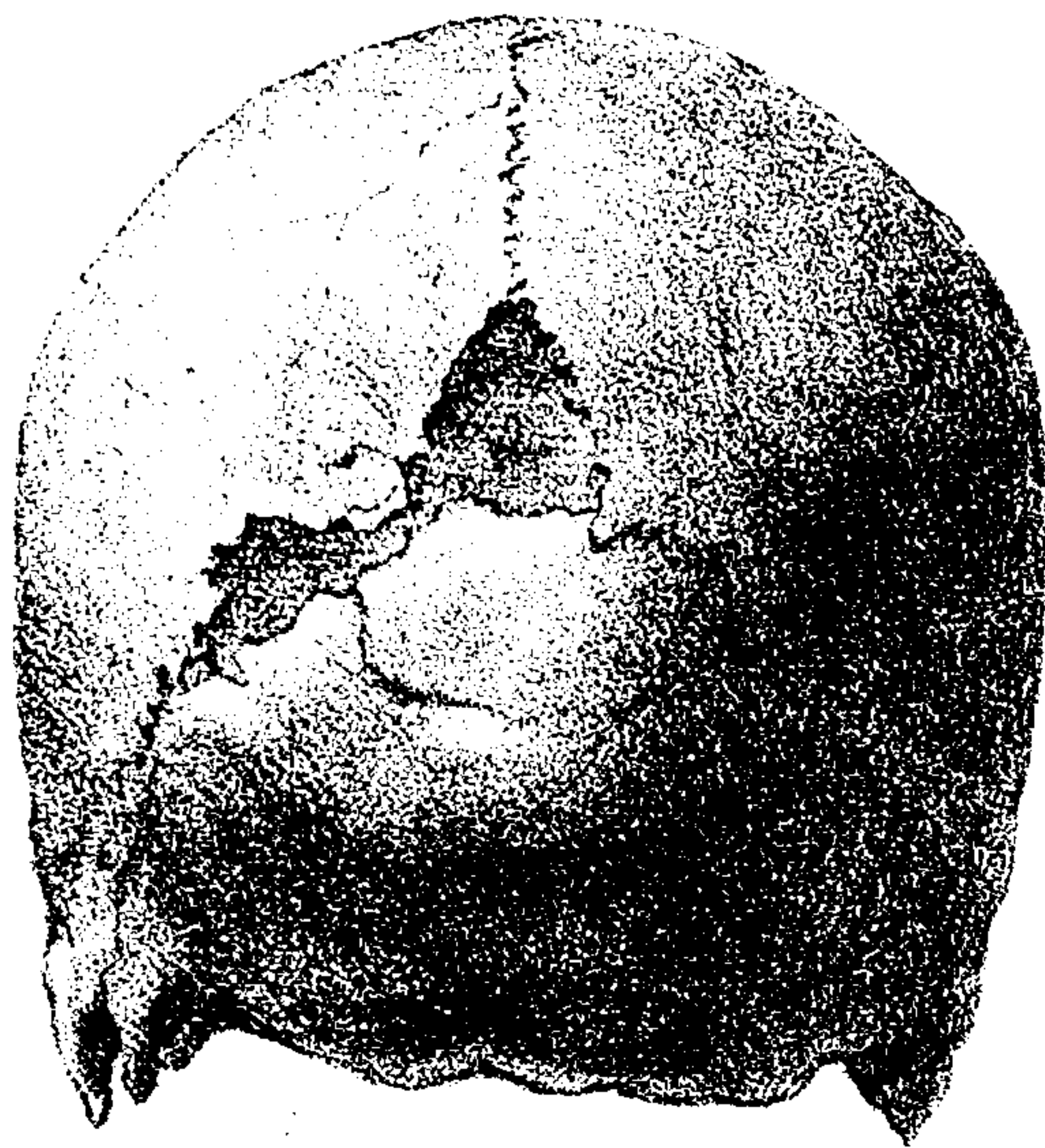
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NO 2

For this reason, and as it exhibits strong typical peculiarities, three views of it, re-
re-third lineal measurement, are given in plate 1.

Petrie's work upon the Round Towers of Ireland, these structures are proved by him to
stian and ecclesiastical origin, and to have been erected at various periods between the
irteenth centuries; and at page 398, the architectural peculiarities of Drumbo are thus
ffered to, as indicating it to have been one of the very earliest erected:—"The oldest
obviously those constructed of spawled masonry and large hammered stones, and which
uple quadrangular and semi-circular arched door-ways, with sloping jambs, and little or
nt, perfectly similar to the door-ways of the earliest churches. As an example of the
lar door-way, with inclined jambs and large lintel, I have given on the preceding page
ion of the door-way of the Round Tower of Drumbo, in the county Down." If such be
and that it is so, appears to be now determined beyond all reasonable doubt—it follows
temporaneous skeleton discovered within its walls, legitimately lays claim to an anti-
aching to fourteen hundred years: a step backwards into the past which brings us to
near the time when England, deserted by her Roman masters, was struggling in vain to
rrent of Saxon invasion, pre-destined to exercise so large an influence upon her subsequent
l to some six or seven hundred years before the first Anglo-Norman invaders, under Fitz-
ad set foot upon our Irish soil:—circumstances which invest with exceeding interest this
erated relic of mortality, thus authentically identified with so remote a period of our
istory.

stion has indeed been raised by some, even amongst those who admit the validity of Dr.
idence and the soundness of his archæological inferences, as to whether the human
scovered within the Round Towers are coeval with them, or have been subsequently
; and Dr. Wilde, too high an authority in such matters to permit of his opinion being
r in silence, thus discusses the subject in his *Beauties of the Boyne and Blackwater*,

—
TY of Belfast has been very industrious in the collection of ancient Irish remains; and the Belfast Museum at present
al specimens of old Irish heads. This leads to another locality in which bones of the ancient Irish people are said to have
We allude to the Round Towers, particularly to that lately excavated at Drumbo, in the county of Down, beneath which
are found. Interest was excited by this discovery, from the supposition that these human remains would offer some clue
n and uses of these monuments, or assist in determining the probable era of their erection. The enchanted palace of the
ower has, however, been opened for our inspection, and therefore all theorizing on the subject is at an end. We were
he time of the examination with a very beautiful cast of the skull found within the round tower of Drumbo; and the
w it we felt convinced that, if it was of a cotemporaneous age with the structure beneath which it was found, then the
wer was not the ancient building it is usually supposed to be; for, compared with the other Irish heads, that skull is of
modern date. Now, nearly all the round towers are in connection with ancient burial-places, and that one in particular

is so, and one need only dig around and without it to find many similar remains. We hear that the skeleton was found at full imbedded in the clay, within the ancient structure. Now, if the round tower was erected as a monument over the person whose ton was found within, the body certainly would not have been buried thus in the simple earth, without a vault or stone chamber as the enlightened architects who built the tower would be thoroughly competent to construct. Moreover, we do not believe skull thus placed loosely in the earth, without any surrounding chamber, would have remained thus perfect for the length of which even the most modernizing antiquaries assign as the date of the round tower.

If the writer might presume to express, with considerable diffidence, an opinion upon a question which his limited attainments only enable him partially to appreciate, he would entirely agree with Dr. Wilde as to the conclusiveness of Dr. Petrie's researches, and the complete removal, by publication of his work upon the "Round Towers of Ireland," of all room for further speculation upon their origin and uses. To a great extent, likewise, he must coincide with Dr. Wilde himself as to the archæological inference to be drawn from the fact of such a skull as the one covered within the round tower of Drumbo being proved to be cotemporaneous with the building in which it was found. Here, however, he must stop. So far from skulls similar in size and form being common in all ancient burial-places, it has rarely fallen to his lot to meet with one of similar character in any of the numerous examinations he has made in search of other remains; nor can he admit that the unusually sound condition of the bones is, by any means, to be considered as affording unquestionable evidence of the skull being so recent as Dr. Wilde would infer. The ability of bone to resist the disintegrating action of long continued exposure to moisture is largely influenced by its density, and by the amount of earthy constituents which enter into its composition. Now these differ materially, not only in the different bones of the body, but in the same bones at different periods of life; and are subject to be modified by disease, or by the peculiar natural conditions of the adjoining tissues. Thus the earthy components of the vertebræ do not exceed 53.7 parts in 100, whilst in the occipital bone they amount to 68.1; there being, at the same time, during life, a gradual diminution in the proportion of animal matter, and a corresponding increase in the proportion of the earthy components. Dr. Carpenter, however, whom we quote as our authority for these facts, [*Human Physiology*, p. 261,] does not consider this to be nearly so great as is usually supposed, and attributes the greater solidity of the bones of old persons chiefly to the circumstance, that their cavities are progressively contracted by the addition of new bony matter.

Be that as it may, the increased density of the bones in old persons is an admitted fact;—and the more perfectly their interstitial cavities become consolidated, by bony deposit or otherwise, the more impermeable do they become to moisture, and the more tenaciously do they protect and retain animal matter which is essential to their integrity. Furthermore, the bones of the cranium, in which we are more especially interested, are materially affected by the condition of the brain and its membranes, independent of the effects of age. In long continued cerebral disease, accompanied by increased vascularity, the bones of the cranium frequently become as dense and solid as ivory

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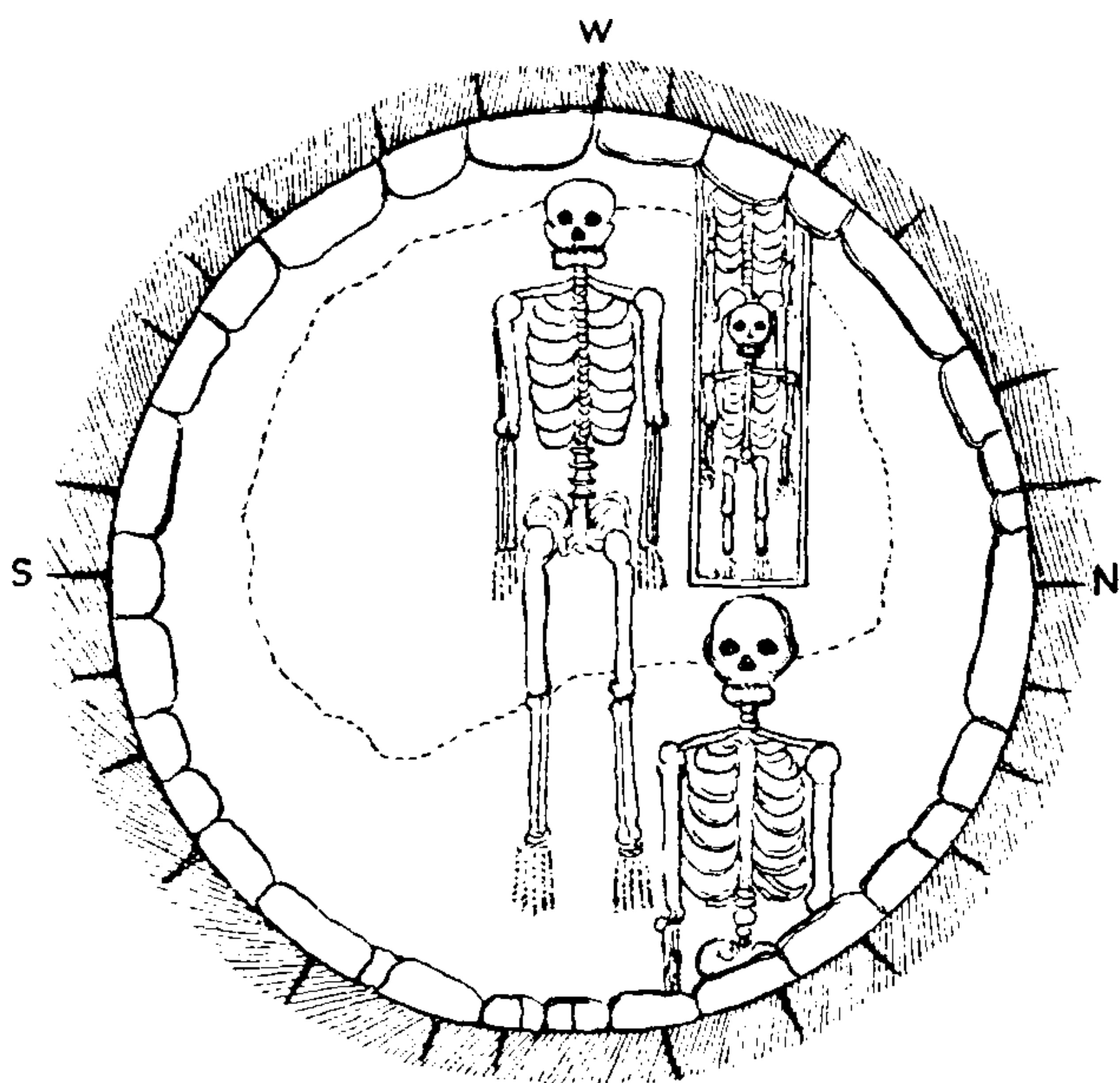
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Tower of St. Canice, in Kilkenny, must have completely dispelled it; a condensed notice of which, from Graves & Prim's *History and Antiquities of St. Canice*, we here subjoin. The Tower, as therein stated, is 100 feet high, its circumference at base above plinth, 46 feet, 6 inches; diameter at base, 15 feet, 6 inches; at top story, 11 feet, 2 inches; battering off, consequently, 2 feet, 2 inches. In 1846, on removing the earth from the base, externally, a plinth 6 inches wide, and but 2 feet deep, formed the only foundation; and this plinth "rested, not on the grave, but *on a black and yielding mould*, from which protruded human bones in an East and West direction, a fact in the architectural history of the Tower, afterwards fully confirmed by a careful examination of its interior base." In July, 1847, the Dean of Ossory excavated the interior. The first stratum, 4 feet, 6 inches deep, consisted of the Guano of birds, and was so rich that it sold for £5; mixed with it were some human bones, and various bones of other animals.—"The human bones, amongst which was a skull of singularly idiotic conformation, occurred near the surface, and had evidently been thrown into the tower from time to time."—The next stratum was about 18 inches thick, its upper portion consisting of calcined clay, containing fragments of burned human and other bones; its lower, of rich loam, mixed with some calcined clay, small fragments of burned and unburned bones, and charcoal. Next came a stratum of rich black earth, 1 foot 7 inches thick, in which were fragments of bone, both human and belonging to the lower animals, the former predominating; spawls of dolomite, partially used in the construction of the tower; tusks of a large boar, and two pieces of copper; some of the bones and stones exhibiting the marks of fire. Underneath these lay—we now quote the words of the writers—"a wide layer of stones, resembling a pavement, extending over a considerable portion of the area of the tower; it ranged with the internal set-off, on a level with the external base course. About two feet in breadth of this pavement remained at the East side, and a strip of it extended all round the wall. The dotted



lines in the annexed diagram represent the boundary of the void or unpaved portion of the area of the tower. The pavement was covered by a coating of mortar, one inch in thickness. This pavement having been removed, the excavation was cautiously continued, and on the West side, close to the foundation, the skull of an adult male was exposed, and this skull was found to form a portion of a perfect human skeleton which had been buried in the usual Christian position, with the feet to the East; no trace of coffin or case, of wood or stone, presenting itself. Having cleared a trench about 3 feet wide, and 1 foot, 9 inches deep, across the centre of the area;

the tower was built. The timber, although quite pulpy from decay, exhibited the grain of oak: no nails were found." A second skull was found near the end of the child's coffin; the lower extremities, from the hips down, being concealed beneath the foundation of the tower. On sinking still deeper the bones of another adult skeleton presented themselves; but a regard for the safety of the tower precluded further examination, the earth having been already removed to a considerable distance below its foundation. The summit of the tower, when plumbed, was found to overhang its base by 2 inches; and as the wall was originally built to a batter of 26 inches, this would indicate a considerable subsidence at the point of least resistance, which was exactly over the lower extremities of one of the skeletons. [See diagram.]

It is thus abundantly manifest, from this and the previous investigations of Mr. Getty in other towers, that the builders of the Round Towers, by whatever motives influenced, were occasionally accustomed either to deposit within their walls, or to suffer to remain undisturbed beneath their foundations, the remains of their cotemporary fellow beings; and consequently we have every reasonable ground for believing that the skeleton discovered within the Round Tower of Drumbo, cannot certainly be less ancient than the tower itself.

C L O N E S .

From Mr. Getty's comprehensive notice of this place, it appears that there is historical evidence of its having been the site of an ecclesiastical establishment in the early part of the sixth century; as, according to the *Four Masters*, and the *Annals of Ulster*, quoted by him, A.D. 548, St. Tighernach, who founded its monastery, died, or, as it is figuratively expressed, "rested" there in that

year. Of course, it must have been built some time prior to that date; and, in all probability, the Round Tower was of still earlier origin, since it exhibits the same architectural peculiarities observable at Drumbo—the spawled masonry, with large hammered stones, and the rectangular doorway, covered with a flat lintel, consisting of a single large stone. We cannot err much, therefore in assigning as its date either the close of the fifth, or the very commencement of the sixth century in which case the human remains found therein may be presumed to have been nearly cotemporaneous with the skeleton discovered at Drumbo. That they were as ancient as the tower itself is manifest from the several facts observed during their disinterment; and, as the writer was not only present at all the preliminary operations, but, as soon as the lime floor was reached, excavated with his own hands whatever bones were procured, he can with the greater confidence vouch for the accuracy with which the proceedings have been recorded. There is just one little discrepancy between Mr. Getty's notice and the notes made at the time by the present writer, as regards the lime floor, which did not, in itself, offer any difficulty to the operators. The writer's notes state—“At this depth an internal offset, upon the same level as the first external one, was reached. The horizontal surface of this offset was covered with a thin coating of lime mortar, which extended completely across the tower, making another distinct and well-defined floor. This having been carefully uncovered by the throwing out of the floor which overlay it, an operation attended with considerable delay and difficulty, in consequence of the tenacity of the material, &c.” So that the lime floor, in this instance, did not, in any respect, differ from those observed in the other towers, although the contrary might possibly be inferred from the difficulty stated by Mr. Getty to have been experienced in removing it, which he has evidently confounded with the difficulty actually encountered in removing the floor above it.

The entire number of skulls discovered was six, circumstanced as is fully described at pages 68 and 69 of this *Journal*, vol. iv. and occupying the positions there laid down upon the diagram. It was thus quite apparent that the body of one adult had been deposited entire shortly after death, but that all the other bones discovered had been removed from some prior place of interment, thrown in without any method or regularity, and covered up along with the body. The whole of the crania were in so frail and softened a condition that it was impossible to remove them except in almost hopeless fragments. The greater number of these were preserved, but, unfortunately, not all; no idea being entertained at the time that they could have been so satisfactorily put together as was subsequently done. By carefully saturating them with thin glue, cementing them together, and strengthening them with plaster of Paris, four of them have been tolerably well restored, and now admit of being measured with considerable accuracy. The group includes, so far as can be predicated from an inspection of the skulls alone, one female and three male crania. There is, besides, the posterior portion of the skull of a child, not exceeding 5 or 6 years of age, because, though the first permanent molars are considerably advanced, the permanent incisors still remain

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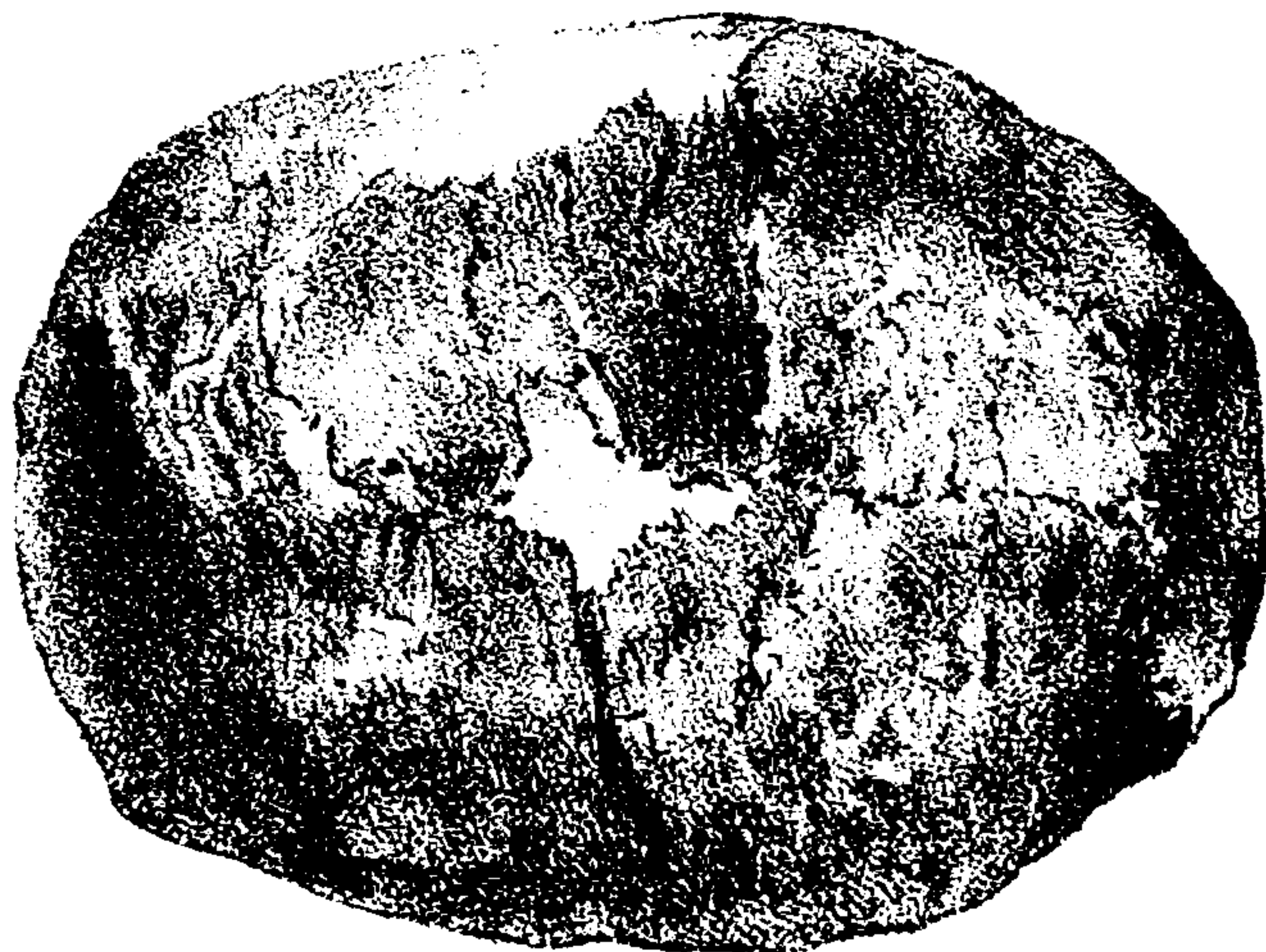
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absolute size, one of them appears to be fully as large as the latter, the other three considerably smaller. In absolute length, there is very little difference. One is precisely the same; two a mere shade (the $\frac{1}{20}$ th of their length) shorter; and the other as much larger. In breadth, however, their difference is very great, the highest being $\frac{5}{10}$ ths of an inch, the lowest $\frac{7}{10}$ ths, and the average of the four $\frac{6}{10}$ ths, under that of Drumbo. In the proportional measurements of their profile sections, some well-marked distinctions are also observable. Nos. 1, 2, and 4, at 90 degrees, are either identical in height with the Drumbo skull, or the merest shade above or below it; but with this difference, that whereas the Drumbo skull attains its full elevation at 40 degrees, and retains it till it passes 90 degrees, in the others there is a more or less progressive ascent from zero to 90 degrees, the radii anterior thereto being generally somewhat shorter, and those posterior to it somewhat longer than the same radii in the Drumbo skull. For example:—

LENGTH OF RADII AT ANGULAR INTERVALS OF TEN DEGREES.

Degrees	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180
Drumbo .. .. .	.51	.56	.59	.63	.65	.65	.65	.65	.65	.65	.64	.61	.58	.56	.53	.49	.44	.33	.25
Clones, No. 4 .. .. .	.48	.52	.55	.59	.60	.61	.61	.62	.64	.66	.66	.63	.61	.59	.57	.53	.48	.34	.27
„ „ 3 .. .. .	.48	.54	.54	.60	.60	.60	.60	.60	.60	.60	.60	.60	.58	.56	.54	.52	.47	.34	.26

But this, it will be perceived, does not hold good with regard to the fourth Clones skull (No. 3), which is singularly low, being only .60 at 90 degrees, an elevation which it attains at 30 degrees, and retains uninterruptedly until it reaches 110 degrees; thus differing largely, in this particular feature, not only from the Drumbo skull, but also from its own congeners. It is in their transverse diameters, however, that the greatest difference is perceptible; for, whereas in the Drumbo skull the whole temporal zone is excessively bulging and protuberant, giving to the entire head, as already remarked, a strikingly globular character, the same region in the Clones skulls projects but little beyond the juxta-temporal, imparting to the sides of the head a somewhat flattened contour:—the transverse coronal arches, except in No. 3, where they are particularly low and flat, rising abruptly with an irregular keel-shaped outline—features recognisable at a glance in the accompanying plates. Judging from what remains of their several lower jaws, No. 1 would appear to have been a man of middle age; No. 2, a young man of 18 or 20; No. 3, a female from 25 to 30; No. 4, from the very worn condition of the teeth—which, curiously enough, are only 14 in number, and exhibit no traces of wisdom-teeth, either in progress of being developed or as having been removed—a man somewhat beyond the prime of life; No. 6, whose skull was unfortunately destroyed, still more aged; and finally, as already observed, No. 5, a child of five or six: consti-



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preserve the same relative difference; are exactly the same at 110 and 120 degrees; thence to 180 degrees they diverge again, the difference at 160 degrees amounting to .10, indicating a much less prominent occiput. It is in their transverse diameters, however, that the greatest contrast is exhibited, their temporal zones exhibiting an immense dissimilarity, not observable at all in the juxta-temporal. Thus, their respective proportional diameters are:—

DIAMETER OF		TEMPORAL ZONE.						JUXTA-TEMPORAL ZONE.					
At	Degrees	10	30	60	90	120	150	10	30	60	90	120	150
Drumbo .. ..		.65	.72	.80	.83	.80	.72	.50	.62	.72	.73	.68	.52
Armoy		?	.70	.74	.76	.72	.69	?	.63	.70	.72	.61	.51

The perpendicular parietal, and the rapidly narrowing occipital bones of the latter, contrasting remarkably with their full and spherical contour in the former. The bones of the cranium are in too decomposed a condition to furnish any information as to the probable age of the individual; but the appearance of the teeth still remaining, would seem to indicate that he could not have been young. To what particular era the building of the tower is to be referred, is also a matter of some doubt. Upon the authority of Dr. Reeves, it appears that the church was founded A.D. 474, and we might naturally conclude the tower to have had as early an origin; but the semi-circular head of its door-way, cut out of a single stone, while it places it within Dr. Petrie's definition of the oldest towers, seems, nevertheless, to associate it closely, in architectural peculiarities, with the towers of Kilmacduagh and Glendalough, of whose door-ways he gives drawings at page 401 of his work and which he pronounces to be "undoubtedly" erections of the early part of the seventh century. It may, without any risk of error, therefore, be considered as not being of later date than the commencement of the seventh century—a date which, at the lowest calculation, gives to the tower and its contents an antiquity exceeding 1200 years.

DRUMLANE.

The last tolerably perfect cranium obtained by Mr. Getty from the interior of any of the Ulster Round Towers, was that discovered at Drumlane, in the county Cavan [see page 110, vol. v]. Unfortunately, the interior of the tower had been previously disturbed in search of treasure; and, though what remains of the skull procured there, is remarkably sound and dense, being manifestly

that of a very old person,^g both the temporal bones are wanting; rendering it impossible, in consequence, to determine accurately its true height and breadth. Its absolute length is very great, being 8.2 inches, or $\frac{7}{10}$ ths longer than the Drumbo skull; $\frac{9}{10}$ ths above the Celtic average; $\frac{2}{10}$ ths above the one extreme of the Celtic range; and 1 inch $\frac{6}{10}$ ths above the other. Its breadth above the temporal region is only 5.5 inches, but it is more than probable that, upon the temporal bone itself, it would have somewhat exceeded that diameter; so that its proportional measurements 1.0 x .675 must, to some extent, undervalue its original breadth. In other respects, its general features so closely ally it with the Celtic group, that its extreme length is most probably to be attributed to a mere exceptional deviation from the typical standard, such as is occasionally to be met with in every department of organic nature; instead of indicating, as might hastily be inferred, any true typical modification.

DEVENISH AND DOWNPATRICK.

Besides the skulls obtained from the interior of several of the Round Towers of Ulster, of which we have just treated, two others were procured in ecclesiastical structures of a different character, but of similar antiquity;—one within the stone-roofed chapel at Devenish, the other within the ancient portion of the present cathedral of Downpatrick. The circumstances connected with the examination of the ruins on the Island of Devenish have already been detailed by Mr. Getty [vol. iv., page 179]. Those relating to the discovery of the skeleton at Downpatrick may be briefly narrated here. The fruitless search after the remains of a Round Tower at Downpatrick in Sept., 1842 [vol. iv., page 129], had the good effect of drawing public attention to such inquiries; and, in consequence, in February, 1845, the Right Rev. Dr. Denvir, R.C. Bishop of Down and Connor, (to whom the writer is indebted for much valuable assistance on several other occasions also,) informed him that a very ancient grave had just been discovered in the cathedral of Downpatrick. On proceeding to the spot, it was ascertained that, in lowering the floor to re-flag it, and to allow of a large bed of broken stones being placed under the flags as a safeguard against damp, a considerable quantity of material had to be carted away. When the excavation had been carried to a few inches below the level of the foundation of the walls, the pick-axe struck upon some hard substance, which, upon examination, proved to be the covering of a grave, containing a human skeleton, much of it in good preservation. The grave was about 6 feet long and 12 inches deep, and had been excavated entirely out of the original or undisturbed soil, upon which the foundation of the

^g This is inferred from the great thickness of portions of the frontal bone, which in some places measured six-tenths of an inch, and in others not more than three—the consequence of a gradual deposition of bony matter

internally, to supply the place of the shrinking and receding of the brain, which takes place in extreme old age.—See *Gall*, vol. iii., page 30.

cathedral rested; its sides and ends being lined with coarse flag-stones, from 2 to 3 inches thick, placed on edge. It lay due east and west in the southern aisle, at about 5 feet from the western pillar; and within it were two blocks of chiselled red sandstone, one at either end, upon the western one of which the skull rested. The whole had been covered over with flat stones, similar to those with which the grave was lined, their upper surface being about 3 or 9 inches below the level of the foundation of the building, which, at this point, did not appear to be more than a foot beneath the surface of the present floor.^h The abbey, founded by St. Patrick, who was buried there in 493, is considered to have been the first cathedral of the see of Down. It appears to have been a most unfortunate structure, having been six times plundered by the Danes between the years 940 and 1111. It was rebuilt by Malachy O'Morgair, primate of Ireland, in 1135; in 1315 it was burned by Edward Bruce; it was again repaired in 1412; and, in 1538, burnt once more by Lord Leonard de Grey: in 1663, it was in so ruinous a condition that Charles II., in that year, erected the church of Lisburn into a cathedral and bishop's see, for the diocese of Down and Connor. From that date until 1790, it remained in ruins, its interior having been used as a place of interment for many generations. In the year last named, its restoration was recommenced. It was opened for divine worship in 1817, and its tower was completed in 1829. During the progress of its restoration, not only were the materials accumulated within it in the course of ages, from human interments and other causes, completely carried away, but, externally, a portion of the old burial ground was also removed; the hill, in order to construct a more convenient approach, having been cut down considerably below the level of the original graves, as was quite apparent from a section observable at one place, in which a stratum of undisturbed earth, 3 feet deep, underlay another stratum of equal depth, composed altogether of dark mould and human bones, covered at top with a rich coating of green sward. Now, as it is very unlikely that, in making so sweeping a change, anything above the original floor would have been allowed to remain, and as no trace of any interment upon that level was met with, either in the northern aisle or the remainder of the southern one, there can be no doubt that the grave must date back as far as the original erection of the building, which, as it was of sufficient importance to tempt the cupidity of the Danes in 940, must have been, at least, some considerable time anterior to that date: but how long, for want of further evidence, can only be matter of conjecture; since, if even any vestige of the original structure should chance to remain, the many vicissitudes to which it was subjected, can have left no portion of it in a condition sufficiently perfect for determining its architectural era. All that can safely be pronounced, therefore, respecting the skull thus discovered within its walls, is that it must certainly be above 900 years old, and may possibly be two or three hundred years

^h At the time of our visit, the stones which lined the grave had been removed, and the grave itself filled up; but the Rev. Dr. Macauley, P.P., had obligingly pre-

served the skull, and caused the grave to be cleared out for our inspection. The particulars detailed were furnished by the contractor for the work.

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clusion that the age of the individual could scarcely have exceeded 35 or 40. The temporal regions are very prominent, the frontal one rather narrow, the occipital large and unsymmetrical; the whole head, irrespective of absolute size, being inferior in the disposition of its parts to the Drumbo and Devenish skulls. The measurements of these three, and of Donatus, first Danish archbishop of Dublin, are given in parallel columns in the first table, but, for facility of comparison, the chief proportional measurements are repeated here:—

Degrees	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	110	120	130	140	150	160	170	180
Donatus .. .. .	.48	.55	.56	.61	.62	.62	.62	.62	.62	.62	.61	.59	.58	.57	.54	.50	.44	.35	.22
Drumbo .. .. .	.51	.56	.59	.63	.65	.65	.65	.65	.65	.65	.64	.61	.58	.56	.53	.49	.44	.33	.25
Devenish .. .. .	.51	.56	.61	.65	.65	.65	.65	.64	.65	.65	.64	.63	.58	.56	.52	.49	.44	.32	.24
Downpatrick .. .. .	.51	.56	.60	.64	.65	.66	.66	.66	.66	.66	.64	.61	.59	.56	.53	.49	.40	.34	.28

TRANSVERSE DIAMETERS.

At	Degrees	TEMPORAL ZONE.						JUXTA-TEMPORAL ZONE.					
		10	30	60	90	120	150	10	30	60	90	120	150
Donatus63	.72	.84	.84	.79	.72	.53	.64	.72	.78	.71	.58
Drumbo65	.72	.80	.83	.80	.72	.50	.62	.72	.73	.68	.52
Devenish64	.70	.80	.83	.75	.68	.54	.67	.72	.75	.66	.55
Downpatrick65	.72	.80	.83	.79	.71	.54	.62	.71	.77	.69	.57

The general coincidence here is quite remarkable. The skull of Donatus is, indeed, inferior to the other three in vertical elevation, but it preserves the same relative proportions from 40 to 90 degrees, and has this inferiority counterpoised by its superior diameter; the head exhibiting the appearance of being somewhat abnormally flattened upon the vertex and protuberant at the base—the transverse diameter of the Foramen Magnum actually exceeding its antero-posterior diameter. At 30 degrees the vertical elevation of the Devenish skull exceeds all the others. Upon the same radius its temporal diameter is less, and its juxta-temporal considerably more, indicating a smaller basal and a more voluminous anterior and superior development of the frontal region; this preponderance being further enhanced by a corresponding diminution in the dimensions of the skull posterior to 120 degrees. Other differences, coincident with individual peculiarities, may be observed in them all; but the general correspondence is so very great as to render it more than probable that they belong to one common type.

Round Towers of Ulster by Mr. Getty, and of those apparently associated with them in date and locality. Before proceeding, therefore, to comment upon their ethnological bearing, it may be as well, perhaps, to examine, in this place, how far the monumental hypothesis, which originated the inquiry, is affected by the results.

That the towers could never have been erected exclusively for sepulchral purposes, is proved beyond dispute by the Round Tower of Devenish, one of the most perfect and beautiful of them all, in which no human remains were found, or had ever been deposited. On the other hand, that several of them were *designedly* so employed, is quite as well an established fact, not only from the numerous skeletons discovered within them, but from the circumstance also of a sepulchral cist having been specially constructed for the skeleton found beneath the tower of Trummery. How, then, are these admitted anomalies to be reconciled? It is matter of history that a vast number of our early ecclesiastical buildings were erected at the cost of private individuals, actuated either by pious zeal or a desire to compound with heaven for the perpetration of some offence against religion; and, as Mr. Getty has already well remarked, these structures, though not erected for sepulchral purposes, were, and to this day still are, in some cases, used as places of sepulture. It is far from unlikely, therefore, that chieftains or petty kings, influenced by similar feelings, may have erected, or contributed towards the erection of, the towers, essential for the security of the church property; and, at the same time, have taken advantage of the opportunity to have interred within their sacred precincts the honoured remains of their departed kindred. Such a view of the matter is strongly confirmed by the annexed quotation from the Registry of Clonmacnoise, a document of the fourteenth century, quoted by Dr. Petrie [page 388]:—

“ And the same O’Ruairk, of his devotion towards y^e church, undertook to repair those churches, and keep them in reparation during his life upon his own chardges, and to make a causey or Tocher, from y^e place called Cruan na Feadh to Iubhar Conaire, and from Iubhar to the Loch; and the said Fergal did perform it, together with all other promises that he made to Cluain, and the repaying of that number of chapels or cells, and the making of that causey, or Togher, and hath for a monument built a small steep castle or steeple, commonly called in Irish ‘Claicthough,’ in Cluain, as a memorial of his own part of that Cometarie; and the said Fergal hath made all those cells before specified in mortmain for him and his heirs to Cluain; and thus was the sepulture of the O’Ruairk’s bought.”

It is to be observed, however, that Dr. Petrie expresses some doubt as to the authenticity of the document [page 265], though he acknowledges that Archbishop Ussher states it to have been in existence in his time, and that an autograph translation of it by the celebrated Irish antiquary,

Duald Mac Firbis, is preserved among Ware's manuscripts in the British Museum. Upon some such supposition only as that now suggested can we reasonably account for the interment of a recent body with the fleshless skeletons of a whole family, as observed at Clones; or explain the almost incredible anomaly of such a ponderous structure as the tower of St. Canice having been erected upon so insecure and compressible a foundation as decaying bodies and an oaken coffin. Assuredly, the architect who planned that building would never have imperilled its stability, as he did, or have compromised his own reputation, out of respect for *common bones*: much more likely is it that he thus acted contrary to his own judgment, in obedience to the wishes of some person of more than ordinary weight and influence, unwilling to have the bodies of his children and relatives disturbed, and yet desirous of having the tower erected within his portion of the cemetery. Whilst the investigation, therefore, has brought nothing to light in the smallest degree subversive of Dr. Petrie's conclusions as to the "origin and uses of the Round Towers of Ireland," it has proved most clearly that both he and the members of the South Munster Antiquarian Society have been in error—the one in dogmatically pronouncing the towers to be nothing but sepulchral structures, the other in denying, quite as dogmatically, that they had ever been employed by their original founders for sepulchral purposes.

Having already encroached upon the limits of this *Journal* to an extent not originally contemplated, a summary analysis of the remaining ethnological materials at our command is all that can be further attempted; the full details, however important, would be too voluminous, and must be reserved for some more appropriate channel of communication.

The number of skulls derived from Irish sources to which we have had access, and of which either the originals or casts of them are in our possession, amounts to 54. We had, besides, permission from the Very Rev. Dr. Spratt to take ample measurements and tracings of the skull of Donatus, already referred to in this *Journal* [vol. 1, page 203]; and through the kindness of the Rev. C. Buckley, P.P. of Buttevant, we were not only enabled to add to our collection the seven skulls obtained from that locality, but had also the opportunity of measuring the length and breadth of 50 others; the number, indeed, being only limited by the time at our disposal, as, at a rough estimate, the mass of human remains collected in the vault of the old abbey could scarcely have measured less than 16 feet by 10, and must have been four or five feet high. In order to base our observations upon as broad and general a foundation as possible, the modern crania, as will be perceived, have been procured from very widely separated portions of the kingdom; and, as it happens, even the more ancient prove, in several instances, to be from districts sufficiently remote from each other to render it highly improbable that they represent mere local varieties. The whole collection, as a cursory survey will render apparent, resolves itself naturally into chronological groups, and may with propriety be classified as follows:—

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Most of the measurements of the foregoing, so far as they have been completed, are given in No. 1 of the annexed Tables, and in the Table of Measurements, previously given at page 38 of the present volume. Of these Tables, it will now be desirable to offer some explanation. No. 1 is simply a tabular arrangement of the several measurements of each skull, in the order in which they are taken. It constitutes the basis of the other Tables, and, when the measurement of the whole collection shall have been completed, it is intended to arrange them in groups of ten each, by means of which each group will be complete in itself, and will admit of ready comparison with the other groups, or with any group of similar extent which may be subsequently added; thereby materially facilitating the operation of deducing general results from the data which they will supply. No. 2 is a numerical analysis of the several chronological groups, giving the highest, lowest, and average dimensions, under their respective heads, of the various measurements of volume, not only of the whole group, but also of the local sub-sections of each group. The first, or primeval group, is, unfortunately, very small at present, but, it is hoped, may form a centre round which, in course of time, fresh additions may accumulate. Limited as it is, however, it affords some very instructive information. It clearly contains two well-defined typical varieties, of which the skull from Donaghmore represents one, and the remainder of the group the other. At the meeting of the British Association in Belfast in 1852, Mr. Bell, of Dungannon, exhibited a skull, of which he permitted the writer to take a cast. The circumstances connected with its discovery will best be given in the following communication, with which he has obligingly favoured us:—

“ DUNGANNON, 1st June, 1853.

“ DEAR SIR,—The skeleton of which you had the skull from me, during the meeting of the British Association at Belfast in 1852, was discovered in a cist-vaen on the side of a fort or mount, called Shane-maghery, near Donaghmore, in this county (Tyrone). The cist was laid open by some labourers, in removing gravel in order to repair a road. In the small rectangular chamber, formed of rude stones, and covered at top by one of larger dimensions, the skeleton was placed in a sitting posture, with the head leaning to one side. The thing which had moved with life in a remote age, seemed now thoughtfully contemplating the few of the present race which curiosity had summoned to gaze on its structure. A body of police with an officer, the coroner of this county, and several other medical gentlemen, were about to hold an inquest on the remains; but they relinquished their purpose on learning that the person whose bones were before them, might have died fifteen hundred or two thousand years ago! The skeleton did not seem to have undergone calcination. The ornamented urn which lay alongside of it, contained a small portion of what seemed to be turf mould. No implement of stone, bone, or metal, was found in the square chamber, nor were any traces of spiral curves or zigzags, resembling tattooing, discernible on the interior surfaces of the cist slabs. No fragments of charred wood were found with the skeleton.

“ John Grattan, Esq., Belfast.”

I am, dear sir, yours respectfully,

JOHN BELL.

The skull thus brought to light, though, from its compact form, it may appear small to the eye, exceeds the Celtic average by four cubic inches. Its length is $\frac{3}{10}$ ths of an inch below the Celtic average, and its breadth the same amount above it: its proportional breadth .83, placing it nearly on a par with the crania of our 2nd group. There is this distinction between them, however—that

some skulls and casts of skulls which had been sent to him from the British Islands, with the view of showing that several of them were of a type quite different from the Celtic; and he gives, in one of his illustrations, the skull from the small tumulus in the Phoenix Park in Dublin, which, in almost every particular, agrees with that from Donaghmore. In Dr. Wilde's work, already referred to, there is also (page 232) an excellent drawing, on a reduced scale, of a similar skull, discovered in a small stone chamber on the south side of the Rock of Dunamase, in the Queen's County. The specimens, therefore, are too numerous, and have extended over too wide an area, to admit of their being considered as mere varieties—especially as a similar form of skull is to be found amongst the aboriginal remains found in England, and over a large portion of the Continent of Europe. Retzius is disposed to consider them of "Turanic" origin, to have preceded the present population, and to have their living representatives in the Fins or Laplanders. The remainder of the group exhibits the long narrow form of skull with flattened sides, the proportional breadth varying from .80 to .74, the average being .77; and it is particularly worthy of observation, that the *two extremes* are to be found in the *two* specimens discovered within the large tumulus in the Phoenix Park, Dublin:—proving, beyond all dispute, that the commonly received notion of cranial form becoming more and more stereotyped the further back we penetrate into the obscurity of the past is not countenanced by exact and accurate observation; variety, within prescribed limits, being found to be the law and not the exception, as might have been anticipated by any one accustomed to watch, with an observant eye, the countless varieties of mental combination exhibited by different races, and to recognise, in the human brain, the material instrument of the human mind. A description of the tumulus in which these skulls were discovered will be found in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* [vol. i, page 186]. There was found with them a fibula of bone, a flint arrow-head, and the remains of a necklace of shells, of which a restored sketch is given in the *Catalogue* of the antiquities in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, page 183. All these concomitants, therefore, prove them to be the relics of a people upon whom the first dawn of civilisation had not as yet broken; and their occupancy of a common tomb would imply that they were not only cotemporaneous, but of kindred blood. Whether we consider, therefore, their close relationship to each other, as regards race or consanguinity, their extreme remoteness from us in point of time, and their consequent protection from the various modifying influences exercised by continued civilising agencies and international communication, no more favourable specimens

nature, of considerable divergence from the typical standard. From the numerical superiority of the "long-headed race" in the primeval specimens hitherto brought to light, and from the universal predominance of the same form amongst our existing population, we are disposed to accept as correct the opinion of Retzius, that the Turanic form of head preceded the Celtic, though both must have occupied these islands at a period antecedent to its earliest civilization.

The 2nd, or *Non-Celtic* group, has already been largely noticed when treating of its three first members in their regular order. In the absence of any authentic standard of the Scandinavian head with which to compare them, our inferences can be nothing more than conjectural. There is, however, in some important particulars, so close a resemblance between them and the skulls of Donatus, an undoubted Dane of the 10th century; of Spurzheim, a modern of Teutonic origin; and of King Robert Bruce of Scotland, whose pedigree included two Danish, nine Norwegian, and two Norman ancestors in twenty generations [*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. i., page 240], that it appears by no means improbable that some intermixture of Teutonic or Scandinavian blood may have obtained a friendly footing in the North of Ireland prior to the fifth century. Certainly, the skulls referred to are not Celtic, and the localities in which they were interred preclude the idea of their being of hostile introduction.

The 3rd group includes the remainder of the skulls already described, and, with the exception of the *sub-group* from Mount Wilson, will not require any comment. In it are several well-marked modifications of head; all, with the exception of No. 3, exhibiting the peculiarities of extreme proportional length, with a tendency to vertical, instead of lateral development. No. 3, however, so closely approaches in form to the type of head of which the skull from Donaghmore is an example, as to lead to the conclusion that, at the date of the Mount Wilson interments, which must have been very many centuries subsequent to the interment of the skeleton at Donaghmore, the race to which the latter belonged, had not become extinct altogether, but continued to linger amongst, and perhaps contributed to modify, the more numerous population which surrounded it. In No. 2, on the other hand, of which three reduced drawings are given in Plate 1, we have an illustration of the extent to which the vertical dimensions of the cranium may be developed. It is truly a noble skull, and noble must have been the aspirations of the mind of which it was once the tabernacle. Even though the intellect should fail to appreciate their moral and intellectual import, the eye instinctively recognises the beauty and symmetry of its proportions, the impressive dignity of its lofty profile, and the graceful curvature of its transverse coronal arches. Though its cubic capacity exceeds Spurzheim's by 5 inches, and the Celtic average by upwards of 15 inches, its length is $\frac{3}{10}$ ths, and its breadth $\frac{8}{10}$ ths of an inch less than Spurzheim's. Compared with the Celtic average, its length is precisely the same (7.25 inches), and its breadth a little above it. Its proportional length and breadth being 1.0 x .77—the Celtic average 1.0 x .75; the entire preponderance in volume, therefore, depends upon its greater coronal elevation, which at 90 degrees is .73,

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under the head of proportional breadth, we shall find that not only is .75 the average, but that it occupies the point of highest numerical value in the table, the numbers progressively decreasing, as we depart from it in either direction; 67 of the whole group being comprised within the limits of .71 and .79: proving to a demonstration that, while a wide margin is allowed upon either side for individual development, the permanency of the type is carefully provided for by the preponderance of the mass. And, accordingly, we find in our modern group, individual specimens resembling their remote predecessors of the primeval period, considerably more closely even than the specimens from the large tumulus in the Phoenix Park resemble each other. Nor is this all,—it proves, so far as cranial testimony alone can do, that the Celtic population of Ireland, no matter by how many immigrations introduced, must be originally *from one parent stock*; else, if the long and short headed specimens occasionally to be met with were truly typical, instead of being exceptional varieties, we should have *two centres* of aggregation, shading gradually off into each other, instead of one only as is the ^{*}case; and this conclusion is further confirmed by the very pertinent philological observation made by Dr. Wilde [*Beauties of the Boyne and Blackwater*, page 223:]—“It is a fact, curious, but generally overlooked by Irish historians, who bring hither colonies of different nations, that there are but the remains of *one* language known in manuscripts or spoken amongst us.”—The purport of the 4th Table is to show the manner in which the other proportional measurements may also be calculated; but as that part of our enquiry has not yet been fully completed, it would be premature to enter upon it here: neither is this the time, nor would it be the place, to discuss the Phrenological bearing of the structural peculiarities which it has been our endeavour to record: the indulgence of the reader has already been more than sufficiently trespassed upon. We shall, therefore, so far as this Journal is concerned, take leave of the subject, pleading our justification for having adventured upon it at all, in the language of the same quaint old author, whose suggestive words adorn our introductory chapter:—“Time, which antiquates antiquities, and hath an art to make dust of all things, hath yet spared these minor monuments. In vain we hope to be known by open and visible conservatories, when to be unknown was the means of their continuation, and obscurity their protection. . . . Now, since these dead bones have already out-lived the living ones of Methuselah, and, in a yard underground and thin walls of clay, out-worn all the strong and specious buildings above them, and quietly rested under the drums and trappings of three conquests; we were very unwilling they should die again, and be buried twice among us.”

No. 1 TABULATED MEASUREMENTS OF 16 SKULLS.

NO. IN CATALOGUE.	2	3	18	27	28	19	20	21	22	24	25	44	57
NAME OF SKULL, OR LOCALITY FROM WHENCE OBTAINED.	Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone.	Phenix Park, No. 1.	Drumbo.	Devenish.	Down- patrick.	Clones, No. 1.	Clones, No. 2.	Clones, No. 3.	Clones, No. 4.	Drumlane.	Army.	Armagh.	Aghaloe, Co. Kerry, No. 1.

PRIMEVAL.	NON-CELTIC.
-----------	-------------

CELTIC.—ANCIENT AND MODERN.

Cubic Capacity,.....	93	88	90	96	86	77	96?	83?	82?	89?	?	82?	92	107	100
Length from 10° to 145°,....	6.95	7.1	7.2	7.5	7.0	6.7	7.6	7.4	7.4	7.5	8.2	7.25	7.4	7.5	7.5
Breadth,.....	5.8	5.65	6.05	6.2	5.85	5.6	5.6	5.7	5.7	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.5	5.7	5.7
Circumference,.....	20.4	21.1	19.9	21.6	20.4	19.5	21.0	20.8	20.7	20.7	22.0	20.3	20.6	21.5	21.4
Frontal Arch,.....	—	5.2	5.0	5.5	4.9	4.8	5.4	5.0	5.5?	5.4	5.9	—	5.4	5.4	5.5
Parietal do.	—	5.0	4.7	5.1	5.0	4.2	5.1	4.5	5.0	5.0	5.2	—	4.9	4.8	5.0
Occipital do.	4.7	4.9	4.8	4.9	4.5	4.4	4.8	5.2	4.5	4.0	5.2	4.4	4.7	5.3	5.0
Sum of do. or Occipito-frontal,	14.5	15.1	14.5	15.5	14.4	13.4	15.3	14.7	15.0	14.4	16.3	14.1	15.0	15.5	15.5
Mastoidal do.	15.2	14.9	14.6	16.0	14.1	13.9	15.1	14.6	14.0	15.4	—	14.6	15.0	14.9	15.4

Proportional Measurements,

In Hundredths of Long Diameter.

Length,.....	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
Breadth, .....	.83*	.74*	.84	.83	.83*	.83*	.74	.77	.77	.74*	.67*	.77	.74*	.76	.76

RADIAL OR PROFILE.

0	.51*	.50*	.54	.48	.51	.51	.50	.56	.48*	.48	.54	.54	.51*	.47*	.48
10	.57	.57	.58*	.55	.56	.56	.55	.55	.54*	.52*	.60	.60	.58*	.53*	.52*
20	.63	.60*	.62	.58	.61	.60	.60*	.59	.58	.55*	.64	.64	.61*	.59	.57
30	.67	.62*	.65	.61	.65	.64*	.63	.61	.60	.59	.66	.66	.64*	.61	.60
40	.67*	.63	.66	.62	.65*	.65*	.63	.61*	.60	.60*	.66*	.66*	.65	.62*	.61*
50	.68	.62*	.67	.62	.65*	.66	.63	.62	.60	.61	.66	.66	.64*	.63	.62*
60	.68*	.62*	.68	.62	.65	.66*	.63	.62*	.60	.61*	.65*	.65*	.64*	.63*	.63
70	.69*	.63	.68	.62	.64*	.66*	.65	.64	.60	.62*	.66	.66	.64*	.64	.63
80	.71	.64	.68*	.62	.65*	.66*	.66	.65	.60	.64*	.66	.66	.65*	.65*	.64
90	.71*	.64*	.68*	.62	.65*	.66*	.65*	.65	.60	.64*	.66	.66	.65*	.66	.65*
100	.69*	.64*	.66	.61	.64*	.66*	.63	.64	.60	.61	.66	.66	.63	.66	.66
110	.65	.62	.63*	.59	.63	.61*	.60*	.62	.61	.63*	.61*	.65*	.60*	.64	.66
120	.61	.59	.59*	.58	.59	.59	.60*	.62	.60	.63*	.61*	.61*	.60*	.64	.63

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FRED	No. of Crania	Cubic Capacity, in inches and tenths.			Length, in inches and tenths.			Breadth, in inches and tenths.		
		Highest	Lowest	Average	Highest	Lowest	Average	Highest	Lowest	Average
GROUP										
Park, No. 1	1	...	...	91	...	...	7.1	...	...	5.6
more.....	1	...	...	93	...	...	6.95	...	...	5.8
Park, 3 & 4	2	93	88	90.5	7.6	7.1	7.35	5.65	5.65	5.65
cutting	1	...	...	...	...	...	7.6	...	..	5.7
atty	2	...	...	77	7.25	7.1	7.17	5.4	5.35	5.37
	7	93	77	88.4	7.6	6.95	7.25	5.8	5.35	5.6

GROUP 2.—ANCIENT BUT										
.....	1	...	...	96	...	...	7.5	...	...	6.2
h.....	1	...	...	86	...	...	7.0	...	...	5.85
trick	1	...	...	77	...	...	6.7	...	...	5.6
.....	1	...	...	90	...	...	7.2	...	...	6.05
roup.....	4	96	77	87.2	7.5	6.7	7.1	6.2	5.6	5.9

GROUP 3.—ANCIENT BUT										
Vilson.....	8	105	79	90.85	7.55	7.1	7.24	5.8	5.35	5.58
.....	4	96	82	92.5	7.6	7.4	7.47	5.7	5.5	5.6
e.....	1	...	...	...	...	..	8.2	...	...	5.5
.....	1	...	...	82.0	...	...	7.25	...	...	5.5
le, Belfast	1	...	...	87.0	...	...	7.5	...	...	5.4
ter.....	2	102	87	94.5	7.35	7.1	7.22	6.0	5.6	5.8
perfect.....	1	...	...	...	...	...	7.0	...	...	5.5
	18	105	79	89.6	8.2	7.0	7.34	6.0	5.4	5.57

UP 4.—MODERN.										
?.....	1	...	...	85	...	...	7.3	...	...	5.25
klow	1	...	...	80	...	...	7.1	...	...	5.2
.....	5	98	84	91.4	7.6	7.1	7.3	5.8	5.4	5.5
n.....	3	107	87	93.6	7.5	7.1	7.3	5.7	5.6	5.63
nt.....	7	95	75	86.1	7.6	6.9	7.2	5.7	...	5.5
e.....	3	100	81	93.3	7.8	7.2	7.5	5.7	...	5.5
bnormal	1	...	...	94.0	...	...	8.0	...	...	...
.....	1	...	...	90.0	...	...	7.2	...	...	...
Co. Galway	2	...	84	88.0	...	...	...	...	...	...

21.6	...	...	15.5	...	...	16.0	...	...	.83
20.4	...	...	14.4	...	...	14.1	...	...	.83*
19.5	...	...	13.4	...	...	13.9	...	...	.83*
19.9	...	...	14.5	...	...	14.6	...	...	.84
20.35	15.5	13.4	14.45	16.0	13.9	14.65	.84	.83	.83*

L.—CELTIC.

20.45	16.2	14.0	14.9	16.0	13.8	15.0	.81	.73	.77
20.8	15.3	14.4	14.85	15.4	14.0	14.77	.77*	.74	.75*
22.0	...	...	16.3	...	...	...	...	...	.67*
20.3	...	...	14.1	...	...	14.6	...	...	.77
20.5	...	...	15.1	...	...	15.0	...	...	.72
20.95	14.8	14.5	14.65	15.6	14.0	14.8	.82*	.79	.80*
20.0	...	...	14.3	...	...	...	...	...	.79
20.6	16.3	14.1	14.85	15.4	14.0	15.55	.82*	.72	.76*

L T I C.

20.6	...	...	15.2	...	...	15.2	...	...	.72
19.9	...	...	14.6	...	...	14.1	...	...	.73*
20.7	15.5	14.6	15.0	15.6	14.1	14.9	.81	.74	.76
20.9	15.5	14.6	15.0	15.1	14.9	14.96	.79	.76	.77
20.6	15.5	13.9	14.8	15.0	14.0	14.5	.78	.74*	.76
21.1	16.0	14.8	15.4	15.4	14.9	15.1	.76	.72	.74
21.7	...	...	16.5	...	...	14.0	...	...	.65
20.8	...	...	14.5	...	...	14.1	...	...	.75*
20.6	14.9	14.7	14.8	15.1	14.5	14.8	.75*	.74*	.75
20.9	15.5	14.474
20.78	16.5	13.9	15.04	15.6	14.0	14.68	.81	.65	.75
...81	.69	.75
...81	.65	.75

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structures, mentioned in the last quoted paragraph ; that is to say, of stone in horizontal courses, with every course projecting a little beyond that below it, so that they are at last near enough to permit the arch to be closed with a single flat key-stone or cap-stone. This method of constructing arches and domes has the peculiarity that all the pressure is vertical: there is no lateral thrust. It is much weaker than the way in which we construct our arches, and, consequently, does not admit of a wide span; but for domes of small diameter, like the roofs of the round towers, it is by far the best possible construction, as the absence of lateral thrust both saves expense and promotes the durability of the building. This, however, does not apply to the arches of door-ways and windows, for their thrust is much less than that of a dome, and is besides, in general, sufficiently borne by the wall.

This method of roofing is common to Ireland and the East, as has been hinted in the last paragraph extracted from Mr. Fergusson's work. It is employed in the so-called Treasury of Atreus, which is the most remarkable pre-historic monument of Greece, or perhaps of Europe; and it was the national style of India before the Mahomedan conquest, for both domes and arches. I do not know, however, of any evidence of its employment in either classical or Christian Greece; so that we cannot connect its use in Greece with its use in Ireland: and, as it is a much more obvious, and less scientific invention than the true arch and dome, it may have been invented by different nations independently of each other. The kind of roof characteristic of the small churches contemporaneous with the round towers, is different from that of the towers themselves, being a tunnel vault, covered with a pitched roof. Both these roofs, and those of the round towers, are entirely of stone—no timber is used: a very uncommon peculiarity in European buildings.

A writer quoted in vol. i., page 17, of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, says positively that the origin of the round towers is from the Eastern Church, and that the pillar of St. Simeon Stylites was a round tower. I do not know of any certain evidence of this, but it is highly probable; for the use of towers, as symbolical ornaments attached to places of worship, is unknown to heathenism, but common to the Christian and Mahomedan nations. The Mahomedan *minaret*, the Italian *campanile*, the Gothic steeple-crowned tower, and our own Irish round towers, are all evidently members of the same family; alike both in position and purpose; for the *muezzin* who stands on the *minaret*, and calls the Mahomedans to prayer, performs the same office as our bells. This similarity argues a common origin; and where can this have been but in the architecture of the Christianised Roman Empire, which was the origin of all the Mahomedan styles on the one hand, and all the Gothic on the other? The Irish round towers resemble the Italian campaniles, (of which the leaning tower of Pisa is a good example,) in being detached buildings, though situated near the churches. The Gothic church towers, on the contrary, and I believe the Eastern minarets also, form part of the main buildings, out of which they rise.

The established fact that the Irish round towers were belfries, and attached to churches, goes far to prove that they have no connection with the *Noraghe* of the island of Sardinia, the *Pyrgi* of the

the Hebrides, or the circular tombs of Etruria and Asia Minor. The latter belong to the early Roman period. The Noraghe and the Pyrgi are of unknown date, but there is nothing to give them an ecclesiastical character; and they are lower, wider, and more nearly drum-shaped than the round towers, and, consequently, were not belfries. Some of the Pyrgi, according to Colonel Leake, were, from their position, evidently built for fortresses. [See vol. i., pages 29 and 30 of this *Journal*.] The round towers, and the churches to which they belong, unquestionably form a link in the chain of Romanesque^a styles of architecture, that extends, geographically, from the Bosphorus to the Atlantic, and chronologically, from the extinction of the classical Græco-Roman art, to the rise of the various Mahomedan and Gothic styles. Romanesque architecture is distinguished from the classical Roman by the absence of the column and entablature; and from Gothic and Mahomedan architecture by the semi-circular form of the arches,^b which are generally pointed in the Gothic and Eastern styles, and of the “horse-shoe” shape in that of Moorish Spain. It includes, as subordinate classes, the Byzantine; some of the Italian and French styles, to which the name of Romanesque is generally restricted; the early style of Western Germany; the Norman-English; and the Celtic-Irish.

There are some curious resemblances between Irish and Norman art, which appear to show an influence of the former on the latter. One of these is the existence of a few round towers, like the detached ones, in very old English churches, but forming part of the church, according to the English method—not detached, as in Ireland. One of these is figured and described in this *Journal*, vol. i., page 27. The fact mentioned there, that its roof, as well as its walls, are of rubble, almost proves that its builder must have been an Irishman, or, at least, one who had studied the Irish buildings; this implies that it is not arched, but built in horizontal courses, with each course projecting beyond the one below it, as I described when speaking of the Irish towers.

There is a kind of ornament common in Norman buildings, consisting of interlacing bands, like the knot-work style which is so characteristic of ancient Irish art, alike in the illuminations of manuscripts, in jewellery, and on the stone crosses. Two specimens of this are figured in the fifth edition of Pugin's *English Architecture*. One of these is a font, the designs on which are very like some of those given in Mr. O'Neill's lithographed *Illustrations of the Stone Crosses of Ireland*; the other is a pillar, and appears to show a debased variety of the style. This kind of ornament appears to be of Irish origin. Specimens of it are found on flat stones throughout Scotland. It exists in old churches in Scandinavia, and, as we have seen, in England; it is sometimes called *Runic*; but I

SIX HUNDRED GAELIC PROVERBS COLLECTED IN ULSTER.

 BY ROBERT MAC ADAM.

(Continued from page 183.)

Content, Moderation.

97. Foghnaidh go leòr comh maith le fèusda. [Enough serves as well as a feast.]
98. Is fearr teine bheag a ghoras nà teine mhòr a losgas. [A little fire that warms is better than a large fire that burns.]
99. Is fearr leith-bhuilín nà a bheith falamb gan aran. [Half a loaf is better than being entirely without bread.]
100. Is fearr pèire maith bonn nà dhà phèire uachdar. [One good pair of soles is better than two pair of upper leathers.]
101. Is beag a rud nach fearr nà diùltadh. [It is a small thing that is not better than refusal.]
102. An ùair is gainne an meas 's è is fearr a bhlas. [When the fruit is scarcest, its taste is sweetest.]
- Italian. *In tempo di carestia è buono il pan vecciato.*
103. Is maith an t-annlann an t-ocras. [Hunger is a good condiment.]
- Latin. *Optimum condimentum fames:—and, Jejunus rarò stomachus vulgaria temnit.*
- Italian. *Appetito non vuol salsa.* Spanish. *A la hambre no hay pan malo.* English. *Hungry dogs will eat dirty puddings.*
104. Is fearr marcaigheachd air ghabhar nà coisigheacht ò fheabhas. [Riding on a goat is better than the best walking.]
105. Is fearr dìomhaineach nà ag obair a n-asgaidh. [Better be idle than working for nothing.]
106. Is fearr fuighcall nà bheith air easbhuidh. [Better have the leavings than nothing at all.]
107. Is fearr 'na aonar nà bheith a n-droch-chuideachd. [It is better to be alone than in bad company.]
108. Nà dean beagan de do mhèis. [Do not make little of your dish,
 Gan fios nach pèisd a bheidheadh d'a meas; For it may be an ignorant person who judges it;
 Ni fearr an mhias mhèith The richest food is no better
 Nà 'n mhias rèidh a d-tiocar leis. Than the ready dish which suits one's purpose.]

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122. Cùradh mo chroidhe ort, a bhothain, [The plague of my heart on you, little cottage
'S tù nach m-biann a choidch' acht a g-cothan; It is you that are constantly in disorder ;
Acht càil bheag bhuideach de do shochar But one little advantage you have,—
Moch no mall a thigim No matter how late or how early I come,
Gur b'ionnad is fusa damh mo chosa 'shìneadh. It is in you I can easiest stretch my legs.]

English. *There's no place like home.* Italian. *Ad ogni uccello il suo nido è bello.*

123. Is fearr falamh nà droch-sgeul. [Better (come) empty than with bad news.]

Discretion, Prudence, Self-Restraint.

124. An tè nach ngabhaidh comhairle, glacaidh se comhrac. [He who will not take advice will take a quarrel.]
125. Lòig dò fuaradh 'sa g-craiceann a'r thcith se ann. [Let him cool in the skin that he warmed in.]
i.e., Let an angry man cool before you reply.
126. Nà taisbean do fhiacal 's an àit nach d-tig leat greim a bhaint a mach. [Do not show your teeth where you cannot give a bite.]
127. Ma's maith leat sìochaint, cairdeas, a's moladh, [If you wish for peace, friendship, and praise,
Eisd, faic, is fan balbh. Listen, look, and be dumb.]

Latin. *Audi, vide, tace ; si vis vivere in pace.*

French. *Oye, vois, et te taisse*

Si tu veux vivre en paix.

Spanish. *Ver, Oir, y callar.*

128. Nà labhair gach nidh do b'àill leat, le h-eagal go g-cluinfeà nidh nar bh'àill leat. [Do not say everything you like, lest you hear a thing you would not like.]
129. Da fhaide a's bheidheas tu a muigh, nà beir droch-sgèul a bhaile ort fèin. [As long as you are from home, never bring back a bad story about yourself.]
130. Thèid focal le gaoith, a's thèid buille 'le cnàimh. [A word goes to the winds, but a blow goes to the bones.]

English. *Soft words break no bones.*

131. Chan sgèul rùin a chluinneas triùir. [A story that three people hear is no secret.]

Spanish. *Puridad de dos, puridad de Dios :*

Puridad de tres, de todos es. [A secret between two is God's secret ; a secret between three is everybody's.]

132. Cha deanann balbhan brèug. [A dumb man tells no lies.]

Spanish. *En boca cerrada no entra mosca.* [Into a shut mouth flies do not enter]—and,

Oveja que bala bocada pierde. [The sheep loses a mouthful when it bleats.]

133. Is olc nach ngabhaidh comhairle, acht is mìle measa a ghabhas gach nìle chomhairle. [He is bad that will not take advice, but he is a thousand times worse who takes every advice.]
134. Is furas beagan cainte a leasughadh. [It is easy to mend little talk.]
Latin. Non unquam tacuisse nocet.
135. Is binn beul 'n a thosd. [A silent mouth sounds sweetly.]
136. Nà bi 'g 'ul cadar a craiceann 's a crann. [Do not go between the tree and its bark.]
i.e., Do not intermeddle between near relations, such as man and wife, &c.
137. Is fearrde do'n m-brò a bhreacadh gan a bhriseadh. [The mill-stone is the better of being picked, but not broken.]
 It is better to mend a thing than throw it away: or, you ought not to go about a business too violently.
138. Nà luadh gach nìdh do chifear duit, [Do not talk of every thing you may see,
 Is beag an dioghbhàil a ghui an tochd; 'Tis little harm that silence does;
 Eisd le comhairle dhuine ghlic, Listen to the advice of a wise man—
 Tuig, a's lèig mòran tharad. Understand, but let much pass you, (without remark.)]
139. Bianu marbhadh duine eadar dhà fhocal. [The killing of a man may be between two words.]
 The mistake of a single word may produce serious consequences.

Procrastination.

140. Is èasgaidhe neòin nà maidin. [Evening is more active than morning.]
i.e., Do the thing at once, for in the morning some obstacle may arise. Latin. Carpe diem.
141. Is mithid a bheith bogadh na ngad. [It is time for you to be softening the gods.]
 It is time to prepare for departure.
142. Nà cuir do ghnothuighe ò 'n-diugh go d-ti a màireach. [Do not put off your business from to-day till to-morrow.]
143. Thainig tu an là a n-dèigh an aonaigh. [You have come the day after the fair.]
Latin. Post festum venisti.
144. 'Sè triall na g-cearc ag 'ul go h-Albainn. [That is (like) the intended journey of the hens to Scotland.]
 The children, when they hear the hens cackling at night, say they are talking about going back to Scotland, where they came from. There is an old Irish tune called "*Triall na g-cearc go h-Albainn.*" This proverb is applied to persons who are continually talking of doing a thing, but never do it

145. Fàl fa'n ngort a n-dèigh na fòghala. [Putting a fence round the field after the robbery.]
 Italian. *Serrar la stalla quando s'han perduti i buovi.* Spanish. *Despues de vendimias cuè-
 vanos.* [After the vintage, the baskets to gather the grapes.] *Para el mal que hoy acaba,
 no es remedio el de manana.* [The remedy of to-morrow will not serve for the evil of to-day.]
La casa quemada, acudir con el agua. [When the house is burnt, to have recourse to
 water.]
146. A n-deigh 'aimhleis do chithear a leas do'n Eirionnach. [After misfortune the Irishman sees
 his profit.]
i.e., He sees what he ought to have done, when too late.

Experience, Knowledge.

147. Is maith an t-eòlaidhe deireadh an lae. [The end of the day is a good director.]
148. Fa choin-fheasgar aithnighear fear. [About evening a man is known.]
i.e., After he has done his day's work.
149. Is fearr an chiall cheannaighthe nà a faghail a n-asgaidh. [Sense that is bought is better than
 what is got for nothing ;]—and
150. 'Sì an chiall cheannaighthe is fearr. [Bought sense is the best.]
151. Is a g-cionn na bliadhna innsidheas iasgaire a thàbhachd. [It is at the end of the year that
 the fisherman can tell his profits.]
152. Bianu eagla na teine air a leanabh dòithte. [A burnt child fears the fire.]
 Spanish. *El gato escaldado del agua fria huye.* [The scalded cat flies from cold water.]
153. Is mall gach cos air chasan gan eòlus. [On an unknown path every foot is slow.]
154. Moladh gach duine an t-ath mur gheabhaidh se è. [Let every man praise the ford as he
 finds it,]
 Spanish. *Cada uno cuenta de la feria, come le va en ella.* [Every one speaks of the fair as
 he finds it.]
155. Mol a dhcìreadh. [Praise the end of it.]
i.e., See how it ends before you say anything. Latin. *Exitus acta probat.* Spanish. *Nadie
 se alabe, hasta que acabe.* [Let no one boast until he has finished.] English. *Don't halloo
 till you are out of the wood.*
156. Is maith a sgèulaidhe an aimsir. [Time is a good historian.]
 English. *Time will tell.* Latin. *Tempus omnia revelat.*
157. Is fear eòlus an uilo nà an t-ole gan eòlus. [Better is knowledge of evil than evil without
 knowledge.]
 He who knows what is wrong is more likely to avoid doing it.

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170. Is breitheamh mall Dia, [God is a slow judge,
 Nach dearna 'riamh acht an chòir; Who never did anything but justice;
 Chuir se Cormac a mach 's a t-sliabh, He put Cormac out on the mountain,
 A's lèig se an diabhal le n-a thòin. And let the devil at his back.]
 Said on the downfall of a bad man; or when any one who has long practised villainy
 with impunity, at last meets his deserts. Who the Cormac was, that is named in the
 proverb, is not known.
171. Cha bhian Dia le mi-rùn daoine. [God takes no part in the bad designs of men.]
172. Is maith Dia go là, a's nì fearr nà go brath. [God is good until day, and yet no better than he
 is until the day of judgment.]
i e., God's providence watches over us at all times. "*Trust in God, and keep your powder
 dry.*"—OLIVER CROMWELL. The Spaniards have a proverb something like this last:
 —*Adios rezando, y con el mazo dando.* [Praying to God, and working with the ham-
 mer.]
173. An nidh nach n-ithtear a's nach ngoidtear, gheabhar è. [The thing that is not eaten, and
 not stolen, will be found.]
174. Is farsuing Dia 's a g-cumhanglach. [In the narrow strait God's providence is wide.]
175. Is minic a bhi dubhach mòr air bheagan fearthana. ['Tis often there has been great dark-
 ness with little rain.]

Honour, Disgrace, Shame.

176. Is beò duine a n-dèigh a dhaoine, acht nì beò e a n-dèigh an nàire. [A man may live after
 his kindred, but not after his shame.]
177. Is àaisle onoir nà òr. [Honour is more noble than gold.]
178. Is fearr paiste nà poll, acht is onoraigh poll nà paiste. [A patch is better than a hole, but a
 hole is more honourable than a patch.]
179. Is beag a rud a shalaighcas brighiste, agus nì lugha a thuilleas diomadh. [It is a little thing
 that dirties a pair of breeches, but not less than what deserves reproach.]
180. Glacaidh gach dath dubh, acht nì ghlacaidh an dubh dath. [Every colour will take black,
 but black will take no colour.]
181. Làn duirn de shògh, agus làn baile de nàire. [The full of a fist of gain, and the full of a vil-
 lage of shame.]
 For example, when a single egg is stolen.
182. Ma's mòr do chliù, cha mhaith. [Though your fame is great, it is not good.]
183. Is bùaine cliù nà saoghal. [Reputation is more lasting than life.]
184. Is fearr diol tnu nà diol truaighe. [It is better (to be) an object of envy than an object of pity.]

bends its head.]

A beautiful metaphor, implying that the man who has most knowledge is always the most modest.

189. Fear falamh a bheidheas gan nidh, [He that has nothing,
Suidheadh sios a bh-fad o chàch; Let him sit far below the rest (of the company);
O mhend a maise bhios 'n a chorp, Be he ever so handsome in his person,
Is iomadh lochd a chithear 'n a làr. Many a fault will be seen in him.]

Courage, Confidence, Self-Reliance.

190. Nà biodh do theangaidh fa do chrios. [Do not keep your tongue under your belt.]
i.e., Speak out boldly.

191. Nà seachain a's nà h-agair an cath. [Do not either shun or provoke a fight.]

—————"Beware
*Of entrance to a quarrel, but being in
Bear it, that th' opposer may beware of thee.*"—SHAKESPEARE.

192. Beidh nidh ag an sàrachan, 'n ùair a bhios an nàireachan falamh. [The pertinacious man will get something when the shame-faced will go empty.]

Latin. *Audaces fortuna juvat timidisque repellat.* Spanish. *Al hombre osado la fortuna da la mano.* [To the bold man fortune gives her hand.] English. *Faint heart never won fair lady.*

Truth, Sincerity, and the reverse.

193. Is fearrde a dhearcas brèng fiadhnuise. [A lie looks the better of having a witness.]

194. Biann an fhirinne searbh go minic. [Truth is often bitter.]

195. An lus nach bh-fuighthear, 'sè 'fhòireas. [The herb that cannot be got is the one that suits.]
Applied to persons who offer to give or lend a thing, but unluckily it cannot be found.
196. Cha deanann bodach brèug 's a chlann a lathair. [A clown does not tell lies when his children are present.]
Because they might contradict him.
197. Cha deachaidh se air sgath an tuir leis. [He did not go behind the bush with him.]
i.e., He spoke out bluntly.
198. Meallann a fear brèugach a fear sanntach. [The liar deceives the greedy man.]
199. Ni fiù sgèul gan ughdar èisdeachd. [A story without an author is not worth listening to.]
200. Mhionnochadh se poll thrid chlàr. [He would swear a hole through a plank.]

Honesty, Justice.

201. Nà bain leis an nidh nach m-baineann duit (or, leat). [Do not meddle with what does not concern you.]
202. Ghoidcadh se an ubh o'n chorr, a's a chorr fèin fa dheireadh. [He would steal the egg from the crane, and the crane herself at last.]
The crane is said to be remarkable for her vigilance.
203. Saoileann gaduidhe na g-cruach gur sladaidibh an sluagh. [The man that steals stacks thinks all the world thieves.]
A thorough thief believes no one to be honest.
204. Eugcòir os cionn gach eugcòir, eugcòir a dheanamh air dhuine mhaith. [Injustice beyond all injustice, wronging the good man.]
205. An uair a thuiteas rògairidh a mach, tiocaidh duine macanta air a chuid fèin. [When rogues fall out, an honest man will get his own.]
206. Is beag a ta cadar an chòir a's an eugcòir. [There is but little between justice and injustice.]
i.e., It is as easy to do a just as an unjust action.
207. Cuir an ceart 'roimh an bh-fèile, [Put justice before generosity.]
208. Cuntas glan fhagas càirde buidheach [Clear accounts leave friends thankful;
A charas Criosd, cuir a nall an fheòrlìn. So, gossip, hand me over the farthing.]
Italian. *Conti chiari, amici cari.* [Clear accounts make dear friends.] Scotch. *Aft countin' keeps frien's lang thegither.* English. *Short accounts make long friends.* French. *A vieux comptes, nouvelles disputes.*

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224. 'Sì a chneadh féin is luaithe mhothuigheas gach duine. [It is his own wound that every man feels the soonest.]

225. Is mòr an caolach a bhi air do bheagan arbha. [There was a great deal of rubbish in your small quantity of corn.]

226. Molaidh an gnìomh è fèin. [The deed will praise itself.]

Italian. *Dal detto al fatto, v'è un gran tratto.*

227. Torann mòr air bheagan ola. [Much noise for little wool.]

English. *Much cry and little wool, as the devil said when shearing the pig.* Scotch. *Mair whustle nor woo', as the souter said when shearin' the soo.* Spanish. *Cacarear y no poner huevo.* [To cackle and lay no egg.]

228. Leig fad an aghastair leis. [Let him have the length of the halter.]—or, Teilg an t-aghastar fa n-a chionn. [Throw the halter over his head.]

i.e., Let him take his full swing. English. *Give him rope enough, and he will hang himself.*

229. Saoileann se gur b'è fèin an chloch a caitheadh leis a g-caislean. [He thinks that he himself is the very stone that was hurled at the castle.]

i.e., He was the one who bore the brunt. This proverb seems to allude to the stone cannon-balls used for artillery in the 15th and 16th centuries.

230. Is binn gach èun ann a dhoire fèin. [Every bird is melodious in his own grove.]

231. Chan uaisle mac rìgh nà a chuid. [The son of a king is not nobler than his food.]

Often said by a person who happens to come in unexpectedly on another who is in the act of cooking his own food; as much as to say, "You need not be ashamed." The saying took its origin in an anecdote which is told of one of the O'Neills, the Ulster chieftains. A bard on one occasion having entered a room without ceremony, discovered the chief toasting a cake for himself. O'Neill looked ashamed of his occupation; but the bard instantly addressed him in these *impromptu* lines:—

*Is tu-sa an tighearna O'Neill,
A's mi-se mac t-sèin mhic Cuirc;
Tiontamaois a t-sudog air aon,
Chan uaisle mac rìgh nà a chuid.*

Italian. *A tavola non bisogna aver vergogna.* [At table one need not be ashamed.]

Against Trusting to Appearances.

232. Biann adharca mòra air bhà a bh-fad ò bhaile. [Cows far from home have long horns.]

We value things at a distance, or out of our reach, more than they deserve. English. *Far away birds have fine feathers.* Latin. *Omne ignotum pro magnifico est.*

233. Is glas na cnuic a bh-fad uaiun. [Distant hills appear green.]

237. Troid chaoracha maola. [A fight between hornless sheep.]
i.e., A mock-fight; said of persons appearing to be very angry with each other, but not so in reality.
238. Ma's olc a dath, is maith a dreach. [Though the complexion is bad, the countenance is good.]
239. Taisbean an laogh biadhtha, acht nà taisbean an nidh a bhiadhthaigh é. [Show the fattened calf, and not the thing that fattened him.]
240. Ghnidh aran cam bolg direach. [Crooked bread makes a straight belly.]
 Alluding to oaten cakes, which become crooked when toasted at the fire on the "*maide aràin*." Many a person or thing, though rough and unsightly, is good notwithstanding.
241. Cha chluinnean se an nidh nach binn leis. [He does not hear what is not pleasing to him.]
242. Is anamh bhios teangaidh mhilis gan gath ann a bun. [A sweet tongue is seldom without a sting at its root.]
243. Blichtear na bà buidhe, a's òltar a g-cuid boinne, [The yellow cows are milked, and their milk is drunk ;
 Agus thèid na bà bàna gan sàl chun a bhaile. While the white cows come back from the fair, and no bid for them.]
 Yellow cows are said to give better milk than white cows, and therefore sell better in the fair. The proverb is applied to women, and hints that a girl with an uninviting exterior may make a better wife than a handsome one.
244. Bianu borb faoi sgèimh. [A violent disposition may be under a beautiful form.]
245. Biann cluanaidhe a n-doagh-chulaidh. [A deceiver may be dressed in fine clothes.]
246. Cionn èireòige air shean-cheirc. [A pullet's head on an old hen.]
 A hen's age can never be told by her head. The proverb is applied to an elderly woman dressing herself with a showy cap, more suitable for a young one.
247. Ainm gan tàbhacht. [The name without the substance.]
248. Is maith an sgeul (or, an greann) a lìonas bolg. [It is a good story (or, jest) that fills the belly]
 Scotch. *It's good game that fills the wame.*
249. Cha lìontar an bolg le caint. [The belly is not filled by talking.]
 English. *Fair words butter no parsnips ; and, Many words will not fill a bushel.*
 Latin. *Fabulis venter non expletur.*
250. Beiridh cearc dhubh ubh bhàn. [A black hen lays a white egg.]
 Spanish. *Tierra negra buen pan lleva.* [Black land produces good bread.]

Sobriety.

251. An ùair a bhios an deòch a stigh, biann a chiall a muigh. [When drink is in, sense is out.]
 Italian. *Vino dentro, senno fuora.* Spanish. *Do entra beber, sale sober.* [When drink enters wisdom departs.]
252. Is cuma liom cumann bean leanna. [I do not care for the friendship of an alc-wife.]
253. Is giorra deòch na sgeul. [A drink is shorter than a story.]

Poverty.

254. Is iomad gron a chithear air a duine bhocht. [Many a defect is seen in the poor man.]
255. Milleann a bhoichtineacht a choingeall. [Poverty destroys punctuality.]
256. Ta gob a phòcain air a chapàn aige. [He has the mouth of his poke on the baking dish.]
 Equivalent to the next proverb, "He is from hand to mouth." The *capan* is the wooden dish or bowl in which poor people knead their bread. The proverb says that the mouth of the beggar's "poke" (*i.e.*, the last of the meal) is always in the dish.
257. Chan'uil aige acht o'n làimh go d-ti an beul. [He has nothing but from hand to mouth.]
258. Is ball buan do'n donas an nàire. [Shame is a constant accompaniment of poverty.]
259. Brosnuigheann airc intleacht. [Necessity urges invention.]
260. Is iomad sift a dheanas duine bocht sul a sgabadh se tigh. [Many a shift the poor man makes before he will give up his house.]
261. Is buidh le bocht a bh-faghann. [The poor are thankful for what they get.]
262. Is baile bocht, baile gan toit gan teine. [It is a poor village that has neither smoke nor fire.]
 Spanish. *Casa sin chiminea, de muger pobre o yerma.* [A house without a chimney is either inhabited by a poor woman, or empty.]
263. Is ionmhuin le Dia duine bocht sùgach, acht ni lugha air an diabhal nà duine bocht lùbach.
 [God loves a cheerful poor man, but he hates like the devil a dishonest poor man.]
 Spanish. *Pobrete pero alegrete.* [Poor but merry.]
264. Millidh an ainnis an t-iasacht. [Poverty spoils borrowing.]
 English. *Poverty parts good company.*
265. An té a bhios sios buailtear clòch air, a's an tè a bhios sùas òltar deòch air. [The man that is down has a stone thrown at him, and the man that is up has his health drunk.]
266. Cha seasann sac falamh. [An empty sack does not stand upright.]
267. Ni baoghal do'n m-bacach an gaduidhe. [The beggar is in no danger from the robber.]
 Latin. *Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.*

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286. Thug se ò dhùchas è, mur thug a mhuc a rùtail. [He got it from nature, as the pig got the rooting in the ground.]
He inherits the quality, or vice, from his parents.
287. Aithnigh cù gèur a lòcht. [A sharp hound knows his fault.]
Most people are aware of their own faults. Spanish. *Cada uno sabe donde le aprieta el zapato.* [Every one knows where the shoe pinches him.]
288. Guid è dheanadh mac a chait acht luchòg a ghabhàil? [What would the son of a cat do but catch a mouse?]
Italian. *Chi da gatta nasce sorici piglia.*
289. Gach cùn mur oiltear è, ars' an chuach a' dul 's a neanntàig. [Every bird as he has been reared, said the cuckoo, as she went into the nettle.]
290. Gach cùn mur oiltear è, a's an uiseag chun na mòna. [Every bird as he has been reared, and the lark to the moor.]
Latin. *Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem Testa diu.*
291. Budh dual do laogh an fhiaidh, rith a bheith aige. [It is natural for the fawn of a deer to have fleetness.]
292. An rud fhàsas 's a g-cnàimh, ni fèadar a dhìbirt as a bh-foìil. [The thing that grows in the bone is hard to drive out of the flesh.]
Latin. *Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurrat.*—HORAT.
293. Chan 'uil amadan air bith is measa nà sean-amadan. [There is no fool worse than an old fool.]
294. An tè is mò fhosglas a bhèul, 'sè is lugha fhosglas a sporàn. [The man that opens his mouth the most, opens his purse the least.]
295. Da d-treabhadh se an tir, chaithfeadh se an rìoghachda. [Though he would plough a whole country, he would spend a whole kingdom.]
i.e., A hard worker, but as great a spender.
296. 'Sè an carr falamh is mò a ghnì toran. [It is the empty car that makes the most noise.]
297. 'Sè an t-uisge oiuiu is doimhne a ritheas. [It is the smooth water that flows the deepest.]
Spanish. *Del agua mansa me libre Dios, que de la recia me guardaré yo.* [From the smooth water, Lord deliver me; from the rough I shall guard myself.]
298. Bèul eidhnàin, a's croidhe cuilinn. [A mouth of ivy, and a heart of holly.]
299. Biann a donas a m-bun na stiocaireacht. [Bad luck attends stinginess.]
300. An Laighneach laoi gheach, [The Leinster-man is sprightly,
An Mumhaineach spleaghach, [The Munster-man boastful,
An Conachtach bèul-bhinn, [The Connaught-man sweet-tongued,
'S an t-Ultach beadaidh. [And the Ulster-man impudent.]
301. Tabhartus Ui-Nèill, 's a dhà shùil 'n a dhèigh. [O'Neill's gift, and his two eyes looking after it.]
Said when any one unhandsomely reminds another of an obligation conferred by himself.

broth too.]

Said when the leavings of anything are offered.

306. An tè a bhualadh mo mhadadh, bhualadh se mè fèin. [He that would beat my dog would beat myself.]

Manners, Behaviour, Civility.

307. Cha mhilleann deagh-ghlòr fiacal. [A sweet voice does not injure the teeth.]

French. *Douces paroles n'écorchent pas la langue.*

308. Chan fhaghann fear mogaidh modh. [A mocker is never respected.]

309. Cùairt go h-anamh go tigh do charaid, a's fanach gearr goirid ann. [Pay visits to your friend's house seldom, and stay but a short time there.]

Spanish. *A casa de tu tia, mas no cada dia.* [Go to your aunt's house, but not every day.]

and, *El huesped y el pece à tres dias hiede.* [A guest and a fish stink on the third day.]

310. Aidigheann a tosdach. [The silent man confesses.]

311. Cha n-è an tè 'chomhnuidheas a d-tigh gloine, is còir a cheud chloch a chaitheadh. [He that lives in a glass house is not the one who ought to throw the first stone.]

Spanish. *El que tiene tejado de vidrio, no tire piedras al de su vicino.* [He whose house is tiled with glass must not throw stones at his neighbour's.]

312. Thig se gan iarraidh mur thig a dò-aimsir. [He comes like the bad weather, uninvited.]

313. Nà cuir do chorrán a ngort gan iarraidh. [Do not bring your reaping-hook to a field without being asked.]

314. Ta sneag an cheapaire nar uaith tu ort. [You have got the hiccup from bread and butter that you never ate.]

i.e., You are meddling with what does not concern you:—or, you are taking offence at a thing not intended for you.

315. Cha robh tu a riamh gan Diarmaid agad. [You were never without Dermot along with you.]

There is always something going astray with you. Also said to a person who has a habit of doing or saying a particular thing on all occasions.

Spanish. *A boda ni bautizado, no vayas sin ser llamado.* . [Do not go to a wedding nor a christening unless you are invited.]

317. Cha d-tainig fear an eadarsgàin saor a riamh. [The intermeddler never came off safe.]

318. An té is measa beàirt a's bèusa

Is lia bheir tò-bhèum do gach aon neach ;

Is lèur dò locht gach duine ann 'èudan

'S nì lèur dò an làn-locht a n-damantar è fèin thrid.

[The man who himself is the worst in deeds and disposition,

Is the very one who calumniates everybody ;

He sees each man's fault plainly in his countenance,

But he cannot perceive the greater fault that condemns himself.]

319. A ghreideàl a' tabhairt tòn dubh air a b-pota. [The griddle calling the pot "black bottom."]

320. Comhairle charaid gan a h-iarraidh, chan fhuair si a riamh an meas budh chòir di. [A friend's advice not asked for, was never valued as it deserved.]

Latin. *Ad consilium ne accesseris antequam voceris.* Scotch. *Come na to the council unca'd.*

321. An té a bhios 'n a mhaighistear, aithneochar è. [The man who is the master is (easily) known.]

Friendship, Choice of Companions.

322. An té a luidheas leis na madraidh, èireochaidh se leis na dearnadaidh. [He that lies down with the dogs will rise up with the fleas.]

He that touches pitch shall be defiled therewith.—ECCLESIASTICUS. Evil communications corrupt good manners.—ST. PAUL.

323. Is maith an sgathan sùil charad. [The eye of a friend is a good looking-glass.]

324. A n-am na ciorra aithnighear an charaid. [In time of need the friend is known.]

English. *A friend in need is a friend indeed.* Spanish. *Amigo del buen tiempo, mudase con el viento.* [A friend in prosperity changes with the wind.]—and, *Ahora que tengo oveja y borrego, todos me dicen en hora buena estès Pedro.* [Now that I have got a ewe and a lamb, everybody wishes me "Good day, Peter."] Latin. *Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur.—CICERO:—and, Ubi opes, ibi amici.*

325. Bain le ruincìn, a's bainidh an ruincìn leat. [Meddle with the peevish man, and he will meddle with you.]

326. Thèid gach èun le n' alt fein. [Every bird goes along with its own flock ;]—and

327. Eunlaith an aon eite a n-èinfheacht ag eitiollaigh. [Birds of one feather flying together.]

Latin. *Similis similem delectat.* Spanish. *Cada oveja con su pareja.*

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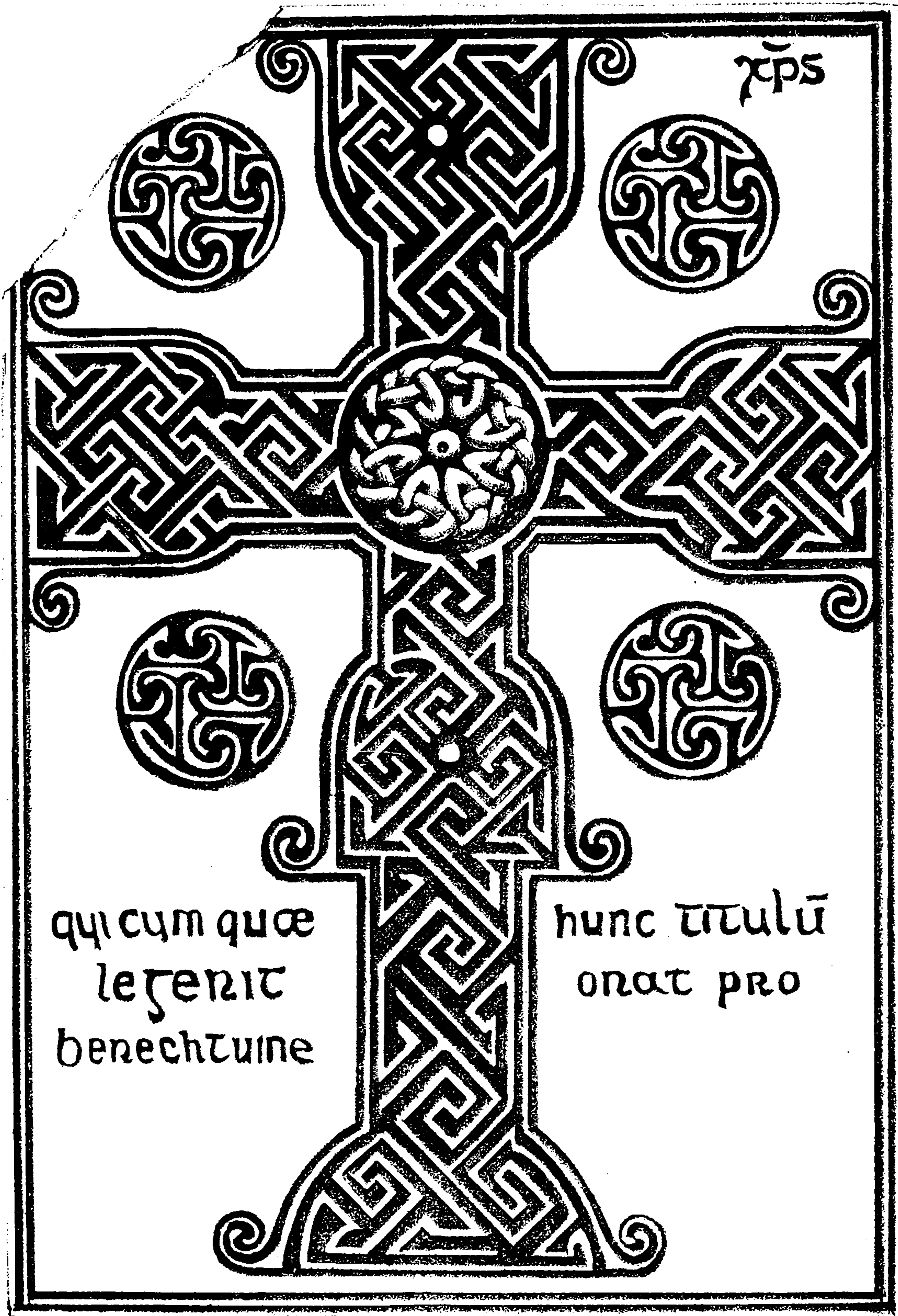
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ST BERETCHEART'S TOMB-STONE

Bog a bodach a's bain heum as; òl a ghloine a's bi reidh leis. [Humour the clown, and take your turn out of him; drink his glass, and have done with him.]

Cha robh caora chlamhach air a t-srèud a riamh, nar mhaith leithi comràda bheith aici. [There never was a scabby sheep in a flock that did not like to have a comrade.]

Ni h-eòlus gan iontuigheas. [There is no knowing a person without living in the same house with him.]

Latin. *Homini ne fidas, nisi cum quo modium salis absumpseris.*

Na tràig do charaid air do chuid. [Do not desert your friend for your meat.]

Bhearaidh aon mhadadh a mhàin air mhadaidh an bhaile tafann. [A single dog will set all the dogs in the village a-barking.]

(To be continued.)

ST. BERETCHERT OF TULLYLEASE.

By W. REEVES, D. D.

ecclesiastic whose memory is held in highest esteem in that part of the north-west of the county of Cork which forms the barony of Duhallow, is St. Beretchert of the Irish calendar, or St. Berach as he is vulgarly called in modern times. His festival is properly the 6th of December, on which day he is commemorated in the calendars of Marian Gorman and of Donegall as *Beretchert ha-leis*, 'Beretchert of Tulach-leas.' He is not noticed in the more ancient calendar, called the *Book of Aengus the Culdee*; and the omission is an argument in favour of the early date of the remarkable poem, whose author is supposed to have flourished about the year 800; while the death of the saint is assigned by the Four Masters to the year 839, in these words—*Berichtir Tulach-leis décc 6 December*, 'Berichtir of Tulach-leis died on the 6th of December.' This date, if correct, will help to fix the age of St. Gerald of Mayo, who was his brother, but whose death is assigned by the same annalists^a at the year 726. According to the life of this saint, he, Balan, Berich, Hubritan, and a sister Segresia, were the children of Cusperius, a Saxon prince, and Bernicia wife. They are represented as leaving England after the defeat of Colman, bishop of Lindisfarne, at the synod of Whitby,^b and as coming over to Ireland with a great many followers. They first landed in Connaught, at the mouth of the Shannon; afterwards they proceeded to the river Moy; and finally obtained a settlement in Mayo, where they erected a new monastery, or extended the existing one. St. Gerald,^c though not the founder, became in time the patron saint of Mayo, which

^a They, as all writers since, seem to have mistaken the words of Tighernach at 732, and of the Annals of Ulster at 731, *Pontifex Maigi Eu Saxonum Garaitt obiit*. Reeves's Adamnan, p. liv. He died in the year 664. According to the Annals of

Ulster, Colman (or *Columbanus*, as they call him) sailed to Ireland in 667, and died in 675.

^c His Life is given by Colgan, at his day, the 13th of March. (Act SS. pp. 599-606) It is a miserable composition, full of anachronisms and blunders.

was styled “Magheo-Saxonum of Gerald.”^d Balan, called *Ballon* in the calendar of Marian Gorman, was the founder and patron of *Teach-Saxon*,—that is, ‘House of Saxons,’—a church giving name to the prebend of Taghsaxan, in the cathedral of Tuam, and now called Templegal, in the parish of Athenry.^e His day is the 3rd of September. Hubritan, or Uildbrit or Huiltbrith as he is called in the calendars of Tallaght and Marian Gorman, was commemorated on the 24th of April.

The name of the other brother, being a Saxon one, is variously written in Irish authorities. The calendars call it *Beretchert*; St. Gerald’s Life, *Berikert*; the Four Masters, *Berichtir*; and the inscription on his tombstone, *Berechtuine*. In a modern inscription at Tullylease, the name is written *Bericheart*, and in composition it appears in the form *Kilberrihert*, *Kilberehert*, pronounced *Kilberrahurth*.^f The name seems allied to Berct, and Ecgberct, and Brechtrid of Annal. Ult. 697. The local tradition about him is that he came to Tullylease from Cullen, a parish lying south-west in the same barony, where he had been some time in the society of three sisters, one of whom was called *Lassar*, and another *Ingen Buidhe*.^g The foundations of his house and church are shown there. Near the church is marked in the Ordnance Survey *St. Lasserian’s Well*,^h and it is said that stations used to be held here on the 24th of July, although St. Lassar’s day is entered in the calendar at the 23rd, instead of the 24th. In the adjoining parish of Kilmeen, is the townland of *Killasseragh*, called from the same saint. The story is that the brother and three sisters composed a little conventual society, and that in their nocturnal studies or devotions, when fire was wanted to kindle a light, St. Lassar used to go to a neighbouring forge, and bring home the “seeds of flame” in her apron. But at length, happening to require a new pair of shoes, she went to a shoemaker, who did not disguise his admiration of the beauty of her foot, and thus ministered to her vanity, which being a sinful emotion, her apron lost its asbestic property, and the next time she went to carry embers, a hole was immediately burned therein. This was interpreted by St. Berecheart as a signal for his departure and greater seclusion; so he proceeded on his way, and journeying to the north-east, he placed his abode at Tulach-Leas, ‘the hill of the huts,’ now known as Tullylease, a parish at the north-west border of the county of Cork and diocese of Cloyne.ⁱ The peasantry have a derivation for the name Berecheart, which is founded on a legend similar to that of St. Benen or Benignus of Armagh. They say that, on arriving at Tullylease, our Saint engaged in a public controversy with a druid who sought to hinder the conversion of the people; and it was finally agreed upon, that both should enter a hut built of inflammable materials, whereupon it was

^d His church was called *Tempull Garailt*. See Petrie’s Round Towers, p. 142.

^e Ord. Survey of Galway, sheet 95, north-east angle. There is also a *Tisaxon*, near Kinsale, in the county of Chrk.

^f For the places so called, see further on.

^g About six miles north of Tullylease, in the parish of Monagay, county of Limerick, is an ancient church, called after her, *Teampoll Inghin Buidhe*.

^h Lasre, Laisre, Laisren, Laisrean, Lasserian, Mo-Laissi, are mere modifications of one name, which was a *male’s*; but Lassar is the *female* form.

ⁱ In the synod of Rathbreasal, which was the first attempt at defining the Irish bishopricks, *Tulach-Leas* was assigned as one of the southern boundaries of the diocese of Limerick; which it continues to be, its adjoining parish on the North being Killagholehane, in the diocese and county of Limerick.

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house which was moist, and one of the disciples of Saint Patrick, named Bineus, having on the Druid's garment, in the other part. The house was then secured outside, and set on fire in the presence of the whole multitude. And it came to pass, in the self-same hour, through the prayer of Patrick, that the flame of fire consumed the Druid with the moist half of the house, Saint Patrick's cowl alone remaining intact, for the fire did not affect it. But Benineus, on the other hand, came off safe, with the dry half of the house, according to what is written of the Three Holy Children. The fire did not touch him, neither was he hurt, nor did he feel any unpleasantness; only the cowl of the Druid, which had been on him, was, by the will of God, burnt up.]

This is a very ancient legend; its writer flourished about the year 700, and it is in a book which was written before the year 807.

St. Berecheart's counterpart is as follows:—

*As cruadh an cunradh ar a reithiodar :
Duine o'n n-duine do chur ann ein-tigh ;
Dha cheann an tighe lasadh ann ein-fheacht :
'Sa te nach doithfidhe da Dhia-san geilleadh.
D'eagla geasa do bheith 'nna c-cuid eadaigh,
Seansalaid brait re na cheile :
Doitheadh an Draoi, 'snior dhearg air Bheinin :
Is ann sin do tugadh breith cheart naemtha. .*

Hard was the test on which they settled :
A person from [each] person to put into one house ;
Both ends of the house to set on fire at the same instant,
And he who was not burned, his God they were to worship.
Lest charms should be in their clothes,
They exchanged garments with each other ;
Burned was the Druid, and it lighted not over Benin :
And then was given a *judgment, righteous, holy*.¹

On this story, probably, is built the vulgar belief, that stones picked out of the wall of what is called the 'Saint's House' possess the virtue of securing the bearer against fire and storm; and as a natural consequence, the little structure has nearly disappeared, for there is scarcely a cabin in the

¹These lines are given in John O'Connell's poem on the antiquities of Ireland, lately reprinted by Martin A. O'Brennan, pp. 118 119. According to the etymology contained in the last line, Berecheart is *quasi* Breith-cheart; "righteous Judgment." Locally the derivation is thus given:—

*Do doighheadh an Draoi, agus nior dheargaidh beim air,
A's is as san do tugadh air Beir a'cheart naomtha.—*

The Druid was burned, and not a spot was reddened on him.

And hence he was called *Beir-a-cheart* (i.e. Carry-the-right).

Or, in metre—*He* was not burnt.

But the Druid was, quite;
And hence he was term'd
St. Carry-the-right.

neighbourhood into the walls of which a stone from the sacred edifice has not been built as a religious 'policy of insurance' against fire; and no emigrant thinks of leaving the country for a distant region without first providing himself with St. Berechert's life-preserver!

Every male child who is born on St. Berechert's day is called by his name, which is regarded as the Irish for Benjamin! But the Saint's day has been unaccountably transferred from the 6th of December to the 18th of February.^m It could not have been owing to the employment of St. Benen's day, as of his legend, for his festival falls on the 9th of November.

The other places where St. Berechert's name is preserved are the following:—

I.—KILBERRIHERT, a townland in Knocktemple, the parish adjoining Tullylease on the south-east, also in the barony of Duhallow. The name signifies 'Berechert's church,' but there are no vestiges of such now remaining.ⁿ

II.—KILBERRIHERT, a townland in the parish of Aghabulloge, barony of Muskerry East, situate to the south of the last. In the Ordnance map^o "Kilberriherth burying-ground" is marked in the demesne a little south of Kilberriherth House, and west of the Roman Catholic chapel. This old cemetery is now only used for the interment of unbaptized children. It contains no ruins or monumental stones. In another direction there is a holy well, which the peasantry call *Tubber Berriherth*, and sometimes *St. Bernard's Well*. St. Olan^p is the patron of the parish church.

III.—KILBERCHERT, a townland in the parish of Ballincuslane, where the barony of Trughanacmy adjoins that of Duhallow in the county of Cork.

All these, however, were but inconsiderable stations in comparison with Tullylease, which was the principal church of the saint. O'Brien, in his Irish dictionary, calls it "St. Brendan's church of Tullaleis."^q But this is clearly another *alias* for Berechert, like the *Benjamin* and *Bernard* already mentioned. He is correct, however, in stating that the "O'Nunans were hereditary wardens or protectors of the church of Tullaleis in the county of Cork, and proprietors of the lands of Tullaleis and Castle-Lysin, under obligation of repairs and all other expenses attending the divine service of that church, to which these lands had originally been given as an allodial endowment by its founder." These lands, now the two townlands of Tullylease and Castlelishen (*Caislen-a-lishin*),^r have become secularised, and are held, the former by the Rev. Crosbie Morgan, and the latter by John Gibbings, Esq. and Sir J. Fitzgerald. But the Noonans, though they have ceased to be proprietors, are still numerous in the parish, and claim the chancel of the old church as their burying-ground; and one of the family still prides himself on possessing the guardianship of the edifice. Another Noonan,

^m On this day multitudes of people assemble from all parts of the counties of Cork and Limerick, at the Station; and Mass used formerly to be celebrated on the occasion, but it has been discontinued. There is no memory of any other day for the saint's festival, and the change must be a very remote one.

ⁿ Ordnance Survey, Cork, sheet 15.

^o Ordnance Survey, Cork, sheet 60.

^p This name seems to be *Ua-Fhlainn*. In that parish of Cullen which is in Kinelea, are *Tobar Ua Fhlainn*, and *Baile Ua Fhlainn*.

^q Note ii. on U. p. 469 b. ed. Dublin, 1832.

^r The townland of Castlelishen is in the adjoining parish of Kilbolane.

an interesting notice of Tullylease preserved in the Annals of Inisfallen, in which, at the year 1042, is recorded—*Dunadach hua Inmaineain airchinneach Tulcha-leis quievit*, “Dunadhach O’Inmainen, herenach of Tulach-leis, rested:”^a a curious process—*Ua Inmainen* becoming *Noonan*! This is the only notice of Tullylease which the writer of this paper has been able to discover in the Irish annals, besides the obit of St. Berichter in the Four Masters: for it is a mistake to suppose that the entry in these annals at 804, where it is related that “Dunchu, abbot of Tulach-lis was slain,” has reference to *this* church, as the learned editor supposed.^b The sequel, “the plundering of *Ulidia* by Aedh [Oirdnidhe, the king, in revenge for the profanation of the shrine of Patrick, against *Dunchu*,” shows that the county of Down was the scene of the transaction, and points to *Tullylish*, a parish in the diocese of Dromore, the *Tulach-lis in Ui Eachach*, ‘Tullylish in Iveagh,’ of the calendars at the 12th of May, where a reliquary called the shrine of Patrick seems to have been preserved.

According to Ware,^c a priory of Regular Canons of St. Augustin was founded here, at an unknown date, by Matthew FitzGriffin; but it seems to have existed as such only for a short period, having been annexed to the great priory of Kells in Ossory before the fifteenth century; for in 1412, Henry the IVth confirmed the possessions of that house, and among them the “*Ecclesia de Tyllaghlesche et terra sanctuariæ.*”^v The rectorial tithes are now inappropriate. The benefice is a vicarage in the diocese of Cloyne, and in the patronage of the bishop.

The old church, which stands in the parish church-yard, is in ruins. It consisted of a nave and chancel, the former 51 feet 8 inches by 30 feet wide, the latter 35 feet 4 inches by 23 feet. A window in the south side of chancel, and door-ways on the same side of chancel and nave, indicate the 13th century as the date of the building. At the western extremity of the nave, there are evidences of a habitation having been attached to the church, in the form of a loft or upper room. The door was on the south side, about two-thirds of the way towards the west angle. From this door to the angle there are putlock-holes in the north and south walls where the joists formerly rested; and on the south side are the remains of the window which lit the chamber, high up above the other windows of the building. Leaning against the inside of the east wall, at the north side of where the altar stood, is the sculptured slab which is represented in the illustration that accompanies this paper. The old people of the neighbourhood believe it to have been the shelf of the

^a O’Conor, Rev. Hib. Script. vol. ii., part ii., p. 71. In the *Pipa Colmani*, or Pipe Roll of Cloyne, the tenant is called *Donold O’Henwonhan*, which is evidently a form of Inmainen.

^b O’Donovan’s Four Masters, p. 414 *b*, note *c*.

^c Works, Harris’s ed. vol. ii. p. 266; Archdall, *Monasticon*, pp. 80, 365.

^v Calend. Rot. Cancellar. Hib. p. 199 *b*, n. 53.

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Leaning against the same wall, in the middle, is another slab, on which is a coffin-shaped frame in relief, inside which stands out a figure of a man having a curled head of hair, a swallow-tailed dress coat, breeches, and boots, under which is engraved in modern letters,

B e r i c h e a r t '

The face is perfectly fiat,^z from the repeated osculation^a it has undergone by the mouths of pilgrims and devotees; and thus serves as an index of the amount of veneration which is rendered to the saint, for the stone is hard and close-grained, and is not more than twenty years in its present position, the figure having been made by a stone-cutter of Charleville, about twenty years ago.

The church-yard, it should be observed, is situate at an angle of the road, on its east side. In a field at the opposite side, about 100 yards distant on the north-west, is the *Tobar Berecheart*, or 'Well of Berechert,' having an old thorn-tree overhanging, covered with votive rags. This well is supposed to possess great virtues in curing diseases, and all around it are little crocks of ablutions, and other indications of pharmaceutical appliances. The writer visited the place on a broiling hot day, and being very thirsty, was about to drink from the well, when he received the timely hint that there was scarcely a disease, from itch to cancer, which had not its deposits in the pool. Close to the margin of the well, on the south side, are the traces of a small angular building, standing east and west, measuring about 28 by 18 feet in the clear. This is what is called *Tigh Berecheart*, or 'The Saint's House : ' from its walls all the charmed stones have been supplied, and from its foundation grows the ancient thorn which overhangs the well. On the same side of the road as the church, and about 120 yards north, is the *Tobar Muire*, 'Mary's Well,' where the people go their rounds before visiting St. Berechert's well. It is cased inside with blocks of oak, about three feet deep, rudely squared; and it is believed to have been formerly lined with lead. This well is called by the common people, *Poll-a-mheir*, i.e. 'the pool of the finger,' and it gives the name of *Poulavare* to the townland in which it is situate. The name is accounted for by the story that a certain sacrilegious person, having stolen the sheeting of lead which lined the well, was punished by the saint, who caused his finger to drop off into the water!

In a field lying to the south-west of the church, is a rude stone called *Cloch na h-eilite*, 'the hind's stone.' It has a basin-shaped cavity, with a small hole passing through underneath. There is a legend that a deer used to fill the cavity every morning with milk for the use of the workmen employed in building the church, but being watched by some inquisitive person, she kicked the hole in the vessel, and left the workmen to drink for the future out of the holy well.

^y To add a new *alias* for Bericheart, we may quote the solemn account of this stone in Lewis's Topogr. Dict. where it is described as "a stone effigy, supposed to be that of *St. Barnabas*, the patron saint!!

^z What the Irish used to style *Clairineach*, "tabulata facies."

^a An intelligent friend told me of a piece of carved stone in a church-yard in the county of Limerick, which was regarded with profound veneration by the peasantry. Seeing a woman kissing it on her knees with great fervour, he examined it on her departure, and found it to be a fragment of the monumental escutcheon of the family of Smith!!

[For many of the foregoing particulars, the writer is indebted to the Rev. Thomas Olden, curate of Tullylease, through whose exertions, and partly on whose pecuniary responsibility, a new parish church, at a cost of £640, has been lately built in Tullylease.]

ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE TUMULUS NEAR CARRICKFERGUS.—The present brief communication has reference to the account of the Bellahill tumulus which appeared in the last number of this *Journal* [p. 169.] I am not qualified to discuss the subject as an antiquarian, but I think that the conclusions given, as founded on Geological and Natural-Historical data, should not be allowed to pass without remark.

It appears that the form of the tumulus was somewhat different from the ordinary outline of such mounds, “being more flattened and less elevated;” the writer seems to have considered it necessary to attempt some explanation of this. Supposing that man had never meddled with the mound, and superstitious feelings might have prevented this, its great age and its exposure to the war of the elements for centuries would likely give rise to its partial abrasion, just as rocks and eminences crumble down and become ‘weathered.’

Mr. GRATTAN (of Belfast) first directed attention to the nature of some of the material dug from the foundation of the tumulus; having recognised it as one of those deposits called “fossil earths,” now known to be of very general occurrence. In company with JAMES MAC ADAM, Esq., F.G.S., I visited the locality, and conjointly we furnished Mr. LEE with a few notes on the geology of the district, and a list of the *Mollusca* found among the fossil earth.

Respecting the shape of the tumulus, Mr.

LEE says:—“This may be accounted for by the continued action of the waters of the lake, which probably surrounded it for centuries; the former existence of which is proved, not only by the geological formation of the locality, but by the remains of fresh-water shells and lake *Infusoria* found in the substratum on which the tumulus stands.”

Respecting this inference, I would remark that it is totally at variance with the facts. It is obvious that such a structure could not have existed for any length of time, exposed to the action of water more or less liable to agitation by winds and floods. But supposing the tumulus capable of resisting the action of water for “centuries,” how could *peat* be found beneath it, and how could the siliceous *Infusoria* have lived and propagated in the very heart of it, and much less the fresh-water *Mollusca*? It is obvious, moreover, that the shells of the terrestrial *Mollusca*, accidentally mixed, could not possibly have been driven into such a position as the base or foundation of a heap of mould, 7 feet in height and 45 in diameter. My friend Mr. JAMES MAC ADAM and I never doubted that this sepulchral mound had been raised, long after the lake had been drained. Mr. Lee states that “the character of the remains discovered in this tumulus incline us to fix the date of its formation anterior to the Christian era.” Long previous to this epoch, the waters had disappeared, and the physical condition of the place had been

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battle took place between the Cimbri and the Roman army under Marius (the conqueror of Jugurtha), which freed Rome from a barbaric conquest, we are told that the front rank of the Cimbric army were *linked together by chains*, in order to prevent their being dispersed. This very precaution was one cause of their destruction; as they were thereby entangled and thrown into confusion on the attack of the Romans.

The same battle furnishes another incident exactly parallel with one which occurred in another celebrated Irish engagement. The Roman general took up his position in such a manner that the sun should shine full in the faces of his enemy; a manœuvre which contributed greatly to his victory. At the battle of Benburb, in 1646, the Irish general, Owen Roe O'Neill, adopted precisely the same tactics with the army of Munro, and with equal success.

SENEC.

NAME OF TOWNLANDS.—If any one should set about acting on the suggestion of Lord Gosford, [vol. 6, p. 185,] respecting the Irish etymologies of the names of townlands, he ought to be very careful to ascertain what were the *real* ancient names. A constant process of changing and corrupting such names is going on, (at least in this part of Ireland,) and the existing forms would often be deceptive. For example, in the county Tyrone, *Clonoe* is popularly altered into *Glenoe* or *Glanoe*; *Desertcreat* is the present form of what originally was *Disirt-da-chrioch*; *Tullyhog* has long superseded *Tullaghogue*; *Oughterard* is barbarously pronounced *Waterard* - *Kilyp niragvsl* turned into *Tullygarvan*; *Mullagh*;

shantullagh into *Mullagh-and-Tullagh*. A townland now called *Innevall* is so named from a sentence in the grant of land in which occurs the phrase "*in Avall*;" the latter having been the original name. Near Armagh, *Bally-nahowen-more* has very recently been changed into *Ballynahone-more*, which would probably puzzle an etymologist. The Ordnance maps generally give the correct forms of these local names, but not always.

T. H. P.

BYE-LAW.—[Notes and Queries, vol. 6, p. 185.] The derivation of this word given by H. P. is probably correct. But I doubt we cannot account in the same way for "*by-word*," "*by-path*," and "*by the bye*." The expression "*Good-bye*" is understood to be an abbreviation for "*God be with ye*."

CURIOSUS.

IRISH SURNAMES.—The importance of considering the origin of surnames in Ireland is manifest from its bearing on local Ethnology. The attempt to determine what race any family belongs to, by merely judging from their present name, can be shown to be very rash; by pointing out in how many cases Irish names have been dropped, assumed, altered, or translated. In this way, many seemingly English names belong to old Irish families, and *vice versa*. Even of very late years, persons of the lower orders have often assumed high English names, bearing, perhaps, some remote resemblance to their own original patronymics. Thus, in the county Tyrone, *M^cSkinador* (a Scotch name) is frequently changed to *Skiffington*. Some of the other alterations are almost as outrageous, such as *M^cGuiggan* to *Goodwin*; in the South of Ireland, *Houlahan* to *Holland*. As examples of

opposite direction *Kingsborough* has been turned into *Kinnybrock*, *McPherson* into *Fawson*, and *Falkner* into *Fohart* and *Fogarty*. The people do not know how to spell or pronounce their own names; and hence it is not uncommon to find different members of the same household varying from each other. Thus, *Mac Adam* is often spelled *McCaddam*; *Herd*, *Hird*, *Hard*, and *Shepherd*, appear in the same family; and, in like manner, *Stephenson*, *Stevens*, and *Steen-son*; *Hogsett*, *Hogshead*, and *Hawkshaw*; and even *Hampson*, *Hampsie*, and *Hampshire*. *Arbuthnot* is turned into *Arbutton* and *Button*; and *Adair* has been metamorphosed into *O'Dair*. A tenant of mine calls himself *Haydn*, though I believe his real name to be *Hagan*, but I never could ascertain which was right. The Irish prefix *Mac* is of course altogether dropped in many instances; but it is sometimes absorbed into the following word, as in *Mateer* for *McTear*, *Maneece*, for *McNeese*: and it sometimes takes an additional *a*, as in *Mac-a-Tear*, *Mac-a-Nally*. Another fruitful source of new names, destined hereafter to puzzle genealogists, is the christening of foundlings. I have known a clergyman call one, *George Canning*, another, *Arthur Wellesley*, and a third, *Robert Peel*.

T. H. P.

SUBMERGED CASTLE IN PORT LOUGH.—In the last number of the *Journal* (p. 168), an account is given of an artificial island and castle, discovered on lowering a lake by draining, with some speculations as to its probable date. The following remarks on the same subject appeared in Otway's *Sketches in Erris and Tyrrawley*, pub-

these remains existed *previous to the formation of the lake itself*. "Some years ago, in going from Derry to Ramelton, across the southern end of the peninsula formed by Loughs Foyle and Swilly, near Castle Forward, I saw a lake reduced by many feet from its ancient level, by means of a cut through the side of a hill—not through a bog or morass, but through a *gravel hill*—and in the centre of that lake there appeared, for the first time, an island with a small castle erected on it. That castle must have been in existence previous to the sinking of the surface by which the lake was formed. I mention this circumstance as proving that men were in Ireland before the lake was formed; leaving out of consideration the numberless instances I have witnessed of oak trees (trees which, in no case, are known to grow in flooded places) being found with their roots planted and their stems lying at the bottom of lakes and tide-waters in Ireland."

RUSTICUS.

STRIKING A BARGAIN [Notes and Queries, v. 6, p. 189].—SENEX refers to the probable derivation of the Latin *polliceo*, from *pollex*, the thumb. That some such custom as he alludes to existed in Scotland (and perhaps still exists), would appear from one of the old nursery-stories given by Chambers in his *Popular Rhymes of Scotland* (p. 222), in which the following expression occurs:—"Let us *wat thooms* [wet thumbs] on that bargain." This reminds one of the custom in our Irish fairs of *spitting on a coin*, and then striking it on the other person's palm by way making or accepting an offer.

EIRIONNACH.

INAUGURATION OF CHIEFS.—The inaugurating-place of the Mac Murrroughs, *Knock-an-bhogha* (referred to dubiously in vol. 5, p. 231), I would suggest may be found in the townland of *Tincurry*, parish of Ferns, county Wexford; where formerly existed several ancient forts, one of which, in particular, was commonly known as “the big house in the bog,” from its situation.

F. N. L.

BAWNS.—The article on BAWNS, in the last number of the *Journal*, suggests the question whether these buildings, the erection of which was prescribed to the colonists as one of the conditions of their settlement in Ulster, were previously known in England. So far as I am aware, no similar buildings were in use either in England or Wales; and my opinion is, that Bawns were not an English fashion introduced into Ireland, but an improvement on the old Irish method of securing cattle. The name, as Dr. O'Donovan suggests [p. 133], may be Irish; but I may mention that, in some parts of England, the straw-yard where farmers keep their cattle during the winter is called the *barton*. What in Scotland and Ulster is called a *byre*, is in England called a *barn*: that is, the house for receiving the grain is called simply “*the barn*,” and the cow-house is called “*the cow-barn* ;” but when cows alone are kept, the place is termed a “*barn*.” Farmers, too, sell milk by a peculiar measure called the “*barn gallon*,” which is, I believe, about a third larger than the “imperial” gallon. Now, as the letters *r* and *w*, both in very vulgar and very fashionable English, are pronounced alike, we have *barn* and *bawn* identified at once. But here is my milkman at the gate; I shall ask him.—“Milk-man,

where do you keep your cows this weather?” “Kyows, measter?” (rather surprised at the question,) “whoy, in the *bawn*, to be zure!”—However, it is by no means improbable that the *bawn* may have been introduced by the Scandinavians into Ireland; for I have no grounds for believing that the Irish erected any buildings previous to the invasions of the Northmen. Their stone edifices up to that time were ecclesiastical, and probably erected by foreign builders.

AN IRISHMAN IN ENGLAND.

It is curious that, in Ireland, the common little lizard, or newt, gets the discredit of slipping down the throat of any person whom it finds lying asleep on the grass. It is said to multiply in the stomach, and only to be got rid of by making the patient eat a quantity of very salt meat, and then lie down near water, so that the reptiles may be forced by thirst to come out for a drink! Yet, incongruously enough, the creature has received the name of the “man-keeper.” This absurd fable has been curiously altered from one told in other countries regarding *snakes*, which are said to do precisely what the lizard is believed to do here. But there they add, that the sleeper is often warned of his danger by the lizard, which awakens him before the snake can glide into his mouth. This accounts for the name “man-keeper,” as applied to the former. But as no snake existed in Ireland, the ignorant transferred the whole fabrication to the poor harmless lizard, though still applying to him the name derived from the original story. See Erasmus, *Dialog. De Amicitia*:—“Hoc animal naturâ homini amicum est, et serpentibus inimicum.”

CORMAC.

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riage with one of the Mac Donnells the Bisset family claimed the Glens of Antrim as their inheritance, was of *Greek* descent by her mother. I should feel obliged to any correspondent of the *Journal* who could refer me to the authority for this.

SENEX.

About a mile and a half to the north-west of Richhill station, on the Ulster Railway, stands an old ruin, called Rohan castle. It appears to have been a place of some strength, and is said to have belonged to one of the O'Neills. Do any of your readers know any thing of its history?

J. K.

The peasantry in the county Armagh have a curious saying which they sometimes use when threatening each other:—"If you do, by Japers, I'll give you Torlogh Hogg's pay: and that means more kicks than ha'pence." Is the origin of this saying known?

J. K.

ULSTER PROVINCIALISMS.—What is the origin of the word "*beddy*," popularly used in this province for "saucy" or "self-sufficient?"—Is there any authority in old English books for the popular acceptance of the verb "to demean,"—viz., "to debase," or "lower?"

T. H. P.

It is common in Ulster to use the word "*Choo*, *Choo*," to a dog, when we wish to drive him away. This is unknown in other parts of Ireland. May it not be borrowed from the Spanish, and per-

Don Quixote (part 2, chap. 33) Sancho says:—"Soy perro viejo, y entiendo todos *tus tus*."

CELTIBER.

What is the origin of the strange expression often heard in Ulster,—“from N to one,” signifying “from end to end?”

Do any records exist of the Governor and Company who first established the cambric manufacture at Dundalk? Does any account remain of the French settlement there? or are there any entries relating to the cambric manufacture in the corporation records of that town? Is the name of the French pastor of the Dundalk settlement known? Is it now known where the ten acres, given to the colonists by Lord Clanbrassil, were situated? Any information on the above will much oblige,

C. D. PURDON.

Belfast.

SURNAMES.—The following three pairs of surnames are found in Belfast or its neighbourhood. I give them in pairs, because they begin with the same syllable, namely—

Forcade,	Miskelly,	Carmichael,
Forsythe,	Miscampbell,	Carruthers.

Now, I beg to ask an explanation of these initial syllables, and also some information as to the origin of the names themselves. I think they are not Irish, nor English. Some of them may be Scotch, but certainly not all. C. C. C.

THE USE OF AQUA-VITÆ IN IRELAND.

., from the first part of which our modern word, *whiskey*, has its
orrect in its judgments, has given Ireland the credit, or the dis-
; at present, and of having been from time immemorial, a country
nsumption of this subtle fluid. The social questions connected
pon the condition of the people, occupy the pages of publications
ungs of orators of note; and it only proves how wide is the range of
arently unpromising—a subject however, certainly, not of so dry
better declare Archæology in all its details and ramifications to
ssion into this *Journal*. Yet it is quite in our way. We would
inks of the ancient Irish, but more particularly of that for which
ation. We would wish to inquire into the antiquity of the art of
cted the progress of the people, its extent in early times, whether
skill in the practice of it than other nations, its domestic influ-
r and productions of the country, from what materials this famous
ed, and many other questions: the only matter for regret is that
ise or satisfactory solution be obtained. There seems in truth to
records and among our early historians, in connection with this
sidered to be one altogether of minor importance, or was so well
essary to make a note about it. On the other hand, some persons
l possibly exist in the places alluded to, for the very sufficient
lation among the native Irish population is in reality not ancient,
aintain that the general opinion regarding its antiquity among us
a learned inquirer, whose researches into documentary evidence
essed to us an opinion, as resulting from that source of proof, that
ers pardon the not very respectful appellation) previously to the
ly destitute both of the chemical and mechanical knowledge
which was, in reality, carried on by foreign traders only, in early

civilisation, the Arabs, when possessed of dominion in Spain; and that it might reach this island from that quarter, if not before known in it, is a circumstance every way probable. Besides, we must give our remote ancestors credit for some ingenuity; nor do we mean to disparage them when we say that they probably exhibited an inclination, which clings to a few of their descendants to the present day, rather for those occupations in which there is some novelty, which require aptitude, and, at the same time, irregularity of labour, than for more severe and sustained employment,—a disposition to which the art of distillation would present attractions not easily resisted. Besides, has not the Irish native been of a joyous temperament in every age, and is it not at least likely that any bewitching stimulant which would enable him to leave dull earth still farther behind, if the slightest knowledge of it had once gained admittance into the land, would take root and spread? All this, no doubt, in the absence of direct evidence, is mere conjecture; but such notices as we have been enabled to glean, both of early and more recent date, we shall proceed to lay before our readers, being well aware, at the same time, how few and imperfect they are, and how entirely the subject of the antiquity and extent of the art of distillation in Ireland still remains an open question.

On inquiring from Dr. O'Donovan, we are informed that in that great Irish code, the Brehon Laws, no allusion whatever is made to Aqua-vitæ, while frequent curious references are contained therein to malt, and to ale or beer. We believe indeed, that so long ago as the sixth century, proof is extant of the knowledge of ale possessed by the inhabitants of Ireland, and expressed in such a way as to indicate a perfectly familiar acquaintance with it.^a But the earliest notice of Aqua-vitæ which we have discovered in any of our printed records dates no further back than 1405, under which year, in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, it is thus related:—"Richard MacRannall, heir to the chieftainship of Muintir-Eolais, died of a surfeit in drinking;" to which brief notice, the learned editor has appended this note:—"The passage is given by Mageoghegan, in his version of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, as follows: 'A.D. 1405, Richard Magranell, chieftain of Moyntyreolas, died at Christmas by taking a surfeit of aqua vitæ.' Mine author sayeth it was not *aqua vitæ* to him, but *aqua mortis*. This is the first notice of *uisge beatha*, *aqua vitæ*, usquebaugh, or whiskey, in the Irish Annals." If it be really the first notice, it is a pity that this old chief should exhibit so very early an example of loving—not wisely, but too well—the aqua-vitæ of Ireland. It might also, be almost supposed from its tenor—from the unconcerned way in which the fact is narrated—(though there is nothing absolutely to verify such an opinion) that distilled spirit was not uncommon at the time, and that similar results from like causes may previously have happened. Be that as it may, however, we have it in our power to record, that some years before this untoward event occurred, or some time in the fourteenth century, there was compiled, perhaps written, by no less a personage than a Bishop of the Church, a very remarkable production, now existing in MS. called the *Red*

^a Morewood, in his Treatise on Distillation, p. 602, gives an extract from the Life of St. Columba in proof of this fact.

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valuable document in which the passage has been found formed part of the muniments of the Ormonde family, it may be fairly presumed that ordinary aqua-vitæ was obtained from the inferior or rejected wine brought from foreign parts for the use of that princely household. The earlier name seems indeed to have been *aqua vitis*, or water of the grape, as in this extract; afterwards corrupted or improved, as it may be thought, into *aqua vitæ*, or water of life, either from its resemblance to the original term, or its supposed virtues. It is unnecessary to say that neither this, nor any other document of the period known to us, communicates information as to knowledge having been possessed of the extraction of alcohol from materials of native growth, or of the method of preparing such for that purpose. In the Records of the Abbey of Waltham, and doubtless in those of many other religious houses both in England and Ireland, mention is made of the malting of oats. This was for making ale; but it is also possible that oats and other grain, prepared by the malting process, may have been in use for distillation in monastic days, both within and without the walls. It is understood that the Red Book contains more information on the subject, at present inaccessible to us, but likely to appear elsewhere, which is much to be desired. The meagre statement that *vinum* was distilled into alcohol, by a process known perhaps centuries before, is unsatisfactory. Unsatisfactory, indeed, when we can now say, that from the cereals of every clime and of every species—from the sugar cane of the Tropics, from the ripe fruits which embellish the face of the earth and the cultivated roots which grow beneath its surface, from sugar wherever found or from what source derived—modern art has obtained the alcohol of commerce; and we are left to ask if the wise men of the fourteenth century were ignorant of all these numerous means of production, and were dependent for their aqua-vitæ on the fermented and prepared juice of foreign grapes. Of all the materials named, grain, which to this day, we suppose, forms the principal basis of the distilled spirit of all Europe, is the only one to which they could have had recourse, and it would be strange if such were not the fact. The brewing of ale at this early period seems to have been perfectly well known,^c as it was many

^c A proof of this fact, and which is worth making a note of, occurs in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, in 1406, the very year after the death of the MacRannall from a surfeit of Aqua-vitæ. It is thus related:—"A great defeat was given by Murrough O'Conor, Lord of Offaly, with his son, Calvagh, and the sons of O'Conor Roe, namely, Cathal Duv and Tieve (who had come to Offaly with a troop of cavalry on a visit) to the English of Meath and to Owen the son of the Abbot O'Conor who had the retained kernes of Connaught with him. Both of these armies repaired to the upper part of Geshill; and Owen the son of the Abbot, with his own band of kernes, went to Cluain-immurrois, and to the town of Gillaboy Mac Maoilcorra, where Calvagh the son of Murrough O'Conor, and Cathal the son of O'Conor Roe, attended by six horsemen came up with Owen and his people as they were collecting the spoils of the town. The proprietor of this town had a cauldron which he had borrowed from Calvagh for *brewing beer*; and on

seeing Calvagh coming towards him he said; "There is thy cauldron with the kernes, O Calvagh! and I order it to be given to thee." "I accept of it where it is," said Calvagh. The cauldron was at this time on the back of a young man one of the plunderers of the town; and Calvagh O'Conor flung a stone which he happened to have in his hand, and which, striking against the cauldron, produced such a noise and sound as struck a sudden terror and panic in the hearts of all the plunderers, so that they instantly took to flight. They were swiftly pursued, slaughtered, and vanquished, &c." Such is the notice; and it is remarkable how similar little parallel passages of history turn up now and again. The "brewing-pan" or cauldron of a village, nearly within the memory of persons living, was almost common property, or at least, was very generally lent from house to house, as occasion required; and an event somewhat similar to that just related from the *Annals of the Four Masters* (differing altogether, indeed, in its results), occurred, according to

centuries before—as it was, indeed, by the nations of antiquity—and it would have been remarkable if a fluid so similar in its appearance and properties should not soon have been taken advantage of in distillation, as a substitute for a material more expensive and more difficult of attainment. The transition or advance cannot have been difficult. Mead was made from honey, and beer from malt; long before this time beer and malt were among the exports of Ireland; the art of distillation was known at least to some in the country, as is proved from the Red Book of Ossory; so that there seems to be really no improbability that grain was used in distillation at this early period, and to even a greater extent than might be supposed.

From this period, down to the time of Henry VIII. we have been unable to obtain any direct evidence of the extent of the use of aqua-vitæ in Ireland, though there can be no doubt whatever that during the interval its production must have regularly increased. This is amply proved by a recommendation contained in the Breviate of Baron Finglass, published in that reign. He proposes, for the amendment of the country, “that there be but one maker of aqua-vitæ in every Burrough Towne, upon pain of six and eight pence, *toties quoties*, as many as do the contrary.” In Scotland, also, a country which consumes now, in proportion to its population, a greater quantity of alcohol than any other in Europe, with the exception, perhaps, of Holland, (and in both cases we make no positive assertion, but merely a current statement, no means of proof either way being just at hand,) some such restraining ordinance as that of Baron Finglass in Ireland seems about the same time to have been required. From a recent work an extract has been copied into a well-known periodical,^d being a decree of the town council of Edinburgh, in the year 1505, declaring “that na persoun, man or woman, within this burgh *mak nor sell ony aquavite;*” and going on to bestow the privilege of making such exclusively on the associated craft of Surgeon Barbers. It is sufficient proof that at this early time Ireland was not alone in a knowledge of the distilling art.

From an Act of Parliament, passed in 1556, and referred to in the following terms, by “the Commissioners appointed to report on the affairs of Ireland to king James in 1620,” further distinct proof is given of the extent to which the traffic must have reached in the former year, during the reign of Philip and Mary. The Commissioners declare, among a great many other things, “that concerning Aqua-vitæ, the price whereof your Ma^{tie} directis to be sett by act of state, we humbly offer to your Ma^{ties} consideracon that the statute 28 Eliz. c. 5, in Ireland, for setting the prices of wines extends not to aqua-vitæ, but there is a statute made in the fourth yeare of Phillip and Mary, here in Ireland, cap. 7, that recites the consumpeion of graine in making of aqua-vitæ, and that it is not proffitable to be dayly drunk; and enacts that noe man withoute the Lord Deputye’s Lycence, scalled with the Great Seale of the Realmo, make aquavitæ within this Realme, under paine of

tradition, in Carrickfergus, in 1760. In that memorable year when the French were hourly expected to make good their descent, one of the greatest causes of alarm among the inhabitants of that ancient corporation was, how

^d Chambers’s Journal for August, 1858, p. 96.

the town brewing-pan was to be preserved from the plundering enemy; and it was, in consequence, hurriedly carried off, perhaps on the back of a young man of the town, and concealed in a secure place till the danger had passed away.

Imprisonment at the Deputie's pleasure, and to forfeitt 4 lb. of Irish money; which statute, by express proviso therein, extends not to any of the Peers, nor to any Gentleman that may dispend to his owne use in Lands or Tenements for Life or of Inheritance &c. 10 lb. sterl^s by the yeare. Nor to any Freeman dwelling in any Citty or Burrough charged with Burgesses to Parliament, but that they may make it for their own expenses. And albeit this act was made purposely to restraine the excesso of aqua-vitæ, yet by reason of this new Patente the abuse is continued and multiplied. And whereas the Law only punished the making of aqua-vitæ, the Patentee, withoute warrant of that Law, extends the Lycense to Buyers and Sellers of the same, and hereby abuses the Country, and extorts a pryvate gaine to the publique loss."

All these statements go to prove that the making of aqua-vitæ in Ireland, in the reign of Henry VIII. still more in that of Philip and Mary and their immediate successors, had assumed some magnitude, and that grain was the material used in the manufacture. Our readers will of course be aware that a duty on aqua-vitæ, (that strong foundation on which modern Chancellors of the Exchequer so much build their hopes,) was at this time, and, indeed, for about another century, a matter quite unknown; and the abuses, noticed by the Commissioners as resulting from this "new Patente," referred to a method adopted in the beginning of the reign of James I. empowering certain favoured individuals,^e by patent, on payment generally of some small sum, to grant licences for the making and selling of aqua-vitæ throughout the kingdom: which project would also appear, from the expressions used in the preccding extract, not to have been effectual in keeping either the sale or the manufacture within due bounds. The statements altogether, however, are difficult to be reconciled with the opinion that the native Irish before the 17th century were not far enough advanced in knowledge to take part in the manufacture. On the contrary, we find that about this period distillation from grain had become so extensive as to require restraint and regulation by the government; the statute of 1556 actually affirming that aqua-vitæ was universally made throughout the "Realme, especially on the borders of the Irishry." We find, also, that long before, any little chemical or mechanical skill required for the process was, at least by some, so far acquired, as to make alcohol, if not common, of sufficient notoriety to obtain a passing notice in our annals; and it is not at all likely that this knowledge had remained confined to the Pale. At the same time, it is to be supposed that the chief seats of the traffic were in the towns; and it is quite possible that the crude spirit may have been made to some extent throughout the country, and brought into them for

^e One of these individuals was Sir Thomas Phillips, who, for the small sum of 13s. 4d. yearly, received the privilege, for seven years, of granting licenses of this kind within the county of "Colrane, otherwise O'Cahane's country, or within the territory called the Rowte in the county of Antrim." In 1609 a grant was made for the support of the Lady Arabella Stuart (historic and romantic name) for twenty-one years, empowering, on her behalf, Sir George St. Poll

and Henry Yelverton, Esq., to nominate and appoint, at their pleasure, such persons as they might think fit to keep a tavern in any part of Ireland, and to buy and sell wines, and to make and sell, in gross and by retail, Aqua-vitæ and usquebaugh.

For further information respecting these licenses, see Morewood's History of Distillation, p. 731.

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to a period somewhat later than the era of Spenser and Campion. That most curious and unique production, "The Visit of Captain Bodley to Lecale, in 1602," which first appeared in this Journal,¹ makes frequent and distinct reference to the extensive use of *usquebaugh* at that time. William Lithgow, that wanderer in all lands, thus describes the Irish in 1619:—"Indeede for entertainement of strangers they are freely disposed; and gentlemen of any good sort reserve ever in their houses Spanish sack and Irish *uscova*, and will be as tipsie with their wives, their priests, and their friends, as though they were naturally enfeoft in the cleven Royal Taverns of Naples." We hope this is a libel on the ladies and the learned clerics: as for the hosts and their friends the report is not of much consequence, and cannot in any sensible degree prejudice their memories, as they were only following, we may safely suppose, the established custom of the time. How little was that custom changed down to comparatively recent days! There may be persons still living, even in the good town of Belfast, and many other parts of the country as well, who can call to remembrance the triumphant looks of certain hospitable hosts when returning with the key of the outer door and depositing it in a secure place to prevent the departure of their guests till a certain quantity of aqua-vitæ had been consumed by each; and till, as a natural result, those who were not lying under the table could only warble forth, in a feeble and incoherent croak, how a "peck o' maut" was brewed by one "Willie," of jovial memory! Happily, the manners and customs of those days are now almost traditional.

Returning to the sixteenth century, however, and the beginning of the seventeenth, not only does Irish aqua-vitæ appear to have been in common use among all classes at home, but presents of it were sent to persons of condition in England, either as rare cordials, or as something better than any they could procure in their own country, which latter fact would hardly be disputed from that day to the present. In the State Paper Office, there is a letter from the Mayor of Waterford—White, by name—to Lord Burghley, dated 1585, wherein the writer says that he has sent his lordship "two bed coverings, two green mantles, and a roundell of *aqua-vitæ*." Perhaps at some of the stately entertainments at which the sagacious Burghley was wont to preside, a portion of the contents of this very "roundell" may have been submitted to his noble and courtly guests as one of the few good things produced in this disturbed land; nor is it beyond the range of possibility that the "imperial votress" herself may on some occasion have so far foregone her habitual abstemiousness as to taste (as matter of curiosity merely) what we may perhaps call the "old Waterford malt" of the year 1585!

There is another curious letter in the State Paper Office, dated Dublin, October 14th, 1622, from Lord Justico Cork to a Captain Price, at Durham House, Strand, London, in which the Lord Justice says:—"This bearer, Mr. Edmund Hunt, hath in chardg to present my honored Lord, the Lord Keeper, with an Irish Harpe, and the good Lady Coventry with a runnett of milde Irish *Uskebach*,

¹ Vol. II., p. 73.

sent unto her Ladyship by my youngest daughter, Peggie, who was so much bound to her Ladyship for her great goodness. I pray help Mr. Hunt to deliver them with tender of my everlasting thankes and services, not only to my Lord & Lady, but alsoe to young Mr. Coventry and his virtuous bedfellow. And I doe assure you, yf yt please his L^p next his hart in the morning to drinke a little of this Irish *Uskebach*, it will help to disgest all raw humours, expell wynde, & keep his inwarde parte warme all the day after, without any offence to his stomacke." Let all the community of water-drinkers ponder over this sage advice from a Lord Justice. The phrase "next his hart" probably means, fasting, a method of imbibing Aqua-vitæ which still finds favour with certain hard-mouthed, "base mechanicalls." The harp was, no doubt, an appropriate and graceful tribute; but a runlet of "mild *usquebaugh*" from a young lady of rank in Ireland to another of the highest station in England, would be thought rather a strange present in these latter days.

There is another letter in the State Paper Office also laudatory of the great virtue supposed to reside in Irish *usquebaugh*. It is from one Robert Lombard, dated Waterford, March 22nd, 1629, to Viscount Carleton, in which he says that he sends a "rundell of *Iskabahie* agenst your Lordship's oldemie y^e Strangullian."

From all the preceding facts and original documents it is plain that Ireland, whatever may have been the case since, had by this time obtained a high character for the excellence of its *Usquebaugh*. Its consumption must have been considerable, though the quantity made in the kingdom could not have been very great, according to modern ideas. The example does not appear to have been followed by the English people—no notices having been met with of distilled spirits being in common use as a beverage in that country in the sixteenth century. A poem of Elizabeth's time, enumerating the taverns and drinks of London, and entitled *Newes from Bartholomew Fair*, commences thus :

"THERE hath been great sale and utterance of wine,
Beside ale and beer and Ipocras fine,
In every country, region, and nation,
But mostly at Billingsgate, at the Salutation, &c."

No mention is made of spirits in the poem; it being an error to confound Ipocras with alcohol, as some have done. It is merely wine, with a strong infusion of spices. But even long after this period, we may fairly conclude that Ireland was specially the land of *usquebaugh*. One of the numerous works of Taylor, the Water-poet, is entitled *Drink and Welcome: or, the famous History of the most part of Drinkes, in use now in the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*. This was published in 1637, and there is no writer who can be named as a better authority for a perfect acquaintance with the usages of the time in England, in this department, than Taylor.

Query, Strangury?—For all these extracts from the State Paper Office, and various other statements contained in this paper, the writer is indebted to William Pinkerton,

Esq, Hounslow, London, formerly of Belfast, who has contributed many valuable papers to this Journal.

Though called the Water-poet, on account of his vocation as waterman on the Thames, he had no special fondness beyond this for the native element. He kept, in fact, a public-house, was a royalist—patronized by the rollicking cavaliers,—and yet in this work, entering minutely into the subject and mentioning many kinds of wine, cider, beer, ale, &c., as in use in England, no allusion is made to spirits. A change, however, must have come over the sober-minded people of England towards the middle or latter part of the century, if a work published by a person called Tryon, in 1682, be any indication of the true state of society. It is entitled “*Health’s Preservation; or Woman’s Best Doctor, shewing the nature and operation of Brandy, Rum, Rack, and other distilled spirits, and the ill consequences of mens’, but especially of women’s, drinking such pernicious Liquors, and smoaking Tobacco;*” and in the first chapter the writer says, “Brandy, Rum, and Rack of late years are become as common drinks among many as Beer & Ale.” All this, however, is rather beside our subject, which was intended to refer especially to Ireland, though there is no doubt that we kept pace with our English neighbours in the consumption of liquors of some kind, or perhaps even outstripped them. This must be so, if the statement of so sagacious and able a man as Sir William Petty be at all correct. In his *Political Anatomy*, to a computation of the population of that day, their employments, the number of houses in the kingdom, and how the people might be better and more profitably employed, he appends the following extraordinary memorandum:—“That in Dublin, where are but 4000 families, there are at one time 1180 Ale-houses and 91 publick Brew-houses, viz., near one-third of the whole. It seems that in Ireland, there being 200,000 families, about 60,000 of them should use the same trade, and consequently, that 180,000, viz., 60,000 men, as many women, and as many servants, do follow the trade of Drink.” In a note he adds, “Whereas, it is manifest, that two-thirds of the Ale-houses may be spared, even although the same quantity of Drink should be sold,” leaving free, by this means, to follow occupations more conducive to the general prosperity of the country, no less than 120,000 persons, “spare hands,” as he calls them. We have surely improved not a little since those days. The calculation is altogether incredible, and we think incorrect; but it proves at least what was the impression of the time, when no statistical accuracy was attainable, regarding the excessive use of intoxicating beverages. Reference is certainly made by Petty to ale-houses only, and no means are at reach from his evidence to come at the proportion of alcohol consumed, for qualifying the effects of this enormous flood of small beer.

Shortly after the Restoration, when the farming of the Revenue ceased, the first duty of four-pence per gallon was imposed on ardent spirits in Ireland. We have not obtained any account of the quantity made earlier than 1719, in which year all the spirits distilled in Ireland amounted only to 173,000 gallons, while the imported quantity was double that amount.* A disproportion nearly as great continued for many years; the imported spirits in the year 1772 having been more than

* For a tabular view of the spirits made in the kingdom, the imports of spirits and wine from 1719, see Morewood’s Treatise.

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T H E O S S I A N I C A G E .

By HERBERT FRANCIS HORE.

THE Ossianic ballads and tales in the Gaelic language, relating to the exploits of bands of warriors called Fenians, who, according to the Irish annalists, flourished in Ireland from the 1st to the 4th century, challenge a higher antiquity than is accorded, we believe, to the rhythmical legends of any other Northern European nation. These ancient poems have, for the most part, come down to us orally; and the names of the principal heroes, Goll M^cMorna and Fioun M^cCoole, are familiar as household words in the mouths of the native Irish peasantry of Ulster. Equally prevalent throughout the Western islands and Highlands of Scotland, these traditional songs formed, as is well known, the basis of Macpherson's splendid fabrication, *The Poems of Ossian*. Hitherto, the characters celebrated in these ballads have generally been considered as warriors of Gaelic race, and many critics have deemed them to be mere mythical representations. But reflection and research having convinced us that the personages so commemorated are of a different origin, we offer the following pages in elucidation of their true history, which will, we conceive, prove them to be by no means myths; and moreover, that, apart from the poetic interest attached to them, their age and circumstances are well worthy of full examination.

The Ossianic Society, founded in Dublin, in 1853, for the publication of MSS. in the Irish language, illustrative of the "Fenian" or "Ossianic" age, has already produced three volumes, and proposes to rescue many MSS. and tracts, bearing on ancient Irish history, from their present state of obscurity. The Irish Archæological and Celtic Society has also suggested several manuscripts for publication, which bear so fully on the themes we are about to touch upon, that we long to see them in print, viz. :—"The Wars of the Irish and Danes," M^cFirbis's "Account of the Firbolgs and Danes of Ireland," and the "History of the Boromean Tribute."

Pending the publication of these additions to the present amount of knowledge respecting the "Ossianic Age," a discussion of the subject brought before the public by the Ossianic Society may perhaps be considered as yet premature. But, believing that we have gleaned several points of information which have escaped the notice of former workers in this field, we submit them to the opinion of Irish archæologists.

The remarks about to be offered will be more intelligible, if we plainly state what we bring to the heap, in the way of addition and leaven, and we therefore premise that we shall attempt to establish the following opinions :—

1st. That the age we style the "Ossianic," closed in the 5th century ;

2nd. That Goll M^cMorna and Fionn M^cCoole, the principal heroes of Fenian literature, were leaders of foreign mercenaries in Ireland ;

3rd. That the clan of the former hero was connected with the Oirghialla, a peculiar tribe of mercenaries in Ulster ; and that his posterity can be distinctly traced, as military followers of the O'Neills, down to the 17th century.

These remarkable facts are unnoticed in the publications of the Ossianic Society.

4th. That the Scots of Ireland differed ethnologically from the Celts, either owing to difference of extraction, or to infusions of Teutonic blood on the paternal side.

Without proposing to enter much, at present, into the disputed question of Scottish and Irish names, this controversial point enters so fully into our theme that we must state our impressions respecting it. The eastern and southern pure Irish seem to have been of Celtic extraction, and composed of colonies from Britain, Gaul, Wales, and, perhaps, also from Spain. Diodorus, an author of the 1st century prior to the Christian era, and one of the earliest foreign writers that notice Ireland, speaks of Britons as the inhabitants of this island. We will also observe, as proofs of the comparatively recent date of the Scotie colony in this country, that the name "Scoti" does not appear among the tribes set down in Ptolemy's map ; that it does not occur in any writer until the close of the 3rd century ; and that we learn from the Confession of St. Patrick, a document now of acknowledged authenticity, that in the life-time of that missionary (the middle of the fifth century), the name of Scots did not extend to all the inhabitants of Ireland, but that those persons to whom it applies were all of the dominant caste ; whereas he calls the bulk of the people Hiberionaces, implying that the conquering race, although masters of the country (like the Angles in Britain, the Franks in Gaul), had not yet imposed their name on the entire kingdom.^a

The dates and circumstances of the arrival of Belgians in this country is wrapped in obscurity ; there is reason for believing that the settlers known as Fir-Bolgs, *i.e.*, Belgæ, were the first Teutonic colonists. The Ostmen or Easterlings, who settled as traders, came, probably, from Denmark ; and the seats of the original Easterling merchants of the Hansatic League.^b Dr. Todd observes that the only inhabitants of Ireland who attracted the notice of foreigners were the enterprising Belgæ, whom, as Goths or Scythians, they denominated *Scoti* or *Scoti*. Our own annals frequently notice the invasion of *Fomuirigh*, *i.e.*, sea-robbers, styled *gentes et pirati*" by Cambrensis, and now admitted to have been the foremost Scandinavians.

appears from Saxo Grammaticus that, in the fourth century, some Danish chieftains, whom he names, had been engaged in piratical incursions upon the Irish coast. According to the author of *Ogygia*, King Tuathal is said to have flourished as monarch of Ireland in the second century, and to have married a daughter of a KING OF FINLAND, whose nation were among the sea-wanderers styled *Fomuirigh*. King Tuathal's brother is declared to have been the introducer of the Fenian forces celebrated in our Ossianic literature; and certainly their appearance in our annals actually dates from the remarkable reign of Tuathal.

If our theory, as to the extraction of the Fianna^c (as the military mercenaries in Ireland are generally styled by Oisin) be well-founded, they were originally two distinct races. We take the earliest of their order to have been Belgians, afterwards called Scots, under Goll M^cMorna; and the last-comers to have been Finns, of the tribe mentioned by Tacitus as inhabiting the southern shores of the Baltic. Though both tribes of these foreign forces were styled Fianna by the Irish, the former came to be called *Oirghialla*, *i.e.*, Easterling foreigners; and the latter, introduced as hostile to them, and afterwards called *Lochlannaigh*,^d or Scandinavians proper, were the Fenians under the command of the renowned Fionn Mac Cumhaill. In fact, they appear to have been precursors of those other continental hired bands, who, under the names of Anglo-Saxons, Anglo-Danes, and Normans, afterwards subjugated England, Ireland, and Normandy.

In cotemporary Latin authors we find the clearest light thrown on the condition of the early Scots and Picts. The Roman general, Theodosius, chased their galleys from the British shores, according to the verse of Claudian:—

“Nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone scutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.”

Other lines in the same poem, besides describing the signal triumph which Theodosius had achieved over three northern nations, locates the Saxons (perhaps Anglo-Danes) in the Scottish isles:—

“Maderunt Saxone fuso
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.”

The same poet, in celebrating the successes of Stilicho in repelling descents on the British coast, notably enough styles that sea-king “the Scot,” who commanded the galleys then infesting the Irish shores:—

“Totam cum Scotus Iernen
Movit et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.”

^c It is difficult to find a satisfactory derivation for the term *Feine*, or Fianna. According to Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, the Finns originally spread over the southern parts of Norway and Sweden, where they were driven by colonies of Scythians and Germans. If such was the case, this people would at a still earlier time, have been found in continental Scandinavia. Tacitus writes of the Fenni that

they trusted solely to arrows—a weapon for which the ancient Scots were likewise famous. Their language is understood to resemble that of the Esthonians.—(Mallet, 71) M^cFirbis was of opinion that some of the persons named Fenians who flourished in Ireland were of the Firbolg race of Tara, whom he calls *Attacots*, or plebeians.

^d Battle of Gabhra, published by the Ossianic Society.

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generally foster-kindred, but occasionally foreigners, like the *Varingar* of Constantinople, the Danish halberdiers of Westminster, and the Frankish and Scottish guards of Paris. The Irish *Gall-oghlacha*, galloglasses, *i.e.*, foreign servitors, such as the M^cDonnells, M^cCabes, and M^cSweyns, are acknowledged to be of Scandinavian origin. We read in the *Four Masters*, A.M., 4248, of a commander of the king of Tara's guards slaying his master and usurping the throne—a revolution quite ordinary in the histories of other nations. “*Cinel-lugh-tighe*,” *i.e.*, the tribe of the household troop, seems to have been an original denomination of the Clan O'Donnell.^g Similarly, there was the Clan-Ceitherne, descended from some “cateran” or kerne band that had served the kings of Ulster, and from whom Clan-keherny, in Roscommon, subsequently galloglass-land, was named.^h We also find the guards of an O'Neill king mentioned, A.D., 728, and a notice of his sending to Scotland for auxiliaries.

The earliest mention of Fenians in Ireland is as “the soldiers of Teamhair,” or Tara; and they would seem to have been designated *Luchd na Teamhrach*. Their descendants, as it would appear, the Oirghialla, are legendarily spoken of by O'Neill's bard, in 1265,ⁱ as having originally been “the soldiers” and “guards” of the palace of Eamania; and, moreover, the O'Neills are alluded to by him as *muintir milidh Teamhrach*—“the military people of Tara;” which, with other circumstances, inclines us to believe that the fictitious deduction of the Scotie Irish from the Milesians arose from the use of this word *milidhe*, which seems to be merely a Gaelic translation of the Latin *milites*.

Our present endeavour to give reality to the heroes of Ossian may be best begun by showing that certain ancient septs of Ulster appear to have descended from Goll M^cMorna; because whatever truth may attach to our researches on this point, will throw light on other portions of our inquiry into the Ossianic Age.

All notices of Goll M^cMorna, one of the principal Fenian heroes, are of too poetic a nature to deserve belief, further than as evidence that a warrior of this name, or one resembling it, flourished during the Ossianic Age. He is named Colle M^cMorne in *The Book of Howth*, a compilation, made in the 16th century, of the traditions of the ancient English territory north of Dublin, still known as the district of “Fingal.” According to bardic genealogies, to which we cannot give implicit faith, Colla Mor, *i.e.*, the great, was *father* of Mughdhorn Dubh, *i.e.*, Morna the black, from whom the Clan-Morna were named. The only other Mughdhorn of whom we find mention was daughter of king Mogh, and a ruling princess, since she modified a portion of the Brehon Laws, and her ordinances were confirmed by her father.^k Her name is translated “masculine hand;”

Var-ingar, *i.e.*, war-men, are now represented in Germany by the *land-wehr*, or land defenders. The Varangian guard of the Emperors of Constantinople were, as is well known, of Northern European extraction. Sir Walter Scott, in *Count Robert of Paris*, calls them Englishmen. Probably many were Anglians, from Sleswick, one of the provinces of modern Denmark, the cradle of the English name and

race. Ducange (says Sir Walter), has poured forth a flood of learning on this curious subject.

^g St Columba's Life, 320.

^h Map, S. P. O.

ⁱ Celtic Miscell.

^k Vallancey, I.

Mogh *Corb*, great grandson of king Mogh, employed Fianna, or military mercenaries, to defend Leth Mogha, or his own half of the divided island,¹ against the northern Scotie conquerors. The British sometimes permitted their princesses to govern, as we all remember in the renowned example of Boadicea; and the British, or Picts, of Ireland, occasionally acted on the same rule (by compact, as it seems, with the Scots,^m) as in the case of Macha, the constructor of Eamhain-Macha, a great fort near the present city of Armagh. Archæologists are also aware that surnames were sometimes derived from the mother, as from the safest source prior to the prevalence of matrimony. Mac-Mughdhorna, or, in ordinary form, M^cMorna, became, whether a patronymic or a matronymic, the primary cognomen or tribe-name of the descendants of Mughdhorn, the earliest authentic mention of whom is in Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*; in which work, and in the tripartite Life of St. Patrick, there are notices of "provincia Mughdornorum," viz., in the native tongue, *Crioch-Mughdhorna*, i.e., the district of the Clan Morna, now the barony of Cremorne, in the county of Monaghan.

Colla, styled *Mor*, i.e., the Great, (and also sometimes, *Meann*) from whom the Clan Morna unquestionably descended, is mentioned in *The Book of Rights* (a compilation made at Cashel, before the year 908,) as "having been a mighty man." So great, indeed, had been his power, that the chiefs of the O'Mornas, or the sept sprung from him, were accustomed to receive no less than a ninth part of the entire revenue of the monarchy; a tribute from royalty itself to the memory of their ancestor, whose sword probably was among the first to impose the taxes whence that revenue was obtained. Taking this remarkable circumstance into consideration, with others, we incline to consider this "mighty man" as identical with Goll M^cMorna. Colla the Great is stated in the *Annals of the Four Masters* to have fallen in that great battle with the last king of Eamhain Macha, by which the extensive region afterwards known as Oriel was acquired by the *Orghialla*, as his national tribe were called. According to this authority, he was the youngest of three brothers, who are said to have been grandsons of King Cairbre Mac Cormac *Ulfhada*.ⁿ These brothers were born of a Scottish mother, and are memorable as having conquered and taken possession of a large district in Ulster. The first historic notice of them is of their slaying the native king of Tara in an engagement at the confluence of the Boyne and Blackwater, in a country called Ross, afterwards possessed by their posterity. It is asserted that, after this victory, the eldest

¹ F. M.

^m Consult Moore's History of Ireland.

ⁿ Coll was a Scandinavian name [Laing's *Kings of Norway*], and Goll occurs in our annals as the name of more than one Fomorian, or Scandinavian invader. An ancient poetic account of the commanders of the Fenian

forces, quoted in *the Battle of Gabhra*, makes "Moirne mor" son of a daughter of the King who instituted the Fianna, and brings in a later Moirno, whose three sons became rulers, and of whom "Gall the Great" was the most famous. Perhaps these three were "the three Collas."

brother, Colla *Uais*, became King of Tara; and that he was subsequently expelled, with his brothers, and three hundred men in their company, to Scotland, by Muireadhach *Tireach* (the mariner of Tirec?) father of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and who thereupon became King of Tara. This eldest of the fraternity is the acknowledged ancestor of the "Lords of the Isles," and of the Mac Dubhgalls, or M^cDugalds, of Scotland, to whom a Scandinavian origin is also accorded. A Hebridean *senachie* quoted by the author of *The Lord of the Isles*, styles these chieftains "the Clan Colla." The brothers are stated to have returned from Scotland, with a band of but twenty-seven men, and to have entered the service of the sovereign, their relative, Muireadhach, as his "generals." This term we take to be a brevet title for mere captains of galloglasses. The latter part of this legend goes far to warrant an idea that the three brothers were descended from a Hebridean guardsman and the daughter of King Mogh; and that they and their posterity became military retainers to the conquering line of Niall of the Nine Hostages. Some years after entering this service they gained an important victory over the native king of Ulster. They then broke down and razed his "palace," or palisado-defended house, "out of spite to the Clan-Rury." This race to whom they bore enmity were, it would seem, the primitive guards, apparently of Hebridean extraction, to the Pictish sovereigns of Ulster. None of the old dynasty ever dwelt again in their ancient seat; while the conquerors took possession of the entire country from the Newry river to Lough Neagh, which afterwards received its name of Airghial, or Oirghial, from their descendants. The second brother, Colla *dha chrioch*, is said to have been ancestor of the M^cMahons, Maguires, M^cCanns, and O'Hanlons, all which septs were under O'Neill's standard; and the chiefs of the latter sept were his hereditary standard-bearers north of the Boyne.

After a lapse of time, the O'Neills, and their feudal mercenaries, the Oirghialla, expanded over all Ulster, with the exception of some forest-districts east and north of the great lake, which continued to be the refuge of the remnant of the Cruithnians, Picts, or Britons. The name of Scotia was probably given to the North of Ireland in consequence of this expansion of these maritime tribes; as, in a similar way, a like appellation was bestowed on North Britain after the extension of the warlike race descended from Fergus M^cEarca.

The Oirghialla tribe was divided into nine septs, each of which rendered a hostage for loyalty to the monarch, because they were, as it would appear, of foreign race. Their name, *Oir-Ghialla*, is translated "Golden Hostages" by historians such as O'Halloran, who declare it originated in the fact that the fetters used to confine these human pledges were made of gold—which must have been abundant, or the fetters were weak. But this manifest absurdity is contradicted by the account of the tribe now quoted from, written before the year 908, and which distinctly says that these hostages were kept in a fort, on Ward Hill, near Athboy, "without incarceration and without fettering." The correct etymon of their name appears to be *Oir* or *Air-ghialla*, *i.e.*, Eastern

o Note to Four Masters, I. 73,

p B. of Rights, p. 147.

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replace any loss six-fold. Whatever injury they might commit, they were only to pay the seventh part of whatever the general law imposed as a fine. If one of their number was accused on oath of an act deserving of chains, his oath was sufficient to clear him. Their nine hostages were left at large, on parole.—All these unusual immunities evidently had their origin in the high bearing of this martial race, whose standard of conduct was honour, such as the chivalrous knightliness of the Normans in later and loftier times. So far from rendering tribute, they were as free from rent as were their professional successors, the Galloglasses; and, moreover, they were entitled to large stipends from the monarch, and, particularly, to a third of all profits, such as preys, the *borumha Laighean*, fines, &c., received by him. They were accustomed to make over a third of their receipts of this nature to the sept descended from ‘Colla the Great.’

Even these are not all the privileges that could be enumerated as having belonged to this martial tribe. So completely hereditary were these advantages, that the Hy-Maine, or O’Kellys, who were descended from Maine, son of *Fear da ghiall*, an Oirghiallan, and who obtained the third part of Connaught, demanded and secured the same privileges from the kings of that province. It is expressly stated that every privilege, which books mention as having been granted to the men of Oriel (Oirghialla) by the monarchs of Ireland, was accorded to their offset, the O’Kellys,^s who manifestly were a foreign tribe of military retainers to the Kings of Connaught, and who subsequently spread over the entire island by small hired detachments, in the same manner that the M^cDonnells migrated as galloglasses into Leinster, and the M^cMahons and M^cSweyneys into Munster.

Although the great tribe-name of Clan-Colla was borne by the Lords of the Isles and by the Oirghialla, it does not appear to have given a name to any territory of the race; whereas the patronymic, Mughdhorn, that of the subordinate Irish sept, did so to several countries in the North of Ireland, in consequence of their being occupied by the descendants of this distinguished progenitor.^t We

^s Hy Many, 67.

^t Our authorities for the vestiges here collected of the Clan Morna are as follows:—*The Four Masters* mention Mughdorn-Maighean (now Cremorne) from the year 603 to 1110. They chronicle the death, in 610, of Maelduin Mac Ailen, king of this territory, whose brother is noticed by Adamnan. The names mentioned of his successors are, Dunchadh, Angus, Cearnach, Maelbresail, Ailen, Oisín, O’Machainen (997), Ailen mac Oisín, and Amlaff O’Machainen, Lord of Cremorne, who died in 1053. The M^cMahons were *ard-righa*, or superior kings, of this sept; and it is remarkable that Edmond Spenser mentions a tradition among the Irish that these M^cMahons had a foreign extraction, which seems borne out by their names—Coll, Magnus, Niall, and Sitric. They, also, like the O’Kellys, the M^cDonnells, the M^cSweynes, &c., &c., were accustomed to hire themselves out as military mercenaries. In the 16th century, their chief signed himself “Mac Mawna,” which resembles Mac Morna in sound.* At a very early period, they sent out a branch, which retained the tribe-name of McMorna, into the district of Boirche (in the present county of Down), which they subdued by force of arms,⁺ and which from

* S. P. O., 1569.

⁺ Ulster Journal, II. 48.

[‡] Lanmer.

them was named Mourne. *The Book of Howth* places a Danish chief, named Art oge Mac Morne, at Dundrum; and another, Eye Mac Carra Mac Morne, at Carlingford,[‡] which port they kept or guarded, by the appointment of the native provincial King of Ulster; and we find some provision of shipping, probably for coast-guard service, in Boirche, mentioned in *the Book of Rights*. It is likely, indeed, that the first of the clan in Ireland were Viking settlers in the fiords of that coast. Some traditional claim on this district of Mourne, to the extent of its being considered a military fief, or galloglass-land, seems to have existed in the 12th century,^{||} and even down to the 16th, when it was bestowed on O’Neill’s galloglasses.[§] Another offset of the clan appears under the varying patronymics of O’Morna, O’(h) Earca-chein, and Mac-Gilla-Muire. We cannot determine who Earca (the chief) and Gilla-Muire were. There was an Earca, eldest son of Colla Uais, and another, his grandson.** In Rymer (*Exedera*) we find “Mac-Gilmori, *dux de Anderken*,” written to in 1275, and (in the annalists) that this was Dermot, Lord of Lecale, who died the year following. His Latin title of *dux*, or leader, well expresses his position with regard to his clan. His patriarch, Gilla-Muire, may

^{||} See Four Masters, A.D., 1165.

[§] S. P., III., 395.

** B. of Rights, 121, 122.

find the Clan-Morna noticed by the *Four Masters* from the 6th century to the 12th, as occupying Mughdhorna-Maighean (the "provincia Mughdhornorum," mentioned by Adamnan), now Cremorne, of which the senior of one of the nine branches of the Oirghialla was chief, about the year 908, by the name of King of Mughdhorn and Ross. They also occupied land near Tara (in Meath), called Mughdhorna-Breagh, where we find them in the ninth century, and whence, according to tradition, they were expelled into the fastnesses afterwards called Cremorne and Ross, in Monaghan. Our notion that their progenitors were also of the tribe of the Orighialla, who, as M^cMahons, were their kings or seniors, is somewhat warranted by the legend that they sent out a branch, which retained the tribe-name of O'Morna, to the sea-coast district in Down, now known as the barony of Mourne, remarkable to travellers for the lofty mountains of this name. In verification of this tradition, the Book of Howth places *two Danish chiefs, named Mac Morne, in Dundrum and Carlingford*, where they were stationed by a provincial king for the defence of these sea-ports, which command the extreme points of the barony; and we also find that the military of this district used, in the ninth century, to receive a certain provision of shipping from the King of Ulster, probably for coast-guard service in repelling foreign piratic invasions. Another branch of the clan became masters, at very early periods, of countries which they appear to have originally held of the Pict kings of Ulster, and latterly of the O'Neills, the usurpers of sovereignty, for military service, under the varying names of O'Morna, O'(h)Earca-Chein, and Mac-Gillamuire. The King of the sept called O'(h)Earca, *i.e.*, grandchildren of Earc, the chief, was a stipendiary of the native sovereigns of Eastern Ulster at the beginning of the tenth century. To determine who this chieftain was, would supply a link between the ancient patriarch, Mughdhorn, and the present families of Down, surnamed Gilmore, so as to enable them to claim descent from one of Ossian's heroes. This name, Earc, or Eric, is decidedly Scandinavian. It is worth notice that Muirheartach, who was burnt for usurping Meath, is called Mac-Earca, and his country "Crioch-Chein," the territory of the chieftain. In 1275, Edward I. addressed letters to "Mac Gilmori, dux de Anderken," as one of the chieftains of Ulster. Cu-Uladh O'Morna Mac Gil-Muire, chief of Hy(n)Ercia Chein

have been the son of Ccinneidigh, recorded to have been slain in 1019. In 1116, a certain "Noars Mac Any Mac-killmori O'Morna" joined a people called the Crotryes (the Crotraidhe of the fleet, *B. of Rights*) in burning a church near Dungannon.* In the 15th century, some warrior members of the McGilmore family were notorious as destroyers of churches. One of them attacked Carrickfergus church for the sake of the iron bars in its windows. In Lord Roden's copy (p. 205) of M^cFirbis's genealogical work, "Kenneth O'Morna of Lecale," is deduced from "Morna, son of Ferchor, son of Oisen, son of Oncu, son of Broc, son of Aine," &c., but without any distinct authority being

given. Patrick *Pallidus* O'Gilmore was principal proprietor in Knockbreda anno 1442. It also appears by a note to *the B. of Rights* that Holywood (in the present County of Down) was given to them by the O'Neills; and by Bagenal's *Description of Ulster* that they were anciently followers of the O'Neills. St. Mura, from whom comes the name, Gilla-Muire, *i.e.*, servant of Mura, was the O'Neills' patron Saint. These notices go far to establish a feudal connexion between the M'Mornas and the Scotie Kings of Ulster. It may be added that Reginald M^cGillemory was head of a Scandinavian family in Waterford in the time of Strongbow.

* Annals of Ulster.

and of Lecale, is recorded to have been slain in 1391. We are equally at a loss to say who this distinguished patriarch, Gillamuire, was, who gave a third surname to his line. The learned editor of most of our recent archæologic publications has identified the country of the grandson of Earc, the chief, as lying in Upper Clandeboy, where (as M^cGilmores) they held the parishes of Dundonald and Knockbreda, and the lands of Holywood, which were given to them by the O'Neills; so that they were masters of nearly all the great Ards—in which country, indeed, it was declared in 1586,^w that “the ancient dwellers are the O'Gilmers, a rich and strong sept,” who, remarkably enough, are stated to have “ALWAYS BEEN FOLLOWERS TO THE O'NEILLS.”

By another migration, apparently in the 13th century, some chiefs of the M^cMornas fled from their king, M^cMahon, into lower Clandeboy, where their name was given to *Magheramorne*, a country on the west side of Ulfric's fiord (as the Scandinavians called Larne-lough), and reaching nearly to Woking's frith,^v or the Viking's inlet, as they called Glenarm. This district was afterwards claimed as a barony belonging to the O'Neill's, lords of Clandeboy.^w In the sentence which we have marked by capitals, we find, most probably, the true designation of the profession of one of the Ossianic hero's posterity, since, on the foregoing evidence, the M^cMornas may reasonably be assumed to have originally been *Gall-oglachas*, or foreign military servitors, to the Scotie conquerors of the north of Ireland.

Having thus traced the history of the Fenians of Ulster, with considerable appearance of authenticity, let us turn to that of their rivals in Leinster, the hired soldiers settled in Fingal, and employed by the Leinster Kings in defending their fortress of Almhuin, in Kildare, and resisting the conquests of the Ulster Scots.

The Fenian forces are said by the editor of the *Battle of Gabhra* to have been divided into bands according to their provinces. M^cMorna, he states, commanded Connaught military, who were of Belgian race; but, according to our view, he was commander of Ulster Eians, the Clanna Morna, ancestor of the Oirghialla. Certainly, the Connaught military subsequently were Oirghiallan; and the Munster Fians may have produced the O'Mahons. The same editor states correctly (in accordance with our impression), that the Leinster and Meath soldiery were the Clan O'Baisgne. Our authority then gives an ancient poem, which, in attributing the institution of Fenian forces in this country to one Fiach, brother of the monarch, Tuathal, nearly coincides with an opinion we had preconceived, viz., that this king, Tuathal, introduced forces from the Scandinavian-Scottish islands. It is observable that the mother of these brothers is said to have been a Scottish princess, and that their father obtained monarchy by slaying the Pictish King of Eamania,^x Fiatach, patriarch of the chiefs of Eastern Ulster.

Baine, the daughter of a Finnish king, and wife of Tuathal, may have been ancestress to Fionn

^w Sir Henry Bagenal's Description of Ulster.
^v Barbour's Bruce.

^w S. P. O.
^x Magh-Rath, 829.

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fosterers of this conqueror would, according to custom, have become his guards, attached to him by the strong tie which fosterage ensured; and *their swords manifestly formed the power*, which, having slain the Kings of Leinster and Munster, placed this Scotie Northern in the position of sovereign. How else did he obtain his power, if his circumstances were such as are shadowed out in the *Annals of the Four Masters*? According to their authority, all the nobility had been massacred a century before his rise; and it is likely that an event of this kind, though not literally, did occur. The insurgents were plebeians, that is to say, conquered races, into whose hands, weapons seem to have been put; and this “Sepoy” rising and massacre are the very acts which enthralled castes, with arms newly in their hands, would be likely to commit. The genealogists make this usurper fourth in descent from a certain infant noble, born after the massacre; for, fortunately, three young freemen came afterwards into being, as the Shem, Ham, and Japhet, of the bloody deluge, up to whom almost all Gaelic pedigrees are since regularly traced. We say almost, for there was a forgotten Deucalion remaining from this apocryphal extinction of all noble blood in Ireland—namely, the progenitor of the Leinster King, Cahir *Mor*. How came Conn to be strong enough to take the monarchy from this prince? His progenitors seem to have been prolific, indeed,—to have provided him, in three generations, with a clan sufficiently numerous. But it is evident that he was supported by “foreigners,” just as his son’s expeller was. The history of this period includes the origin and rise of our Ossianic heroes, so that we must give it due examination. Reverting, therefore, to the Christian epoch, and taking events in their order as they occur in the *Four Masters*, we find a Leinster race in possession of Tara, and an Ulster one holding Eamania—the latter supported by the Clan Rury, or Sons of Roderic, who guarded the palasidoed fort of Eamania, and who, as the famous “Knights of the Red Branch,” were (according to our view) mercenaries of Hebridean extraction, and the first foreign order of guards in Ireland. The great political massacre is said to have occurred in the year 10. Fifty years afterwards, there was a second insurrection and massacre; but the throne was subsequently filled by an infant saved from destruction—the above-mentioned Tuathal, son of a Scottish woman—who was from Scotland, allied himself to a “King of Finland,” introduced Fenians, reduced the insurgent tribes by a series of victories, and assumed sovereignty. From henceforth, the island was torn by intestine struggles for sovereignty, which lasted until Conn of the Hundred Battles firmly established himself, as the Rollo of a Scotie dynasty. Soon after he and the Clan Morna had slain Cahir *Mor*, the sons of the deceased “sent” (according to the legendary authority of *the Battle of Castle Knock*) “FOR AID, TO THE ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND BORDERING ON THE DANISH SEA.” This is a very remarkable tradition, since it fully warrants our theory that the military auxiliaries called the Fianna or Fenians came from the Scottish Islands, and were of Scandinavian extraction. In a similar manner, the mediæval galloglasses imported into this country, and styled *Scoticos* in records, came from the Hebrides, and were of the same extraction.

as the Scots have ever been, were found among the Fianna.

M^cMorna, jealous of the new comers, instantly recruited his forces with *other* fishermen, such as a troop of fifty from the salmon-leap of Assaroe, and marched to Castleknock, the rising ground over Dublin, where the new vik-ings stood encamped within entrenchments which are still visible, and which are traditionally said to have been thrown up by Ostmen. The menaced band, under the command of Cumhal, were deserted in this their hour of peril by the very Lagenians who had sent for them; but they were supported by Eoghan *Mor*, the King of the South, styled, as the athlete of his day, *Mogh*, *i.e.*, the slave, or strong labourer. The assailants, led by the mighty "Hound of the Waves," stormed the position by onsets which are described as "the impetuous and repeated dash of waves upon the shore." Cumhal, the father of Fionn, fell by the javelin of Goll M^cMorna, upon which victory declared for Conn, who then divided the entire island with Mogh. This partition is an indisputable fact in Irish history.

King Mogh, subsequently claiming to share in the valuable salmon-fishery of "Inver-Dubhlin," and in the custom-dues of the young trade of the place,^d took up arms, and encamped on Magh-leana, the "Moilena" of Macpherson. "The Son of Morna" appears in history in this scene, but not in the heroic aspect he presents in poetry; for, as leader of the northern usurper's battalions, he surprised the southern King asleep, and slew him^e:—an incident cleverly reversed by Macpherson in the poem of *Lathmon*, where his prototype, "Gaul," advances with the warrior son of Fingal in the night towards the enemy's camp, but arrests the rush of his comrade upon the sleeping foe, exclaiming:—"Fingal did not receive his fame, nor dwells renown on the grey hairs of Morni for actions like these. Strike, Ossian, strike the shield, and let their thousands rise!"

King Conn, the retainer of the regicide's clan, became undisputed monarch. Though neither this conqueror, nor his slain rival was a myth, the father of Fionn seems to be one. Was there ever such a man as Cumhal (pronounced Coole), who is said to have lived at Rathcoole, near Dub-

^d Castleknock M.S.

^e Ogygia.

lin? *Cumhal* signified a bondswoman, and was synonymous with tribute, because enslaved women were frequently received as such. Perhaps the original name of our celebrated chief of the militia was Fionn *na Cumhala*,^f *i.e.*, of the tribute, just as Brian was surnamed *Borumha*, *i.e.*, of the cow-tax, because he exacted it. Sir George Carew, Earl of Totness, the energetic English general and statesman, who accomplished what the Ulster Kings of Arms and Hibernian *sennachies* of his time neglected, namely, the formation of a collection of the genealogies of the principal families of this kingdom, included "Fun M'Cowle, his petigrew," in that valuable work.^g Beginning with one "Downe, King of Denmark," our genealogist traced the hero from this king's son, "Downe Downe," who begat "Hoskeyne," father of "Garreneslo," whose son "Conkamore" begat "Terrelaghe," who produced "Trenmore," whose son, "Cowle-ne-gaghe," is famous as the father of "Fun," and grandfather of "Oskeyre." Sir George Carew of course penned this account from traditions he had heard, and which agree with the legends of the *Book of Howth*. To this pedigree, the compiler added an annotation, as follows, which is curious and seems truthful:—"Fun was the greatest man in Ireland in his time, and he and his kinsmen were the commanders of all the kingdom, and did by might suppress the King, and yet they were but his buonies (*buannacha*), or hired soldiers, as now in these days among the Irish is used. This Fun was a valiant man, and a great soldier; but at last he and his whole family were extirped. His son, Oskeyre, lived in St. Patrick's tyme, and recompted unto him the story of his father and ancestors."

Fionn's mercenaries seem to have been employed by the Leinster Gael to oppose the enforcement of the grievous *Bo-rumha*, the great tribute of cows exacted by the Northern conquerors. Who first levied this primitive revenue is in fact no other question than who was the first monarch of Ireland; since its enforcement was the proof of sovereignty. King Cormac, who seems to have been the second Scotie conqueror (considering Conn as the first), and who was styled *Ulfada*, from his successes in expelling the Picts of Ulster, revived the original tax of cows under the old name, but in a new and notable shape. During his supremacy, the ordinary scarcity of females which then existed among savage clans, and which is attributed to the reluctance of barbarous and poor communities to rear a progeny that was almost unserviceable during early ages, was aggravated by a memorable event. A son of the Leinster dynasty, that had been driven from Tara, surprised the place with his band, and massacred "thirty royal girls," with three hundred, or, as some say, nine hundred, maidens. An elaborate veil has been thrown over this sanguinary act by the oriental imagination of the author of *Lalla Rookh*, in whose history of his country the lovely victims are female Druids, "sacred virgins of an ancient institution called the College of Tara," resident within the palace precincts in an abode called "The Retreat until Death." If, however, we lift this delicate screen (since we do not find these sanctified appellations warranted, either by the uncoloured account of the affair in the *Four Masters*, or by its interpretation by the simple-minded

^f This *na* may have been corrupted into *Mac*.

^g Carew MS., 635, p. 197.

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The localities in Ireland occupied by the rival bands, the "Clan ne Morne" and the "Clan ne Boysken" are fixed by Dr. Hanmer, quoting from *The Book of Howth*. This ancient authority sets forth the traditions of the Fingal district, which are perhaps equally deserving of credit with any others. Agreeably with it, Oscar, grandson of Fionn, was "the principal captain of the Danish sept," and held, "with his soldiers," the haven of the future metropolis. Other descendants of the vik-ing chief held Drogheda and Dundalk. These seaports commanded the very district subsequently called Finè-gall, from which, according to the *The Battle of Gabhra*, the Leinster Fenians were eventually expelled. Our authority states that Fionn's "chiefe house was called Baragh Lis, in Ulster." This fort may have been Lisdaragh, in Louth. No mention is made of "Almhuin," (Allen), in Kildare, as his residence, although it may have been so, as a fortress belonging to the Leinster dynasty which he defended. There has been much confounding of "Almhuin" with "Alba" (Scotland) whence, according to some manuscripts, the hero came.^k Following the same legendary authority, the original of which we have consulted, in the Carew MSS., and which, since it appears correct in its allocation of the Mac Mornas, may be so likewise in the case of the Fingalians, we find the following account of the foreign military forces now under consideration:—

"In Erland ther was soyders called Fyen Errync, apoynted to kepe the see costys, fearyng outword invasyon. The namys of thes soydeors was Fyn M°Koyll, Koollon, Kellte, Osker M°Osseyn, Dermot O'Doyne, Colle M°Morne, and divers others. Thes soyders were bold, as shall appere. At length so strong that they did contrary to the orders of the kynges of Erland, their cheyff lords, and became very strong and stout. They ordered the natives not to hunt game, nor to marry a mayd without their lycons;" &c.

This legend agrees with one quoted in *The Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, which states that "no one dares to give any woman to any man without asking three times whether there be among the Fians a man to marry her;" and "no person dare take any salmon, fowl, or any smaller game, even though he find them dead, excepting a man of the Fenian ranks, in consequence of the strict subjection Fionn exercises over Ireland." Commenting on this and similar passages, Mr. O'Kearney, the editor of the first two publications of the Society, observes:—

"If the Fenian king and his men enjoyed the privileges above enumerated, the people of Ireland were little less than abject slaves under this military despot, and the monarch himself must have been a mere bauble, destitute of power."

Fionn, the young gigantic captain of these warriors, seems to have enjoyed a Pagan plurality of wives, on whom he was very liberal in bestowing *tinscras*, or presents of precious metal.¹ The publication of one of the Ossianic tales, *The Courtship of Fionn in the Land of Lochlann*, i.e., Scandinavia, would, no doubt, serve to develope his antecedents. As time rolled on, his power increased with the growth of his clan, or children, and by foreign accessions from Lochlann. His

^k Petrie's Round Towers, p. 108.

¹ Hy-Fiachrach, 208.

rude military, quartered on the pastoral communities throughout the disturbed realm of Cormac's successor, the fierce Cairbre, threatened to depose the king himself; for, from mercenaries, they had become masters. The sovereign thus menaced, his people oppressed, and some of them peculiar sufferers, the assassination of Fionn followed, as a natural consequence.

This act of vengeance, committed by fishermen, seems to have been specially instigated because its victim had deprived the poor and savage natives of a valuable article of sustenance, namely, salmon, which must have formed a principal article of food to the early inhabitants of Ireland, in ages when they, like the *interiores* of Britain did not, as Cæsar says of the Britons, cultivate corn, and when their cattle were very liable to disease, as well as to be plundered. It is declared that the summer occupation of the Fianna was fishing; so that these vik-ings (or wick-men) intercepted the fish; and it is probable that they did so wholesale, by *kidels* (kettles), or basket weirs, and by *coradha*, or wicker nets. The art of taking salmon has been perfected by Scots. The Hebrideans, from whom our theory deduces the Ossianic people, must have been eager fishers in the time of Solinus, when, as he writes, the finny tribe were their sole food. During famines in Ireland, piscatory rights would doubtless have formed the chief subject of international quarrel between the hungry natives and the foreign vik-ings. It was naturally so galling to the famished islanders that aliens should capture their salmon by means of an interloping weir at Clontarf, and (during the fish's ascent of the Shannon) by the lax-weirs of Limerick, and by the *ceann coradh*, *i.e.*, head weir (*alias* Kincora), that the injured parties frequently demolished these monopolizing inventions. In 1100, O'Brien destroyed the fort of Aileach, the ancient seat of the O'Neills, near Lough Foyle, in revenge for the demolition of the dam-weir, and empaled fort, or "palace" of Kincora, by Mac Lochlin (*i.e.*, the son of the Scandinavian), then king of the O'Neills. In fact, these chiefs were rival salmon-merchants, a flourishing trade, which, at a later period, caused the Spaniards to style O'Donnell *el Rey di pesche* (the King of Fish). One of those onslaughts of the Irish upon salmon-weirs is memorable enough, if we are right in conjecturing that the Battle of Clontarf had for its object the destruction of a weir on the strand at that place. Why else the name of the battle itself—*Cathcoradh. i.e.*, the battle of the weir?

Dublin, and other seaports. If Fionn was the originator of the exports of raw produce, afterwards carried on by his countrymen, we can understand why he was so unpopular. But, moreover, he was head of such a foreign military despotism as Turgesius subsequently exercised, and which was also terminated by assassination. His soldiers had grown "intolerably proud, and they exacted hard tributes." An extreme demand of a certain right, often anciently exercised by conquerors in Ireland and elsewhere, that of receiving *mercheta mulieris*, which caused the sanguinary Battle of Gabhra, near Tara, where the men of Fingal were almost exterminated, demonstrates (as observed by the editor of the legendary account of that action), "the state of utter slavery which the Fenians imposed upon the native Irish, such as to warrant the opinion that the enslavers *were not of the same race as the enslaved*, an opinion," adds the editor, Mr. O'Kearney, "entertained by some who have made Fenian lore their particular study." Agreeably with this authority, King Cairbre, indignant that royalty itself should be subject to the overweening arrogance of the invaders, jealous of their formidable power, and apprehensive lest they would increase it by further drafts from abroad, patriotically determined to crush the growing legion of "Fenians and *Lochlannachs*," *i.e.*, Scandinavians.

According to the same authority, there were Fianna in other countries, such as Scotland, Lochlan (Denmark), and Britain; a circumstance, observes the editor, "going far to show that the Fenians were a sort of hired military force" of foreign origin.^m

Fionn, "the royal champion" (as a bard styles him), that is, the leader of the royal guard, had, in the meanwhile, taken up his residence on the banks of the Boyne. It may be suspected that he and his men constructed a dam-weir, with a salmon-trap, in that river. This fish was a special article of support to the householdⁿ of Tara, three members of which, it would seem, assisted certain fishermen, who may have been ruined by the new weir, and who "treacherously,"^o attacked and wounded the great innovator with their gaffs, whereupon the three soldiers decapitated him.^p To ensure revenge, his grandson, Oscar, sent for auxiliaries of his own order, then serving as Fianna in Scotland, Denmark, and Britain;^q and was joined by the posterity of King Mogh (or Eoghan), who was still eager to avenge his death. A numerous host of natives and foreigners assembled, and marched upon Tara, but were encountered at Gabhra, near Tara,^r by the superior army of King Cairbre; and, although the patriot monarch fell by the sword of Oscar, these Fianna of Fingal were utterly defeated. In after ages, their descendants migrated to the various seaports, and possessed themselves of every incipient Madras and Calcutta on the island. Like the Anglians, or Danes, in Britain, they were joined by frequent gallies-full of their own nation; and though originally no more than "champions of Danish birth, whom the native chiefs hired for

^m Note to B. of G., p. 75. We cannot withhold our tribute of praise, likewise, of Mr. O'Kearney's very curious edition of *Feis Tighe Chonain*.

ⁿ The Luaigh ne Teamrach.

^o B. of Gabhra.

^p Four Masters.

^q Castleknock MS.

^r Note to F. M., I. 120.

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The Scottish bow was longer and stronger than the Irish. The water-mills in Ireland appear to have been Danish.^v The Gallic Picts, the Pict Britons, and the Pict Gael fortified themselves in woods by constructing circular palisadoed forts. The Danes, on the other hand, are always declared to have formed earthenworks,^w or raths. It is also worthy of note that the rampart which defended Oriel from the Picts of Ulster is still known as "THE DANES' CAST."^x This was as clearly a line drawn between a Teutonic and a Celtic race as either "Offa's Dyke," in England, the vast earthwork stretching from the Dee to the Severn, or the "Swines' Dyke" of the Scottish Borders. The military garb of the Fenians is said to have resembled the Highland costume.^y Plaids, and plaited kirtles, or kilts, seem to have been worn in the Hebrides in the days of Magnus, King of Norway, who was nicknamed Bare-legs, because he imported from those isles the sensible mountain fashion of dispensing with trousers. The Fianna were sometimes clad roughly in the spoils of the chase; and their cateran successors in Argyle and the Western Isles, from their wearing mocassins of deer hide, were called "Red-Shanks," or "rough-footed Scots."

The language of the Fianna betrays their foreign origin, and, if sedulously investigated by able philologists, would, no doubt, enable us to penetrate the *incognito* hitherto masking this race. It seems to have been a mixture of Gaelic and the speech of their fathers; but, naturally partaking most of the maternal native tongue, for those piratic colonists could hardly have brought with them any females of their own nation. Their language may, perhaps, be sifted out by expunging from examples of Fine-Gaelic all the undoubted Celtic, or Breton, Welsh, and Irish roots. The residue will represent the imported speech. Differing from the *bearla rustach*, or vernacular Gaelic, it was known as *bearla na (bh) Feine*, *i.e.*, the dialect of the Fenians. Dr. Keating, when recording that the Irish "militia" men spoke a peculiar language, overlooked the obvious deduction that they were not indigenous. As it is the language in which the *Fenechus* or brehon law was written, we may argue that these foreigners gave civil law to Ireland. In its legal idiom, it was the language of the learned, peculiar to a caste of hereditary jurists, who enjoyed it as a monopoly—just as, in England, ancient lawyers did Norman-French, which, like this jargon, was once the predominant language, the speech of the camp, the court, and the forum.

Gaelic literature, certainly, seems to have received its earliest phase from the Fenians, since the Ossianic ballads, our most antique form of poetry, are in their dialect; and it may be that the Irish *scealaidhe*, or tellers of stories, were successors of Scandinavian *skalds*. Alliteration, with a jingling play upon words, sometimes heightened by rhyme, forming the style considered most elaborate by the Irish bards, are the distinguishing marks of the Scandinavian verses called *Runic*, and continued to distinguish Anglo-Danish poetry even in the time of Chaucer.

^v Ulster Journal of Archæology, IV. 14.
^w B. of Rights.

^x B. of Magh-Rath.
^y Battle of Gabhra.

l Ossian, the real poet, whose rude ballads, narrating the exploits of Fionn and
 ' groundwork of much subsequent amplification, probably was a *scealaidhe*, or
 onal defect prevented him from taking part in that battle in Finè-gall in
 was almost exterminated. "Oisin, the last of the Fianna," proverbially desig-
 who has outlived his kindred. According to *The Irish Hudibras, or the*
 ' a poetic travesty printed in 1689, Ossian had been bard to "the Danish
 ,"

of property in Ossianic traditions among the Gael of *Ireland* and *Scotland* is easily
) narrow is the strait between the north-eastern coast of Ulster and the Mull
 warlike Ultonian King had but to light a beacon on the cliffs of Antrim, to
 by Scottish forces. Indeed, from early ages down to the 17th century, hired
 Hebrides, whether as professional galloglasses, or as occasional drafts from the
 mpbell, M'Leod, &c., usually formed the force on which northern Irish Kings
 celebrating the *Catha-Feine*, battles of the Fianna of Alba and Erin, were,
 to their successors and posterity, whilst these later professional soldiers were
 weapons around bivouac fires either on an Argyle heath or an Ulster forest.
 urious passage in Barbour's metrical *Life of Bruce*, the exploits of the two
 f Ossian formed the heroic standard by which the Hebridean chieftains of the
 rn were accustomed to measure chivalry:—When Robert Bruce was defeated
 of Lorn, he placed himself in the rear of his retreating men, and checked the
 d him!" exclaimed M'Dougal to his followers—"He protects them from us,
 defended his men from Fionn!" These ballads also served to while away
 oomy castles of the Hebridean chiefs, since we read that an ancient M'Leod
preis air ursgeal na Feine, the history of the feats of the Finians.'

our inquiry into the semi-fabulous Ossianic age seems not merely to give reality
 thic characters whom ancient and modern poetry have elevated into fanciful
 tach an authenticity to that period so considerable as to entitle it to an impor-
 history of the English empire; by showing the true nationalities of the
 hat memorable epoch (when Christianity made its advent in the British islands),
 e and Teutonic races, and thus explaining historic revolutions and other events,
 a were hitherto obscure. If we are wrong in ascribing to the Gaelic people of
 traction, similar to that of the brave nations who, in Gaul and Britain, with-
 gions, we think we are not mistaken in believing that the Scots, the conquer-
 l and Scotland, were, in large measure, of the same blood as those who, as

THE HIGHLAND KILT AND THE OLD IRISH DRESS.

IF a new *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* were to be written—and certainly such a work is not altogether unrequired, even at the present enlightened era—the kilt delusion should have a prominent place in it. A correspondent—SENEX—in vol. v., p. 167 of this *Journal*, inquires whether “Scottish antiquaries have been able to discover a period when the kilt was not worn by Highlanders?” Now, Scottish, as well as Irish, antiquaries have discovered so many very curious things, that it really would not be safe to say, without fear of contradiction, what they have or have not discovered. But it scarcely requires an antiquary to discover when the kilt was not worn by Highlanders.—SENEX himself, judging by his *nom de plume*—or, at any rate, that venerable and ubiquitous individual so generally known as the “oldest inhabitant,”—might almost remember the period in question. For, though it might not be quite prudent to hint at such a matter in the purlieus of the Canongate or the Candleriggs, the truth must be told here; and the simple fact is, that the kilt was *invented by an English tailor*, and the first person who wore it was an Englishman, so late as the year 1727. This may sound strange to some, but it is no less true; and, what is stranger still, Mr. Rawlinson, the English gentleman by whose directions the kilt was invented, and who first wore this article of dress (undress perhaps I should say), so associated in our minds with deeds of martial daring, was a peace-loving member of the Society of Friends!

The supposition of SENEX, that the old Irish and Highland costumes were identical, is, however, perfectly correct, as may be seen from the following authorities.

Lindsay, of Pitscottie, in his *Chronicles*, written about 1550, speaking of the Highlands, says they “are full of mountaines; and veric rude and homlie kynd of pople dothe inhabite, which is called the Reid-Shankis, or Wyld Scotcs. They be cloathed with ane mantle^a, with ane schirt fached after the Irisch manner, going hair-legged to the knie.”

Nicholaye d’Arfreville, a French cosmographer, who accompanied James the Fifth of Scotland in his naval expedition to the Highlands and Western Islands, says of the natives:—“Ils portent, comme les Irlandois, une grande et ample chemise, safranée, et par desus un habit long jusque à genoux de grosse laine, à mode d’une soutane.”^b

With respect to saffron, I must here say a few words, before I proceed farther. Some doubts have been expressed* as to the ancient Irish having used saffron—the produce of the autumnal cro-

^a Blind Harry, the Minstrel, about 1470, when describing the quarrel between Selby, the son of the English constable of Dundee, and Wallace, represents Selby insulting Wallace, who was dressed as a Lowland gentleman, by saying that an Ersche—Irish or Highland—mantle would be his fittest attire.

“Thou Scot abyde,
Quha Devill the graithis in so gay a guyde,
Ane Ersche mantle it war the kynd to wer.”

^b *La Navigation du Roy d’Ecosse Jaques V.* Paris, 1853.
^{*} *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. 5, p. 258.

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these, without any other covering, they slept comfortably. They had also fricze rugs, such as are used by the Irish, which they not only wore on a journey, but also spread upon their beds. The rest of their garments were a most simple trowser; a woollen jerkin, with sleeves open below, for the facility of casting darts; and a very large linen tunic, gathered into numerous plaits, and having wide hanging sleeves descending to their knees. These the rich coloured with saffron, and others smeared with a certain grease, to preserve them longer amidst the toils and exercises of the camp, which they considered it of the utmost importance to practise continually.”

The first garment here mentioned by Leslie is clearly the *breacan* or belted plaid, hereafter to be described. The second is the Irish mantle. The third the *trùis*, or breeches and stockings in one piece, worn both by Highland and Irish chieftains; the epithet *simplicissima* denoting its closely-fitting character, in contra-distinction to the puffed and padded out trunk-hose worn by the English and Lowland Scotch of the period. The last—the tunic—is merely the long shirt, *leni-croich* of the Irish, under probably a more correct denomination.

The accurate and pains-taking Camden describes the Irish dress in almost the very same words as Leslie did the Highland costume. He says:—

“Indusiis utuntur lincis, et illis quidem amplissimis manicis largioribus, et ad genua usque fluentibus, quæ croco inficere solebant. Tunicellas habent lanceas admodum breves, femoralia simplicissima et arctissima; superinducunt autem lacernas sive saga villosa (Heteromallas Isidorus vocare videtur) limbo jubato, et eleganter variegato, quibus nocte involuti suaviter humi dormiunt.”

Which may thus be rendered:—“They wear large linen tunics, with wide sleeves hanging down to their knees, which they generally dye with saffron; short woollen jerkins; a most simple and closely-fitting *trùis*; and over these they cast their mantles or shaggy rugs (which Isidore seems to call Hcteromallæ) fringed and elegantly variegated, in which they wrap themselves at night, and sleep soundly on the bare ground.”

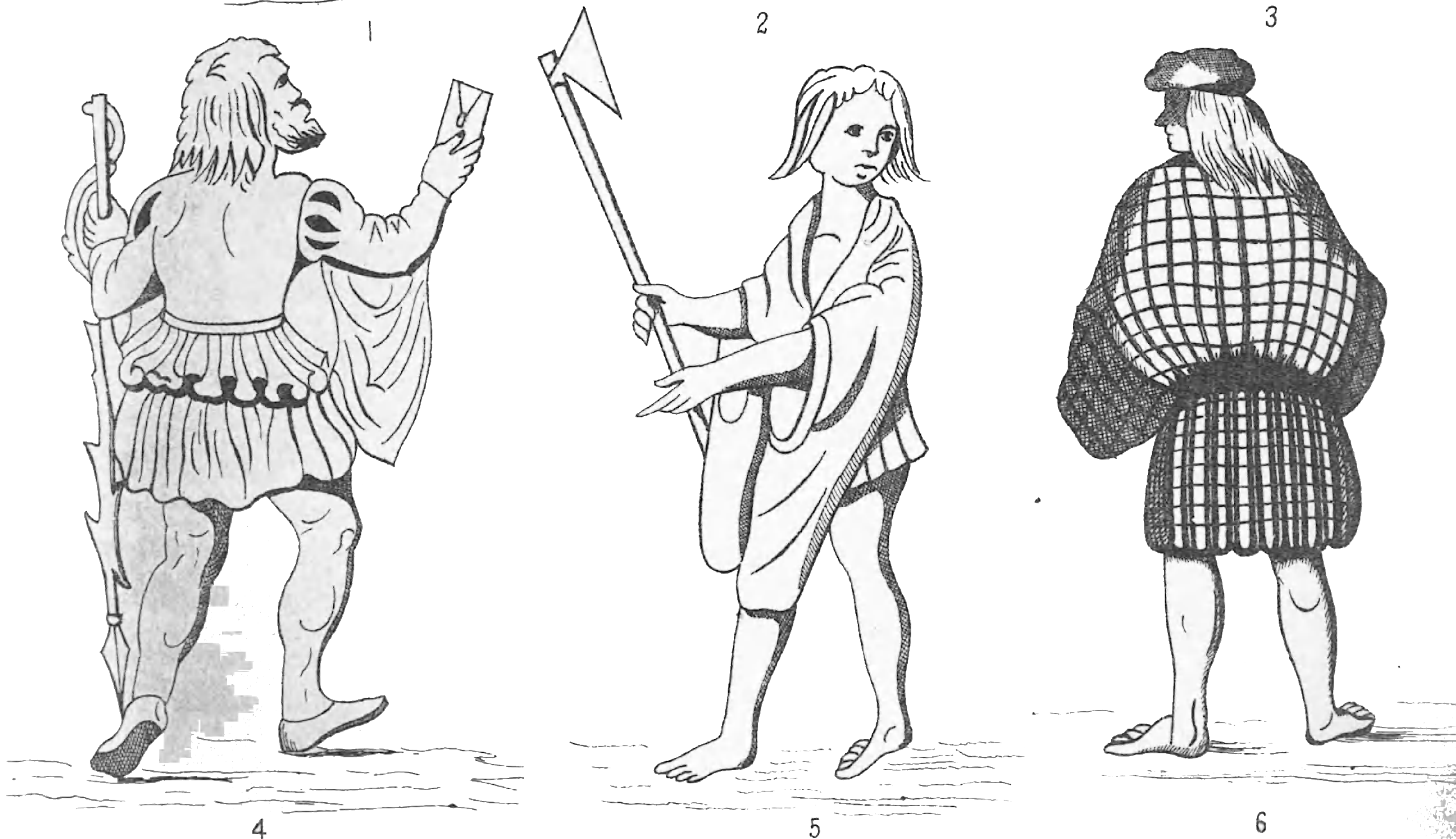
The word “variegated,” in both of the preceding quotations, can apply only to a chequered cloth, worn by all the Celtic tribes, and such as we now term *tartan*; though the word “tartan” was originally applied to the material of the cloth, and had no reference whatever to its colour.



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IRISH & HIGHLAND COSTUMES, FROM MSS. & EARLY PRINTED BOOKS.

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the Irish fought naked. And the mantle could be used as an offensive, as well as a defensive, weapon. With a stone in it, a blow could be delivered, heavy enough to fell an ox.

“ THIS monster sprung from Laughlin Crone,
A greater thief was never known ;
For, in his trade, he had such skill,
That he a stolen cow could kill,
For shift, with mantle and a stone,
A way to other thieves unknown.”^d

But, even so late as the close of the sixteenth century, when Moryson wrote, in the remoter parts of Ireland, where English laws and manners were unknown, the slight covering of the mantle was generally dispensed with. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, the long shirt was proscribed by law, and other innovations soon followed ; for Campion, writing in 1571, says :—“ They have now left their saffron, and learne to wash their shirts foure or five times in a year.” When Moryson wrote, the long shirt had completely fallen into disuse. About the same time, too, it fell into disuse in the Highlands—the chiefs wearing, as in Ireland, the truis and mantle, or plaid ; and the inferior ranks wearing, as their sole article of dress, an exaggerated form of the mantle, partly combined with the plaits of the long shirt, termed by Highlanders, the *breacan feile*, by Lowlanders, “ the belted-plaid.”^e

^d *The History of Ireland in verse.* Dublin.

^e From the Saxon *plat*, a curtain—a plain, flat, piece of cloth, not “made up” into a garment. *Plain, flat, plate,*

are derived from the same source ; and in many languages, the modifications of the same word mean anything broad and flat.

The *breacan feile*—literally the chequered covering—merely consisted of a plain piece of cloth, two yards in width, and from four to six in length. As much in depth of the centre of one end as would reach from the loin to the knee, and in breadth as would reach from side to side round the back, was carefully folded into plaits, leaving unplaited at each extremity as much as would cover the front of the body, overlapping from side to side. Thus prepared, the plaid was firmly bound round the body by a leathern belt in such manner that the lower end came down to the knee-joint; and, while the cloth behind was single and plaited, that in front was plain and doubled. The rest of the plaid was wrapped round the upper part of the body in various ways, according to the weather or the caprice of the wearer. Generally it led up over the shoulders, and fastened in front by a skewer; and in this guise the wearer, seen from behind, looked exactly like a female in a very short petticoat, who had thrown the skirt of her gown over her head to protect her bonnet from rain. The plaits, not being permanent folds sewn in the plaid, required to be made every time the garment was put on; and the more in number and neater they were, the Highland exquisite considered himself the better dressed. To put on the garment properly an assistant was required to hold up the ready-plaited plaid, while the other belted it round his own body. But, in an emergency, a Highlander, by first placing his belt on the ground, and over it the prepared plaid, could, by lying down and buckling it around him, put it on without assistance.

Captain Burt, in his *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, written about 1730, thus describes the belted-plaid:—“A small part of the plaid is set in folds, and girt round the waist, to make of it a short petticoat, which reaches half-way down the thigh; and the rest is brought over the shoulders, and then fastened before, below the neck—often with a fork, and sometimes with a bodkin, or sharpened piece of stick; so that they make pretty near the appearance of the people in London, when they bring their gowns over their heads to shelter them from the rain.” Figure 6 represents a Highlander, wearing the belted-plaid, from an illustration in Burt’s work.

“The belted plaid,” says a writer in the first volume of the *Quarterly Review*, “was precisely the dress of a savage, who, finding a web of cloth that he had not skill to frame into a garment, wrapt one end round his middle, and threw the rest about his shoulders. This dress was abundantly inconvenient; for the upper part of the plaid was only useful in rain, or for a cover at night, while the lower extremity was essential to decency. It was, in short, as if a man’s great coat was fastened to his breeches; and, in exertions of war or the chase, all was necessarily thrown away together. And it is little to the honour of Highland ingenuity that, although the chiefs, to avoid this dilemma, wore long pantaloons called trews, the common Gael never fell upon any substitute for the belted plaid, till an Englishman, for the benefit of the labourers who worked under his direction, invented the *feile beg*, or “little petticoat.”

There can be no doubt of the high antiquity of the belted-plaid; no other kind of dress answers so well to the “garment” of Scripture, either when spoken of literally or metaphorically. In it

“ Martiall meeting in the Brea of Mar,
How thousand gallant spirits come neere and farr,
With swords and targets, arrows, bows, and gunns.”

This was one of the grand Highland hunting-matches of the olden time. On this occasion Taylor, to be like the rest, wore the Highland dress, which he minutely describes, but says nothing whatever about a kilt. Neither does Gordon of Stralock^s—himself a Highland chief—who described the dress of his countrymen in 1641. Later still, Colonel Clelland thus describes the “Highland Host”—a party of 6,000 mountaineers brought down to coerce and spoil the covenanting Whigs of the western shires of Scotland, in 1678—without ever alluding to the kilt:—

“ Their head, their neck, their leggs and thighs,
Are influenced by the skies.
Without a clout to interrupt them,
They need not strip them when they whip them,
Nor loose their doublet when they’re hanged.
It’s marvellous how in such weather
O’er hill and hop they come together,
How in such stormes they come so farr;
The reason is they’re smeared with tar,^h
Which doth defend them heel and neck,
Just as it doth their sheep protect.”

Those were the common rabble. Their officers, however, were better dressed, and wore the *truis*.

“ But those who were the chief commanders,
As such who bore the pirnieⁱ standarts ;

^f *Haik*, literally, the thing that is woven—the web.
^g *History of Scots Affairs*. Spalding Club. Aberdeen.
1841.

^h Major, writing in 1518, says that the Highlanders then
daubed their clothes with litch.
ⁱ Parti-coloured.

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considered to be the best dressed Highlander of his day, and he invariably wore the *truis*. Sir John Sinclair, as patriotic a Highlander as ever lived, attended the court of George III. wearing the *truis*, as the ancient and characteristic dress of his country.

Prince Charles Edward, to flatter the prejudices of his Gaelic followers, generally wore the belted-plaid and *truis* in 1745-6; but we never hear of him wearing the kilt. He wore the plaid and *truis* on the romantic march to Derby; and it was in the same dress he finally made his escape from Scotland. A letter in the *Stuart Papers* (dated Morlaix, September 29, 1746), written by Colonel Warren to Waters, the Parisian banker, states that the Prince, when he embarked, was dressed in "a short coat of coarse black frieze, tartan trews, and over them a belted-plaid." The medal, struck to commemorate his arrival in Scotland, in 1745, represents him dressed in the belted-plaid alone, without the *truis*. Figure 7 is the representation of the Prince from this medal, the original die of which is in the possession of a gentleman in Glasgow.

Work, the great prime mover—at once the cause and the effect of civilization—led the way to the invention of the kilt. In or about 1727, a Liverpool company, attracted by the mineral resources of the district, and the abundant supply of fuel afforded by the natural birch-woods of Glengarry, founded an establishment for smelting ore, near the bridge of Garry; and cut a small canal from Loich Oich to Loch Lochie, to facilitate the conveyance of the metal to the sea. It was at this time that the hitherto invincible repugnance of the male Highlanders to any kind of manual labour, was first overcome by the direst necessity, caused by the impoverishing oppression exercised by the army of occupation, under General Wade. So, a number of Highlanders were employed by the English company; but those men, unable to move their limbs when swathed in the many folds of the belted-plaid, threw off their plaids, their only article of dress, and worked *in puris*



FIG. 7.

naturalibus. Rawlinson, the manager of the works (and as I have already observed, an Englishman, and member of the Society of Friends) was distressed and disgusted by seeing himself daily surrounded by naked men, but could find no help for it. The manager resided about half-way between Inverness and Maryburgh, both places being then garrisoned by Wade's soldiers. One evening, an English army-tailor, named Parkinson—who had just arrived from London, on business connected with clothing the troops—when passing between the two garrisons was caught in a storm, and took shelter in Rawlinson's house. After the first greetings, the tailor, being unacquainted with the customs of the country, expressed surprise that a Highlander, who had also sought shelter, did not put off his wet cloak. Rawlinson shocked his guest by replying that the Highlander's cloak—in reality a belted-plaid—was the only garment he had on; that if he was in his own hut, amongst his own family, he would take it off *instanter*; but, in deference to certain Southern prejudices, he kept it on in an Englishman's house. Rawlinson further stated how greatly he was shocked by seeing the naked Highlanders at work, and entreated Parkinson's professional assistance towards devising a new garb for them, in which they could work without outraging decency. The problem to be solved was to make a dress, not higher in price than the belted-plaid, that would retain the plaits so prized by the Highland dandy, and that would admit of the free use of the limbs when at work. The tailor solved the problem with his shears. He cut off the lower part of the plaid that belted round the loins, and formed permanent plaits in it with the needle;—and lo, the kilt!—while the upper part, forming the shoulder-plaid, could be fastened round the shoulders, as before, in severe weather, or when the wearer was not working. Rawlinson, to set an example to his workmen, nobly stifled the peculiar notions of his sect, and was the first man to wear the kilt. The Highlanders at first looked coldly on it; but the chief of Glengarry^m adopting the novel garment, the kilt soon became general in the district, and from thence spread to other parts of the Highlands. However, the belted plaid survived the period when the Highland dress was interdicted by law (from 1747 to 1782), and was worn by shepherds till the close of the last century, and known by its original name of *breacan feile*; while to the kilt was given the name *feile beg*—the little covering; and the shoulder-plaid was termed *am feile mòr*—the greater covering.ⁿ

But the Highlanders, if they did not work, fought, and fought well, too, as they still do: how, then, did they fight in that awkward, cumbersome garment, the belted-plaid? The answer is simply this,—they did not fight in it at all, but threw it off, and fought in the true Celtic fashion.

^m John Mac Alester, Mac Ranald Mac Donnell, chieftain of Glengarry, and the first Highlander who wore a kilt, was alive in 1745, but too old and feeble to lead out his clan. His eldest son, Alexander, whose portrait is alluded to in the text, being, at the same time, a prisoner in the Tower of London; the clan was headed by Eneas, his second son.

ⁿ Stuart's *Costume of the Clans*. Edinburgh. 1815. Burt's *Letters from the Highlands*. London. 1759. Sir John Sinclair in Pinkerton's *Literary Correspondence*. London. 1830. Mac Culloch's *Highland and Western Islands*. London. 1824.

But yet they are ow'r naked men to bide the gun I trow."

At Killiecrankie, the Highlanders fought naked. And, as long as "Evan Donald's fame rings in each clansman's ears," the traditionary story will be proudly told that, when the Camerons had dropped their plaids, and were about to "descend to the harvest of death" in the pass of Killiecrankie, Lochiel, perceiving that the only article of attire, saving their "bonnets," worn by himself and all the clan, were *his own brogues*, he flung them off, scorning to retain even that slight advantage over his naked clansmen.

At Sheriffmuir, in 1715, the Highlanders fought naked. A MS. relation of that battle accounts for the greater proportionate mortality amongst the wounded Highlandmen than their officers, by stating that, during the cold night which followed the battle, the officers wearing the *truis* had some protection; whereas, the common men, who had thrown off their plaids on going into action, were completely exposed to the piercing frost.

That extraordinary romance of military history—the mutiny of Sempill's Highland regiment, in 1743—proves that the Highlanders had then no predilection for the kilt. Disappearing in one night, marching for five successive nights, and taking up strong positions during the day, this regiment reached as far as Northamptonshire, in their attempt to force their way from London back to the Highlands. And one of their principal grievances was, that they were compelled to wear the kilt. "If," said they to the authorities, "you consider us to be soldiers, amenable to military discipline, and liable to serve wherever you may please to send us, why not dress us as you dress your soldiers—not as you dress your women?"

The gallant conduct of the Highlanders at Fontenoy gave the kilt a *prestige* that it has never since lost. The numberless valiant achievements of the same troops added to its fame. So, when George the Fourth visited Scotland, and wore the kilt on his own royal limbs, its short-lived existence and plebeian origin became almost forgotten. Then the manufacturers—cunning fellows—discovered the ancient distinctive tartans of each clan; though the looms in which alone such intricate patterns could be woven were modern inventions, and the ancient Highlanders could no more have produced such patterns than they could have made point-lace or printed calico.^p Then

^o There were anciently some few varieties of the tartan worn by the chiefs, as Leslie informs us; but those arose from local circumstances, and were not separate clan badges.

Monipennie, in 1612, tells that the prevailing clour of the cloth worn by the Highlanders was brown, and so it was in 1715.

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previously alluded to this subject, we proceed to notice the erection of their churches, &c. Their great shield and benefactor, the Earl of Galway, with the countenance and encouragement of William the 3rd, accomplished for them this desirable object, about 1696. In the year 1701, the number of French families residing in Portarlington was sixty-four, although the three French regiments in Ireland had not then been disbanded; while those of English extraction only numbered five—the aggregate number of families in the town and neighbourhood, French and English, amounting to 150: the church for the former was therefore constructed on a much larger scale than that for the latter; both, however, were endowed for ever with rent-charges of similar amounts (£40 to each), as a stipend for the clergymen. Lord Galway also built two school-houses, for the French and English population, which had an endowment for ever of £32 a-year for the teachers. The boys at these schools seem to have worn a uniform costume. We find the following entry in an account-book of the principal refugee of the town, an old officer of “The Boyne”—“Ap^l 20th 1727. For making six sutes of cloths for y^e *blewbois* at 18 p^{ce} p^r sute 00.09. 00.” In the first year of Queen Anne’s reign, an Act of Parliament was passed confirming the leases made by Lord Galway, which had been shaken by the Act of Resumption, and vesting the churches, school-houses, and endowments in the Bishop of Kildare, in trust, for the purposes specified by the noble founder.

In 1701, the Bishop of Kildare issued a very conciliatory address to the French inhabitants of the town, setting forth his intention to consecrate the two churches; he transmits a copy of the consecration service, and invites them to conform to the discipline of Episcopacy; he complains of Daillon, then French minister, holding tenaciously to his consistorial authority—being unwilling “to part with it on any terms.” Shortly after, however, the French congregation acceded to the wishes of the Bishop, and subsequently continued to adopt the forms of the Established Church.

Daillon, to whom we alluded in a former number, was a distinguished divine, and had been minister in Portarlington from 1698 to 1702. On entering the church-yard of Carlow, a black marble slab, with the following inscription, strikes the eye of the visitor:—

“Hic situs est Benjaminus Daillon, Gallus Britana generosa familia ortus. Ecclesia reformata presbyter eruditus, diu ob religionem incarceratus et demum relegatus qui post LXXIX annos, studio, pietate, et labore evangelica magna ex parte dimensus, quatrinduo post obitum Palinæ uxoris hic inhumatæ animam puram exhalavit.

“Accipe docte cinus musarum pignus amoris
 Accipe si famam morte perire vetent.
 Si Cristi castris pugnans captivus et exul
 Urbem hanc funeribus condecorare velit.
 Cur te gerentur humo simul omnia et inclyta virtus.
 Et genus ac artes et pietate honos?
 Immemor urbs fuerit tamen haud marcescit Olympo.
 Clamabitque lapis vivet hic arte mea.
 Obiit ille vir Jan. III. An. Dom. MDCCIX.”

The endowment of Lord Galway being considered an insufficient maintenance for a clergyman, the French inhabitants petitioned the Duke of Dorset, in 1733 (then Lord Licutenant), to increase

they state that the last incumbent, the Rev. Mon^r Anthony Ligonier de Bonneval, was a military chaplain, of 3.4 a-day, which ceased on his death; consequently they contribute to the support of the present clergyman, M. Theodore Desvories, which is said, “having nothing to maintain themselves and numerous families but the small salary pay graciously allowed them by his Majesty;” that it is the only conforming clergyman in the kingdom that has not an allowance from Government; and that the colony is the only one remarkable for number, except Dublin, &c. The names appended to the petition are as follows:—the principal colonists:—Josias de Champagné, G. Guion, Du Petit Bosc, Fort, John Claverie, Jean Labrosse, John De Boyer, Jacque de Beauchant, Louis le Meschinet, Piers Tirel, Abel Cassel, John Micheau, Joseph Guion, Arthur Cham-Dorval, Charles du Petit Bosc, Gerard Bainsereau, David Darripe, John Clausede, Joshua Pilot, Josias Franquefort, Isaac Cassel, Charles Quinsac, Antoine Mespret, Dubert, Jean Belliard, Charles Camlin, Samuel Beauchant, Andrew Labat.

The lieutenant and other high authorities recommended the prayer of the petition to the Majesty granted £50 per annum, which, with the £40 from Lord Galway, constituted the salary of the clergyman. Gillet, the first French clergyman at Portarlington, was preferred in France before the Revocation.^a Cathard and Des Vœux were both

“masters of eloquence in the pulpit, and whose elegant and learned works—in Europe—continue to preserve our fame with the public, as their pupils.” The Rev. Des Vœux, of Portarlington, emigrated from France about the middle of last century as the second son of Mons. De Bacquencourt, president of the Parliament of Rouen. He was expelled from France by the displeasure of his family by abandoning their religious faith—that of the Catholics—he visited Ireland, and was appointed chaplain to the regiment of Lord George Sackville. He was the author of several polemical works; his translation and commentary on the *Confession of St. Augustine* was considered of so much importance as to induce the University of Dublin to confer on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts. He succeeded the Rev. Jean Pierre Droz in the publication of the *first literary journal that ever appeared in Ireland*, entitled, “the *Compendium*, or *Literary Journal Revived*,” 1751; which, however, was shortly after discontinued. Droz kept a book-shop in College Green, and exercised his clerical functions on

The French Refugees of Portarlington had the gratification of receiving ample testi-

hold—the Princess of Wales having munificently presented them with rich and massive plate for the Communion service, and a finely-toned church bell, which preserve to the present day the memory of that royal lady's generous piety. On the first of these valuable gifts, so well bestowed, are inscribed as follows, and with the arms and motto of the prince:—

“Donné par Son Altesse Royale, Madame^c Wilhelmina Carolina, Princesse De Galle, en faveur de l'Eglise François Conformiste de Portarlington, le 1 Mar. 171⁴.” The following is inscribed on the bell, in raised letters:—

“In usum Ecclesiæ Gallicæ Portarlingtonensis campanam hanc dono dedit Serenissima et Piissima Principessa Wilhelmina Carolina Serenissimi Georgii Whaliæ Principis uxor dilectissima, Serenissimi ac Potentissimi Georgii, Magnæ Britann. Fran. Hib. Regis. nurus meritissima, promovente Illustrissimo Comite Henrico de Galloway qui . . . dum pro Rege res in Hib. administrarat—hoc templum sumptibus suis ædificari curavit. 1715.”

The services and sermons continued to be read in the French language until the year 1817, by the Rev. M. Rebillet, the last foreign minister (assistant), a native of Switzerland; when all reminiscences of “La belle France” having become fainter, the French ministers extinct, the population extinct, the charms of French society forgotten, the French language at the schools—once “familiar in our mouths as household words”—comparatively untaught, and the church itself partaking of the general decay—which in the natural course of events, and the peculiar circumstances of this interesting settlement, had befallen every thing of Gallic origin—it was considered indispensable to the spiritual wants of the inhabitants that the “unknown tongue” should cease in the church: therefore, from that date, the services have been performed in the English language—a very handsome new church, on an enlarged scale, in the Gothic style having been erected by subscription about 15 years ago.

Resuming our glance at the Registers, we again meet the distinguished name of PELISSIER. While the acclamations which greeted the progress of the gallant Marshal still rent the air, while

“THE guards their morrice-pikes advanced,
The trumpets flourished brave,
The cannon from the ramparts glanced,
And thundering welcome gave,”

the hearts of his gallant kindred of old, the Huguenot Pelissiers, must have been warmed, too, in their adopted refuge, where the prestige of their trials justly elicited in their favour the full measure of Irish cordiality,—where the right hand of fellowship was extended to them, and every welcome and every aid was tendered, which the sufferings and the romance of real life required.

In a former number we have given the marriage of Abel Pelissier: here follows the birth of his first-born—

“Baptême du Jeudi 17 Juin 1700. Le Samedi 8 du mesme mois entre cinq et six heures du soir est né un fils à Mon-

^cThe Princess was daughter of William Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg Anspach, and was married in 1705. Abbadie describes the Margrave, not only as a great con-

queror, “mais un pieux Electeur à qui Dieu a fait la grace de connoître la religion et de l'aimer.” Hence the pious care his Royal daughter had for the Refugees.

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seigneuries; gallant soldiers; men of liberal and Scriptural education;—in short the genuine noblesse of France, who understood the beautiful sentiment of the American poet :—

“ Howe’er it be, it seems to me,
’Tis only noble to be good ;
Kind hearts are more than coronets,
And simple faith than Norman blood.”

Many of the names savour strongly of that renowned genealogical spring. We have the Hamons in Baccaville and Rouen in Normandy, reminding us of the great Hamon Dentatus, Earl of Corbeil, in that historic province. The two brothers, Colonels Isaac and Hector Hamon, were the descendants of Hector Hamon, who fled to England from the persecutions of the Duke of Alva, and is described in the Cotton MS. as French minister of Rye, “minister verbi Dei,” in 1569, and minister of Canterbury, in 1574. The De Meschines recall the family of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester ; and the descendants of the great ducal house, De la Rochefoucauld, “could trace their lineage unbroken from the time of the Carlovingian Kings.”

The gentry of Ireland may be said to have taken a lively interest in the prosperity of the French colony. We have abundant evidence that the state of society in Ireland, at the period referred to, required improvement. The association of the gentry, therefore, with the Huguenots, was not likely to prove detrimental. It was then a common practice to send abroad with a tutor the elder sons of men of fortune, to learn foreign languages ; but the schools originating here with the French, as we shall presently shew—and the French revolution—obviated the necessity of such a practice. Caillard, the French clergyman already referred to, had a perfect knowledge of German literature, of which we have specimens in his translation of French letters into German. As the colony became settled, and its inhabitants increased by a gradual influx of military men from the disbanded French regiments of William III., some of these being officers of high rank, whose services in the field were rewarded with liberal pensions, a nucleus of attraction arose, inducing a constant social intercourse with the better educated of other French settlements, and with the Irish gentry of the neighbouring counties: the past history and prestige of the Huguenots never failing to warm the hearts and win the favour of the hospitable native gentry. An old account-book, now before us, shows the system of mutual aid which adorned so gracefully the character of the Refugees. A French officer of distinction, Major De C——, owed a sum of money to the late husband of Madame D’Arrabin. In stating the different payments, he adds as follows :—“Delivered to Mrs.

D'Arrabin some time in August, 1715, a large burned china pounce Boull, valewd att tenn pounds, on account of what I ow'd to her late husband. October the 3rd, 1722, by settled account with Mrs. D'Arrabin, she allowed me six pounds more for y^e above said boull, which perfected the full interest to that day," &c. Thus, this generous lady allowed £16 for "the boull" which was tendered to her for £10. And again, in 1724, Mrs. D'Arrabin reduces the interest by £11. 12s. 6d. on his bond,—“whether I would or not.” The gallant officer himself lends Mesdemoiselles De Champloriers two guineas, and also supplies them with “eight car-loads of hay, at half-a-crown per load.” Annexed to this entry is this note—“M^{lles} Champloriers p^d me two guineas against my will, but accepted of the hay.” He knew the text, “La charité est d'un esprit patient: elle se montre benigne.”

The same book contains a long account with the far-famed Colonel Cavallier, the renowned hero of the wars of the Cevennes. Major C—— had lent Colonel Cavallier £50, and various other sums; the former, visiting the Hague in 1723, purchases for M^e Cavallier, “18 $\frac{1}{4}$ Duch ells of narrow lease,” some cambrick, and holland, “which, in Ireis money, comes to two pounds and nine shelings.” It appears that the brilliant career of her gallant husband could not save the family from want, for, in the same year, Major C—— “lent to M^e Cavallier, at her going to Dublin, 14s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; and, in 1724, he “p^d to Lieut^t Ducas for Co^l Cavallier to release M^e Cavallier's gould watch, which was returned to her, twelve pounds sterling, for which the Co^l gave me his note on Mon^r Puichinen.” Various loans of moydores to M^e Cavallier are recounted, and for another “georny to Dubin,” one moydore. Major C—— gives Co^l Cavallier credit for £1. 7s. 1d. received from five individuals named, being “five sh. and five p^{ce} each for one “book,” of which we subjoin the title.^d In 1724, Major C—— “paid to Mr. Wilkinson, for grasing M^e Cavallier's yong maire 000 . 04s . 00.” The account with this remarkable man closes thus:—“Memorandum. Y^e Col^l owes me for a horse which he borrow'd from me, and never returned, valew'd four or five pounds.” “Mais toutes choses étoient communes entr' eux.”

To give even a sketch of Cavallier's daring military exploits would exceed the limits of this paper: we shall, however, glance at his interview with the great and powerful monarch Louis Quatorze. The gallant leader of the wars of the Cevennes, having come to a cessation of arms with Marshal Villars, on terms satisfactory to himself and his brave little band, sought an interview with the king. This request was granted, and he was conducted into the presence of his Majesty at Versailles by the Secretary of State —

“The king was at mass when Mon. Chamiliard came to him, and I was introduced into his

^d Memoires of the Wars of the Cevennes, under Col. Cavallier in defence of the Protestants persecuted in that country; And of the peace concluded between him and the Mareschal D. of Villars: Of his conference with the King of France, after the conclusion of the Peace: With letters relating thereto from Mareschal Villars and Chamiliard, Se-

cretary of State. As also a map describing the places mentioned in the Book. Written in French, by Colonel Cavallier, and translated into English. Dublin: Printed by J. Carson, in Coghill's-Court, for the author, and are to be sold by William Smith, Bookseller, in Dame-street. 1726.”

was our reasons for rising in arms against him?' Cavallier, recollecting himself, recounts to his majesty in an eloquent speech the horrors of the persecution; that these measures had driven them to despair and to the assumption of arms; that all avenues by which justice might have been claimed from the crown had been closed; that his majesty had been deceived, and that they were persuaded these things were not done by his majesty's orders or permission. 'Finding he heard me very patiently, I went on.' After a little, Cavallier said, 'If you would be pleased to confirm the promises made to us by the Marshal Villars, and in your royal clemency forgive us all that is past, we are ready to shed the last drop of our blood for your service.' Here he interrupted me, and, with an angry voice, he said, 'I order you not to speak one word of that treaty, on pain of incurring my indignation; if the rest of the rebels will submit, I will consider what may be done with the prisoners and gallerians.' He asked me if the Duke of Savoy or any other of his allies sent me money or arms? I answered that I never received either from the Duke of Savoy or anybody else. 'Where, then, did you get them?' said the king. 'Sir,' said I, 'we took care to attack none of your troops but them we were much superior in number to; and having overcome them, especially in the beginning, it was from them we provided ourselves.' He asked me how many of his troops I thought had been destroyed during all that time? I answered that I did not know, but that his generals could inform him better than I. He charged me with a great many outrages, such as burning of churches and murdering of priests and other ecclesiastics. Cavallier proceeds to rebut these charges, and details to his majesty the cruelties of the Intendant Montrevel, who had a young lady of Nismes murdered in his presence, whom one of the king's pages was protecting; the page himself having with difficulty escaped hanging. For the truth of his statement of the aggravated circumstances attending this barbarous murder Cavallier was ready to appeal to the Roman Catholics of Nismes. 'The king then turned to Monsieur Chamiliard and asked him if he knew anything of that affair?' Chamiliard did not deny the fact, but endeavoured to soften down its revolting features. After a few words more from Cavallier in justification of the course which he and his companions had been compelled to adopt, he adds, 'I observed that he seemed a little moved at this relation, and then asked me if I would become a good Catholic? To which I made answer that my life was in his hands, and that I was ready to lay it down for his service; but as for my religion, I resolved not to change it for any consideration this world could afford.' 'Well,' said the king, 'go and be wiser in future, and it will be better for you.' Having made a low bow, I retired with Monsieur Chamiliard into his apartment, where I received a terrible reprimand for talking as I had done against the Mareschal de Montrevel, and especially for refusing the

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Cavallier and his party having made their escape from France, their services were gladly engaged by Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy. The hero of the Cevennes subsequently retired to the Hague, and afterwards came to Ireland. In 1727, Primate Boulter strongly recommended him to the Duke of Newcastle for an appointment in the new levies, then about to be raised. A note to the Primate's letter states that "this is that Colonel Cavallier who made so great a figure in the Cevennes against the powerful armies of France; he was, in some respects, the Paoli of those days."

Among the refugees of note residing in Portarlinton, the family of Des Vignoles claims attention. They possessed large estates in Languedoc, and were lineally descended from the celebrated warrior, Estienne Des Vignoles, commonly called La Hire, who signalized himself in the wars of Charles the Seventh of France, obliged the Duke of Bedford to raise the siege of Montargis, and accompanied Joan of Arc, the famous Maid of Orleans, to the siege of that city in 1427. Two convoys were at length forced into the fortress by

"La Hire, the merriest man
That ever yet did win his soldiers' love,
And, over all for hardihood renowned,
The bastard Orleans,"

thus, with Dunois, compelling the English to raise the siege, which had lasted nine months. The prayer of La Hire before battle ran thus:—"Dieu^f je te prie, que tu fasses aujourd'hui pour La Hire, autant que tu voudrois que La Hire fit pour toi, s'il étoit Dieu et tu fusses La Hire." At the coronation of Charles, in the cathedral of Rhcims,

"The courtier throng
Were there, and they in Orleans who endur'd
The siege right bravely; Gaucour and La Hire,
The gallant Xaintraillers, Boussac, and Chabannes."

From Estienne Des Vignoles (La Hire) descended "Noble Estienne Des Vignoles," living in the sixteenth century, from whom the late Rev. John Vignoles was sixth in descent; he had been twenty-four years minister of the French church in Portarlinton, having been previously a major in the army; and was succeeded in 1817 by his son, the Very Rev. Charles Vignoles, present Dean of Ossory. Alphonse Des Vignoles, grand-uncle of the Rev. J. Vignoles, was a distinguished ecclesiastic in Bas Languedoc, and author of "*Chronologie de l' Histoire Sainte*," of which is recorded in *La Dictionnaire des Grands Hommes*—"Ce livre suppose une victoire prodigieuse, un travail incroyable, et les plus profondes recherches." In 1685, he escaped from France; his library and papers were confiscated; all he could recover of the latter were a few loose leaves, because they were considered as waste paper—"mais où je trouvai pourtant presque tout ce que j'avois écrit touchant les Rois de Juda et d'Israel."

The individual referred to in the following abstract from the Chancery Rolls was probably the first Huguenot clergyman who came to Ireland:—"The king, in 1668, in consideration that James Hierome, clerk, had brought the French congregation at the Savoy to conform to the Church of England; and, in consideration of his learning, piety, and being a stranger, presents him to the vicarage of Chapel Izod, with liberty to graze two horses and eight cows in the Phoenix Park, free," &c.

The French families, within the present century resident in Portarlington, were those of Dean Champagné, Sir Charles Desvoux, Bart., Colonel Mercier, Major Mercier, Colonel De la Cour, &c.

Many of the upper class of refugees were "sovereigns" of the town; the authority and duties of which office were somewhat calculated to excite a painful reminiscence of the extensive feudal privileges of their seigneuries, so nobly forfeited. Major C—— filled the office three years in succession; Micheau, his tenant from the seigneurie of Berneré in Saintonge, acting as Portrieve.

A favourite amusement of our interesting foreigners in the summer evenings was to assemble in the cool shade of the primæval oaks of the O'Dempsey's, which had not yet been cleared away from the market-place, and still proclaimed its ancient name, "Cooltouderrie," or the woody nook; there they sipped their tea, as a *bonne bouche*, in Lilliputian china cups—the precious beverage in that day costing from twelve to twenty shillings a pound, when money was comparatively scarce. Prior to the middle of last century, horse-races had been established on the common-lands of the town.^s On such occasions, balls, ordinaries, and *ridottos* enlivened the sportive meetings. The higher class of colonists, who had been men of landed property, laid aside their patronymic, and adopted the designation of their chief seigneurie, or added to it the family surname; doubtless, from a desire to perpetuate a record identifying their name and race with the territory to which they originally belonged, and which they had been recently forced to relinquish. Hence we find the Chevalier De Robillard signing himself "Champagné;" Messire David de Proisy, Chevalier, Seigneur Chatelain d'Eppe, Capp^{ue} de Cavalerie, writes "Proisy D'Eppe;" Messire Daniel Le Grand, Chevalier, Seigneur du Petit Bosc, becomes, "Du Petit Bosc," &c.

We have still some reminiscences of the military colonists. The scarlet cloak seems to have been a favourite garb. The Viscomte de Laval was in the habit of wearing a cloak of scarlet cloth, lined with ermine, a sword, knce—, shoe—, and stock-buckles of silver, set with diamonds; and he always

^s At the same time, races for the Queen's County were held on the great heath of Maryborough, as advertised in the newspaper called "Pue's Occurrences," of October, 1736. We shall barely glance at the advertisements, to give some idea of the depraved taste of that period. A ten-pound purse was to be given for fox-hunters; £5 for all galloways. All horses from the Curragh to be excluded. On the second day there was to be a foot-race by unmarried women of an unfortunate class; the prize was for a piece of Queen's County "flanning" (flannel); two-thirds to the winner;

the remainder to the next competitor. "All crossing, jostling, pulling, dragging, to be allowed to the foremost women for the flanning suite." Some days before the race, each woman was required to furnish the keeper of the match-book with her name, and the colour of her hair and eyes. Other conditions and particular information, which we must not detail, were also required. It is our native county, and we would veil the foibles of her earlier day, and be

"To her faults a little blind,
And to her virtues very kind."

bequeathing to his servant, among other things, his “scarlet cloak and wigs,” but these were the

“Wigs of Marlborough’s martial fold,
Huger than twelve of our degenerate breed.”

It was the habit of the clergy to walk in their canonicals, without hats, through the town to the church, undergoing the “capital punishment” of the great wig in lieu of the ordinary covering of the head. While we trace this sketch, the portraits of the Huguenot heroes of “the Boyne” grace the walls of our own abode. Schomberg, the veteran marshal, a captain of Scravemore’s Blue Dutch Guards, and a youthful ensign of Le Mellonier’s corps, with others, are all present there. They all wear the demi-suit of armour, the flowing wig, and the neck-scarf tied in the well-known knot of the days of Louis Quatorze. Time has changed the features of the long departed warriors. Their wan aspects

“Look living in the moon, and, as you turn
Backward and forward to the echoes faint
Of your own footsteps, voices from the urn
Appear to wake, and shadows wild and quaint
Start from the frames which fence their aspects stern;
As if to ask how can you dare to keep
A vigil there, where all but death should sleep.”

Fair fugitives from Saintonge grace the group; the white-laced lappets of France mark the country of a widowed mother, whose sable robe tells the loss of her gallant husband, a captain of dragoons, who, having been deputed by his brother officers, before leaving London, to solicit aid from the government, died at Belfast, in October, 1688, from fatigue encountered in his efforts to rejoin his regiment. The black tresses and dark eyes of the handsome daughters are still vivid, and speak of the sunny clime of southern France; while the pallid cheek and faded features tell the sad tale of trials nobly endured—

“The pale smile of beauties in the grave,
The charms of other days, in starlight gleams,
Glimmer on high; their buried locks still wave
Along the canvas; their eyes glance like dreams
On ours, as spars within some dusky cave;
But death is imaged in their shadowy beams.”

The principal proprietors of land under Lord Galway were the Baron de Virazel, and Jean Nicolas, “cy-devant Lieutenant de cavalerie dans le regiment de Galuuai;” the latter occupying 2,000 acres about the old castle of Lea, at £60 a-year, from which Captain^h Richard Bor-

* Son of Henry Borrowes, of Giltown, and brother of Sir Erasmus.

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1½d. a pound ; a milch cow, £1 15s. ; a horse, £2 2s., &c.

The French brought with them various trades. The manufacture of linen was carried on upon a small scale by the Fouberts. Of this family was Major Henry Foubert, aide-de-camp to William III.; probably the same Foubert who, seeing Schomberg attempting the passage of the Boyne without his armour, warned the veteran marshal not to omit that precaution. Numerous individuals are described as “marchands;” others to whose names are appended “facturier en laine, drapier, boucher, boulanger, mareschal, marchand gantier, cordonnier, jardinier, maçon, maistre charpentier, serviteur deuil, maistre chirurgien, m^e. tailleur, m^e. d’ecole, tisserant, serrurier. One French lady was in the habit of importing from France bales of cambric to a considerable amount, forwarded by a relative in her native land. These she disposed of wholesale in Dublin and Portarlington; and a gallant chevalier, who had not yet fled, still dwelling on his estate at Cognac, endeavours to aid his fugitive wife and family in Holland, afterwards settled in Portarlington, by conveying to them stealthily the far-famed brandy of that district, and other merchandise.

The local names of *La Bergerie*, *La Manche*, and *St. Germain*s are significant of their owners’ native country; while “the Welsh Islands” refer us to the “Hollow Sword Blade” or “Welsh Company,” from the sword manufacture having been carried on in Wales. And in the name of “King Street,” if not to immortalise, they hoped to honour, the memory of their royal friend and protector.

The schools were the great attraction of Portarlington, the life-blood of the town, and the source of its fame throughout the last century. These took their tone from the high class of French colonists who founded them; and the association of the pupils with such a class, together with the instruction at these seminaries, was calculated to impart a knowledge of the French language in all

^b The quantity of wine consumed in Ireland at this period must have been enormous, as shown by the contents of Lord Conway’s cellars at Lisburn, which were to be sold on his death, as advertised in “Pue’s Occurrences” in 1731—viz.: —“19 hogsheads of claret of the great growth of Lafitte; 12 hogsheads of Margeaus; 29 do. of the great growth of Lafitte, and old; 7 do. of choice Graves claret; 8 do. of

French white wine; also, a parcel of four-year old brandy.” The white wines are stated to be “the best Priniaque.” At this sale was also to be disposed of “a fine armoury, consisting of carbines, pistols, broad-swords, buff belts, and kettle-drums,” memorials of the civil wars of Charles I., and the good services done by the Lisburn garrison and the regiment of horse commanded by Edward, Viscount Conway.

its purity and perfection; obviating the necessity of a foreign education at a time when intercourse with Europe was a matter of difficulty and delay; imparting an improved and fashionable education to the youth of all parts of Ireland, and inducing many of the Irish gentry to reside there.

Monsieur Le Fevre is said to have been the first schoolmaster in the town. He was the friend and correspondent of Dr. Henry Maude, Bishop of Meath, and founder of the Charter Schools. He was the father of "the poor sick lieutenant," whose lamentable and forlorn condition at the country inn, with his little son, excited the sympathy of the kind landlord and all his family, roused from their inmost recesses the compassionate feelings of "my Uncle Toby," and hurried the gallant captain, in the fulness of his heart, into that breach of a divine command, the remembrance and oblivion of whose offence by the recording angel, Sterne has so beautifully described.

The Register contains the following record:—"Sepulture du Dimanche 23^e Mars 1717—18. Le Samedy 22^e du present mois entre minuit et une heure, est mort en la foy du Seigneur et dans l'espérance de la glorieuse resurrection, Monsieur — Favre, Lieutenant à la pention. Dont l'ame estant allée a Dieu, son corps a été enterré par Monsieur De Bonneval, ministre de cette Eglise, dans le cemitiere de ce lieu. A. Ligonier Bonneval. min. Louis Buliod."

To our former notice of the family of Le Fevre, we would add the remark of Monsicur Louis De Marolles respecting his fellow-prisoner in the gallies:—"I confess to you that Monsieur Le Fevre is an excellent man; he writes like a complete divine; and that which is most to be esteemed is, that he practises what he writes. May the Lord bless, preserve, and strengthen both you and him, and this will afford me singular consolation."

From the first settlement of the French, schools were established by Le Fevre, Cassel, Buliod, Durand, &c. A classical education at this early period could only be acquired in Dublin. From a school bill from Mr. John Spinner, of Dublin, now before us, and dated 1726, it appears that his pupil, aged twelve years, had to ride from Portarlinton to Dublin (about forty-five miles); and, instead of the price of the classics, we find such items as these:—"To the smith, 2s. 8d.; a girth for his saddle, 10d." Prior to the middle of the last century, a school for juveniles was established in Portarlinton by Mademoiselle Lalande. This seminary was eminent in its way, and originated others of a higher order, and more varied qualifications. M^{lle}. Lalande was an educated lady, with a fund of shrewd worldly knowledge, and, as appears from her entertaining letters, a most agreeable correspondent. In one of her school bills of the middle of the last century, we can discover the seeds of that taste for the drama, which distinguished the character of the subsequent age, and attained such maturity in the successful theatricals of the Sheridans, the Le Fanus, the Marlays, Whytes, &c., and ultimately at Kilkenny. The item runs thus:—"To y^e Assembly as Page of Honour to his Majesty, 1^s. 1^d. To a pair of white shoes for the procession, 3^s. 3^d." The grandfather of the boy to whom these entries refer, had been an officer in La Mellioniere's corps at "The Boyne;" his father, born in Ireland, had been Dean of Clonmacnoise, and held several ecclesiastical benefices.

In a printed document, of 1801, relating to the repairing of the French church, the following passage occurs:—"King William knew from experience, as well as the schoolmasters and mistresses of Portarlington, that attending Divine service in French was the best method to learn it, or preserve it when learned. Though a Dutchman, he attended regularly the French churches in Holland. It was before him and his court that the famous Saurin preached his sermons. About a hundred children leave our school every year. Whenever the celebration of Divine service is abolished by the ruin of our French church, those hundred children will be as many messengers, who will carry the news everywhere. People will imagine that French is a dead tongue among us, and our town might be ruined before we are aware of it. To prevent such a misfortune, let us rebuild both our churches according to the intention of their great founder, King William; who, for fear of any future innovation, had those foundations confirmed by both Irish and English legislatures."ⁱ Throughout the last century, the following individuals may be enumerated as principals of schools—Le Fevre, Cassel, Macarel, Bonafou, La Cam, Hood, Baggs, Willis, Halpin, Lyons; and ladies' schools, by Mrs. Dunne, Dennison, Despard, &c. Besides the usual grammatical instruction, a simple method was adopted for enforcing French conversation exclusively; and though not altogether just in principle, the end was attained with admirable success. To each class was given an old key, which was passed by one boy to another whenever careful *espionage* and a sharp ear, with the creeping, crouching approach of the setter, could detect the sound of the proscribed English language. "Anglois prenez la clef," sounded like a thunder clap to the astonished offender; he took the key, which was probably called for that day by the master, and the boy in whose possession it was found was punished. The statute of Henry the 8th proscribing the native Irish tongue was inoperative compared to the vigorous and successful action of this English Language Abolition Act of Portarlington. Miss Lalande was succeeded by the two Misses Towers—one of whom married Mr. Hood. This school kept by Hood—who was succeeded by his principal assistant, Mr. Thomas

ⁱ A poem of the early part of last century in terms somewhat satirical, thus alludes to the great Captain of the Portarlington colonists:—

"JOSUA might still ha' staid on Jordan's shore—
Must he, as William did, the Boyne, pass o'er.
Almighty power was forced to interpose,
And frighted both the water and his foes:
But, had my William been to pass that stream,
God needed not to part the waves for him.

Nor forty thousand Canaanites could stand;
In spite of waves and Canaanites he'd land.
Such streams ne'er stemm'd his tide of victory;
No, not the stream!—no, nor the enemy?"

And in figurative language, the poet anticipates by ages a modern invention of world-wide utility—

"What glories are for Nassau's arms decreed,
His own *steel pen* shall write, and ages read."

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of Mornington and Daniel Webb Webber, were distinguished for this amiable feeling, in which they often indulged. A visit to the old play-ground, and the vivid retrospect we there enjoy, has a wonderful charm in our declining days.

“ Viewing it, we seem almost t’ obtain
 Our innocent, sweet, simple years again ;
 This fond attachment to the well-known place,
 Whence first we started into life’s long race,
 Maintains its hold with such unfailing sway,
 We feel it, ev’n in age, and at our latest day.”

At this period there were upwards of 500 children at these schools; the rebellion, however, caused great numbers to be sent home under escorts, who were then sent to English schools: subsequently the schools suffered from the substitution of the English language for French, in the performance of the services of the church—originally built for the use of the Huguenots. Of late, however, they have again attained a considerable celebrity, and are most creditable to those gentlemen who have revived their former fame.

Several books which belonged to the first colonists still remain, a few of which are as follow :—*Paraphrase, or Brief Explication of the Catechism: by Francois Bourgoing, minister; printed at Lyons by Jaques Faure, 1564.* This book is bound in vellum, and contains the owner’s name, “ Estienne Mazick.” A Bible, printed in 1652. This book has lost its cover; from long and constant use the gilt edging is scarcely traceable—each page is separate, yet not one has been lost. New Testament and Psalms in verse; printed at Amsterdam, in 1797. This book belonged to Colonel Isaac Hamon, to whose family allusion has been made. The Psalms in verse, set to music, with various prayers. This was the property of Mademoiselle De Champlorier, previously referred to. A small book, very old, in a vellum cover, containing prayers for the Communion;—with others, too many to enumerate.

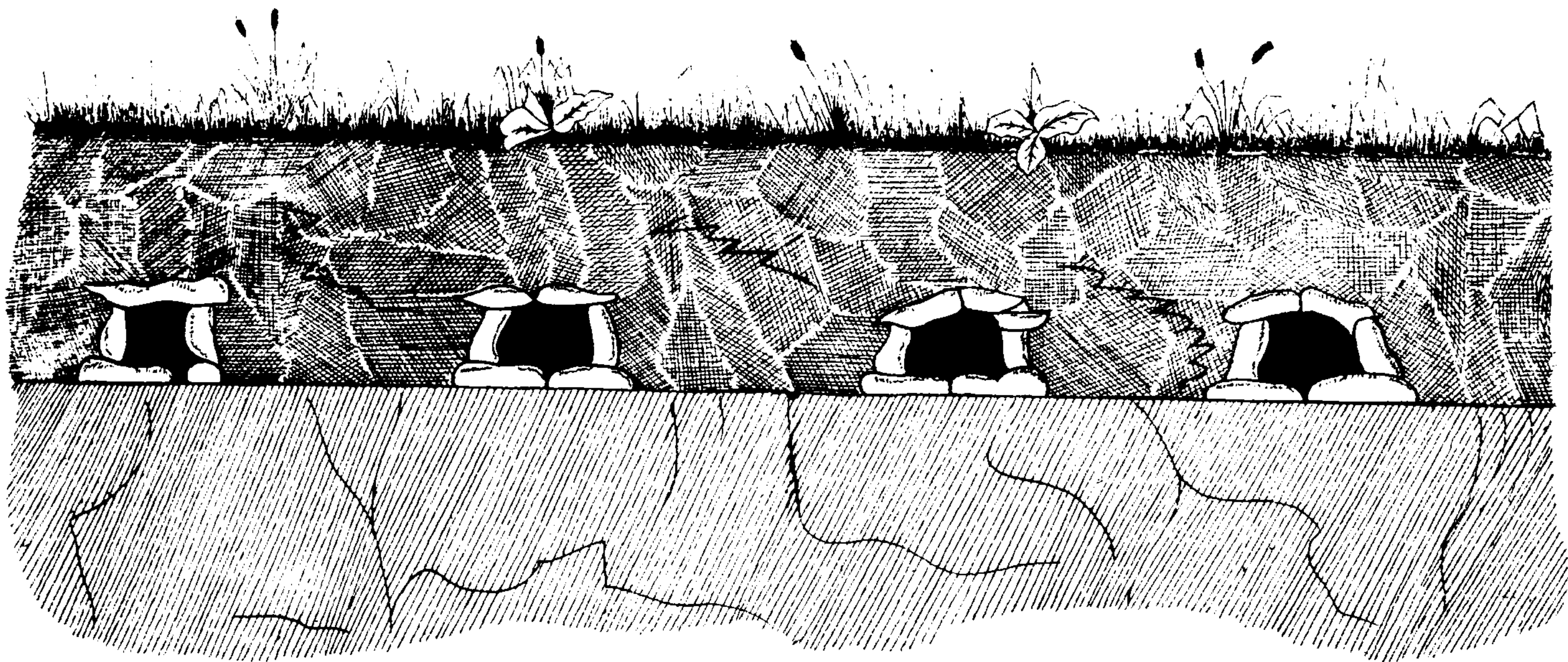
Significant allusion is made by one of our foreign colonists to the loss of horses, and to money paid “ for watching the horses at night.” The daring exploits of the notorious horse-stealer, Cahir-na-goppul (Charles of the Horses), had evidently raised the fears of our worthy settlers for the safety of their studs. This French officer loved the chase; he had his “ hunting saddles,” and had paid “ Martin Neef, y^e horsfarrier of Kildare, three guynies for curing Tipler.” Cahir-na-goppul was an offshoot of the great family of O’Dempsey; through the misfortunes of his renowned race, he had degenerated into a *rapparee*, and horse-stealer of wide-spread notoriety, carrying his depredations even so far north as Monaghan, by which county he had been “ presented,” and was hanged at Maryborough, about the year 1735. Even at the present day, the old grand-dame in her cabin terrifies into submission the unruly peasant brat by the dread name of Cahir-na-goppul.

old. A young girl, her cousin, who was steadfast to her faith, they tied by the heels to a horse and drew on the horse through the street until her brains were dashed out; a young man was to be married to went after the cart imploring them to stop. Also many of her family (La Bordes) suffered much; some imprisoned, some losing all they had possessed. My great grandfather made his escape out of prison, where he had been some time, and fled to Holland young. He contrived to let his parents know where he was, after great privations; through the greatest hardships; often had to hide in fields, afraid to enter their own houses. My great grandfather's escape out of prison was most miraculous; they were often hungry, whilst they dare not go to their home to get food, where they had plenty. Memory fails me to let you know the very many stories my poor father used to tell us. His mother was one of the La Bordes. My father became a soldier when he got to Holland. There he met the Cassels and the young woman (previously mentioned) that her parents sent with them, Lucy La Motte Grandore. Her parents were very rich; had good possessions in Languedoc. It is said their place was a paradise; as comfortable as comfort. She came over with her husband, John Laborde, who entered King William's army, and was at the battle of the Boyne, quite near Duke Schomberg when he was shot." This aged descendant of these gallant Huguenots closed her interesting tale with an expression of regret that the infirmities of age, and the loss of her contemporary relatives, should render it so imperfect.

The register contains the following record confirming the statement of our aged informant:—
 Dimanche 26 X^{bre} 1703. Le Jedy 16^e dernier vers les 5 heures du matin est né un garçon à La Bordo et à Anne Graindor sa femme, lequel a esté baptisé ce jourd'hui par Monsieur de Bonneval min. de cette eglise. Parraine le d^t Jean La Borde. Marraine la d. Graindor, ses père et mère; et nom lui a esté imposé Jean. Jean La Borde. Anne Graindor. Bastagnet, ancien. Froissy, ancien. Guion, ancien. A. Bonneval, min." The register also contains an entry of the baptism of her father, Abel Cassel, "aux prières du soir," 12th August, 1736, which states him to be the son of Isaac Cassel and Anne La Borde; and another of the same family is baptized "aux prières du matin." This shows the practice of two daily services.

French registers of Peterborough are replete with genealogical and topographical information.

describes the houses and plots of the early colonists; and the Book of Sales, at Chichester-house, in 1703, in the Dublin Society's library, is still more full on these topics. The Journals of the Irish House of Commons also afford much information regarding military rank and pensions. But, with the extinction of the French inhabitants, the interesting family papers, the lively and romantic journal, and the faithful and stirring tradition have also with one exception passed away, and we are just by one generation too late to reap the rich harvest of Huguenot history we might otherwise have secured.



ANCIENT CEMETERY IN ISLAND-MAGEE,
COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

ON the western shore of Island-Magee, in the townland of Gransha, and on a farm occupied by Captain Wilson, there is a small lime-stone quarry which has been worked for a considerable time, but how long we have not been able to ascertain more exactly than that its age is upwards of twenty years, and may be forty or fifty. It is situated at a distance of about a mile or a mile-and-a-half from the bridge which crosses the upper arm of Larne Lough, and connects that part of the peninsula with the mainland. Nearly the whole of the western portion of Island-Magee consists of chalk, the same formation which is so well turned to account on the opposite side of the lough at the Magheramorne quarries. The little quarry at Gransha, however, is not so favourably situated

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carried in through the chinks by the process of filtration from above. Yet, although the stone coffins or arches were not water-tight, still the natural slope of the ground drained the soil so well, that the bones found were in most instances in a good state of preservation; so much so, that skeletons were discovered nearly perfect in some graves, and would, no doubt, have been found quite perfect in many, had ordinary care been used in clearing away the stones and clay. The labourers before beginning the actual quarrying for the season, always "strip" away the soil from the limestone, in stripes of six or eight feet broad, and in this operation it was that all the graves were brought to light. The men, not having any antiquarian interest in the matter, when they find a grave, immediately demolish it in the quickest manner possible, in order to get at any coins or other valuables that it may contain, and in the process, make havoc of the human remains. Nevertheless, some of the most fragile parts of the skeleton (as the skull, for instance,) have been disengaged entire; and we were told that, at one time, so many as seven or eight perfect skulls have been taken out of their respective graves in a single day; but, unluckily, we have not been able to procure any of them, as no care was taken to preserve them, some of the bones having been re-interred in a heap, but by far the greater number tossed down among the *debris* of the quarry.

As to the number of graves of this kind which have been opened, it is not easy to pronounce definitely; 'a great many' being the most exact estimate we could obtain on the spot from the labourers. On being asked if there were a hundred, they replied that they supposed there were, but in a manner which convinced us that had we asked if there were a thousand we should have received a similar reply. Still, from the quantity of bones scattered in all directions, the number of skeletons must have been very considerable; and a rough approximation to the number of graves opened may be arrived at by assuming the distance between them to have been in every case as stated above, and calculating the number which, on that supposition, the area of ground opened (about fifty yards by thirty, roughly) would contain. This would give something like two hundred, as the number of graves discovered; but this calculation is obviously little more than a guess, for it is now impossible to say if the graves first found many years ago were all arranged at the same distances from each other as those lately brought to light.

We have mentioned that the workmen were always anxious to secure any coins, &c., which might be buried in the tombs, nor was their search always in vain. We have only been able to obtain one of those so found, a silver penny of Edward I, inscribed on the obverse **EDW. R. ANGL. DNS. HYB.** [Edwardus Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hybernici], and on the reverse, **CIVITAS LONDON;** but many others have been discovered, of which some, we believe, have found their way into the cabinets of private collectors, but more, in all probability, into the melting-pot of the silver-smith. In addition to coins, several large bronze and silver pins or *skeins* are stated to have been found, but we have not been able to trace their history or to see a single specimen: it is some years since any of the latter objects have been come upon. No gold article of

any kind has been found, so far as we can learn, in the graves; but there are traditions of deers' antlers having been obtained there: this, if true, is a curious fact.

That the graveyard at Gransha is of considerable antiquity, no one can doubt; but the existence in one of the graves of a coin of Edw. I. shows that, however long subsequent to his reign (A.D., 1272-1307) the tomb in which it lay may date, it cannot at any rate be referred to an earlier period than the end of the 13th century, and in all likelihood belongs to the 14th.

It is to be noted that in several parts of Island-Magee human remains have been found in large quantities without any appearance of coffin or covering of any sort except the soil itself; from which it has been inferred, whether correctly or not, that they are the result of battles fought at the places where they are seen. But such an explanation will not of course account for the Gransha cemetery, which bears tokens of having been carefully and gradually filled. If anything, however, were wanting to show that it must have been a regular burial-place used in time of peace as an ordinary place of interment, it is supplied by the fact that in the field where it stands, and not more than twenty yards above the point to which the graves have been opened up, there were some years ago the ruined foundations of an old chapel. Mr. Wilson perfectly remembers the time when they were to be seen above ground, though no trace of them now remains except some large stones which he says were taken from them, and which are now to be seen in the neighbouring fences. Of course there was nothing in the foundations themselves to prove that they had belonged to a chapel rather than to any other building; but tradition says it was a chapel, though nothing more seems to be known about it. No notice of it appears in the map of the Ordnance Survey, nor in any other published document that we are aware of.

We mentioned that there were some graves at the same place not built in the manner described; and of these some seem to have contained bodies not protected by any outer covering at all; and in others there are traces of the use of a wooden coffin (without, of course, any stone protection.) We were present at the opening of one of these latter: it contained the skeleton of a child, round which were faint indications of a wooden coffin, of which nothing more remained than small, black fragments, resembling charcoal in appearance, which were disposed in rows through the soil, like horizontal *veins* of charcoal in fact. The bits of wood crumbled to atoms on being touched. Graves of this kind, however, were comparatively few in number, and mostly about the outskirts of the cemetery; from which we should infer that they are of a later date than the stone ones. The men who are in the habit of finding these graves say that the wood is *black oak*, on no stronger evidence, we imagine, than its blackness. This is not, however, very probable, as, had oak been used it would in all likelihood have been more durable.

What may have been the reason which determined the makers of the graves to use stone in so many instances it is not easy to say—it may have been from economy, Island-Magee not being a wooded district, and, from its exposed situation, most likely never having been such at any period.

benefit to Antiquarians.

It is quite possible, and even highly probable, that many burying-grounds, such as that at Gransha, may be in existence over the country, though no accidental quarrying operations have yet brought them to light. It is very unlikely that a mode of sepulture which was employed, and largely employed, in one place, should at the same time be unknown and unused in neighbouring districts. There have always been fashions in graves, just as in everything else. In one country we find rock sepulchres and mummies; in another, stone tombs with cinerary urns; in a third, wooden coffins in earthen graves; and so on, each country and each period having its own prevailing custom, and using no other. In our own day and country, for instance, a description of one burying-ground would apply almost equally well to any other. So, it is likely, or at any rate it is not improbable, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that the mode of sepulture used in the cemetery in Island-Magee was a common one. Nay, it does not strike us as too wild a fancy, to imagine that in the stone-built grave at Gransha, we may behold the lineal and legitimate, though degenerate, descendant of the grand old cromlech, or, at least, of the system which has left us the cromlech. That the cromlechs were sepulchral, (though likewise monumental), there is now no doubt; and in their construction it is not difficult to trace a typical resemblance or family likeness to the stone graves that we have been describing. No doubt the cromlech was colossal—having rocks where the other had stones; but this was natural, as it was the resting-place of a chieftain or hero; and men have ever thought it becoming that a great man should have a great grave. Our meaning is this:—it is conceivable that, at the time when the cromlechs were raised, the mode of burial which is found at Gransha may have been a common one; and that the cromlechs themselves may have been merely an enlargement of the ordinary plan, in honour of a renowned warrior or legislator. Against this idea it is no argument to say, that none of the Gransha graves have been found of the same antiquity; for, while the size of the cromlech with its raised earthen mound renders its discovery inevitable, thousands of smaller tombs may be hidden unsuspected under the level sward at the present day. This idea is, of course, no more than a fancy, which is not easily proved or disproved.

A. M. P.

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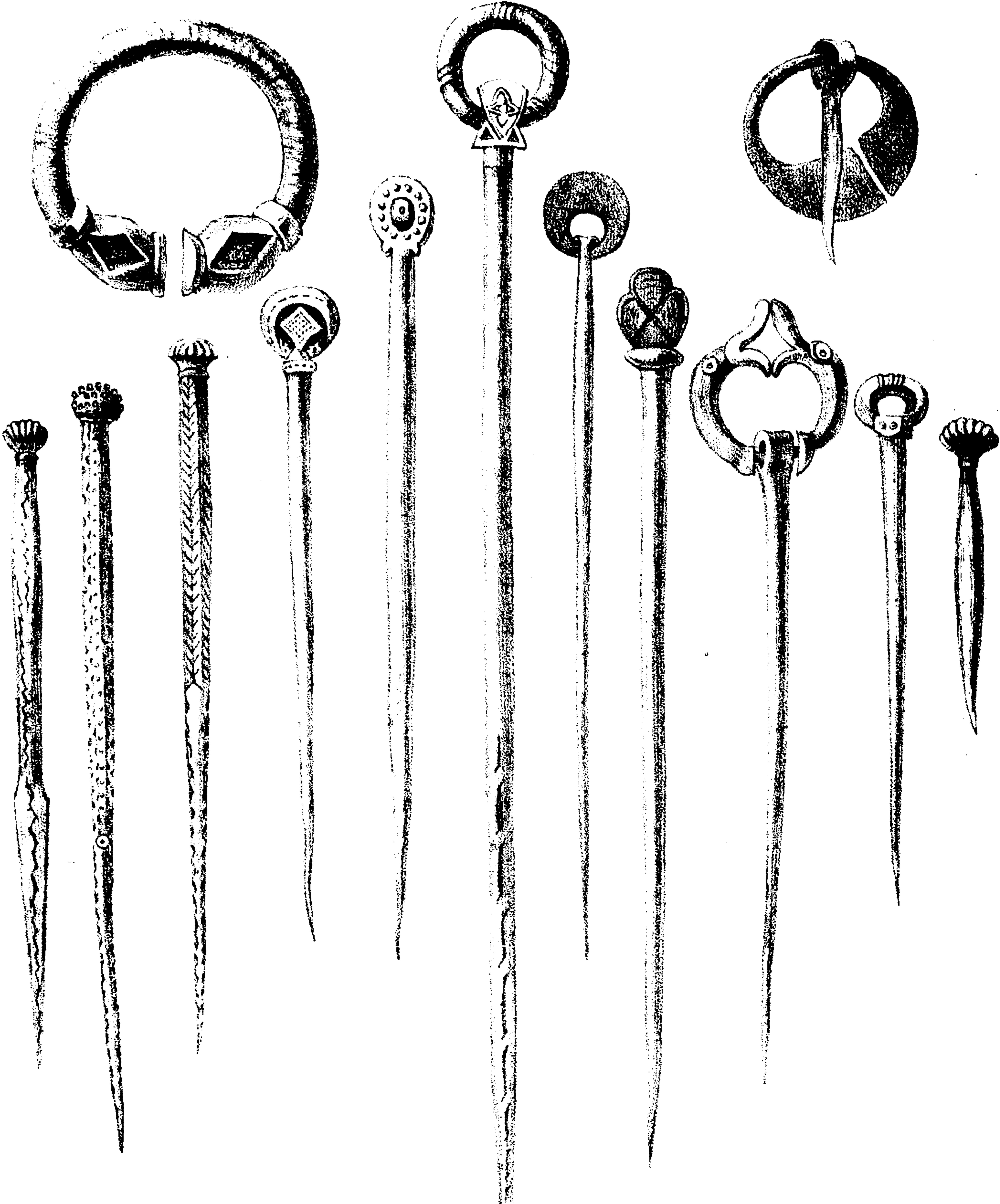
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IN an article on "Local Tokens issued in Ulster" [*Journal*, vol. 4, p. 239] reference is made to a quantity of bronze pins, brooches, bracclets, coins, &c., found among the remains of an old building on the shore of Ballynass Bay, in the district of Cloghaneely, Co. Donegal, in the property of Wybrants Olphert, Esq. Having had an opportunity lately of examining a collection, made by that gentleman, of these curious relics of a by-gone age, I made drawings of the chief varieties, which I now send. [See Plate.] These were selected as specimens from upwards of fifty pins found, within the last few years, on a part of the sea-shore from which sand-hills have been blown away, leaving exposed to view some confused remains of buildings. The objects are all drawn of the actual size. In some of the specimens (Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4) cavities may be observed, which, I presume, were intended for the insertion of gems, or of some kind of enamel. The whole are of bronze, and evidently of great antiquity. Not the least remarkable circumstance connected with the locality is, that in the same spot in which these undoubtedly ancient pins and fibulæ were found, there have been likewise frequently picked up coins and other articles of a comparatively modern date. Among these were a considerable number of coins of the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., Charles I. and II., and William and Mary; together with several tradesmen's tokens, of which drawings have already appeared in this *Journal*. Another very perfect specimen of an Ulster token has recently been found there. On one side appears the representation of a boat; with the inscription, JOHN ELVIN, AT Y^e FERRY, round the edge, and the date, 1657, above the boat: on the other side are the initials, J. E., and the same date; and, round the edge, the words OF LONDON DERRIE. It is well known that, previous to the erection of the present wooden bridge at Derry, in the year 1790, there was no approach to the city from the east side, save by a ferry; which ferry was probably in the possession of, or rented by, John Elvin, at the date of the issue of this token. I may observe that the name, John Elvin, occurs in the list of aldermen composing the first corporation of the City of Londonderry.

The probable inference from finding, in the same place, relics of very ancient date mixed up with those of so much more recent times is, that the English settlers in that remote part of the country (many of whose descendants are still to be found there) fixed their first abode where the natives had their habitations in times past.

To those readers of the *Journal* who may be unacquainted with this remote locality, it may be interesting to know something more of the exact place where these objects were discovered—a con-

sideration of which may throw some light on the ancient ruins alluded to. On the north-east coast of Donegal, between the towering cliffs of Horn Head and the rounded promontory of Bloody Foreland, the sweep of the Atlantic forms a sort of open bay, in the middle of which (about ten miles distant from the nearest land) the island of Torry appears like a huge castellated building, or, as some have, not inaptly, described it, like a giant lying on his back. Nearer the shore, several smaller islands interpose; some of them remarkable for cliffs and caves of great beauty and magnitude. On the main-land, the great mountains, Muckish, Arrigle, and others, lift aloft their high heads like sentinels jealous of entrance to the vallies which they guard, and forming connecting links in the chain of mountain bulwarks which stretch between the two promontories already mentioned. Strange scenes have these old mountains witnessed, and strange tales might they tell of centuries gone by. They have looked down on the invading fleets of Danes and Norsemen carrying fire and sword into the peaceful retreats previously afforded by these lonely shores and islands; and again, have beheld Saint Columba and his attendant ministers setting forth on their peaceful mission—proclaiming Christian truth to the Pagan galloglasses of the Mac Sweynes and O'Donnells, and establishing their churches and abbeys in the wildest regions. In Elizabeth's days they witnessed the destruction, almost at their base, of part of the proud Spanish Armada; and, later still, the decisive action between a French and English fleet, when the "Hoche," 74 line-of-battle ship, with six frigates, were captured on this very coast by Sir John Boilase Warren. At the present day these mountains look down upon the peaceful pastures and corn-fields, stretching between their base and the Atlantic, which form the district of Cloghancely—a name recently brought prominently before the public by a parliamentary investigation, and again by an event of a character still more startling. In the very centre of the seaboard of this district, the little bay of Ballynass runs up into the land, giving its name to the manor granted by James I. to the ancestors of the present proprietor, Wybrants Olphert, Esq., a gentleman to whose constant residence and unremitting attention to his duties, as landlord and magistrate, the improved appearance and increased prosperity of the district is mainly owing.

On the northern shore of the bay, in an angle formed by it and the strand of the open sea, are to be seen the ruins among which so many objects of antiquity have been discovered. They are situated within a quarter of a mile of the pier or landing-place frequented by all the boats, both of the coast-guard and of the neighbouring fishermen and islanders. It is, especially, the only safe landing-place for boats sailing between Torry and the main-land. For an account of that picturesque island and its former importance in the annals of the church and of piracy, I refer the reader to the accurate account given in this *Journal* (vol. 1.) by the late Edmund Getty, Esq. For my present purpose, it is sufficient to observe that the island, as a great and well-known ecclesiastical establishment, must have been much frequented; and I cannot but think that the ruins on the main-land partook of the same character, and were in some way connected with it. Here, no doubt, all

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FAIRY ANNALS OF ULSTER.—No. 1.

In the old days of the King Artour

* * * * *

All was this londe fulfilled of faerie ;
 The elf-quene, with her joly compaignie
 Danced ful oft in many a grene mede,
 This was the old opinion, as I rede ;
 I speke of many hundred yeres ago ;
 But now can no man see none elves mo.

CHAUCER.—*Wife of Bath's Tale.*

“ BUT lost—for ever lost to me those joys,
 Which reason scatters, and which time destroys.
 Too dearly bought, maturer judgment calls
 My busied mind from tales and madrigals ;
 My doughty giants, all are slain or fled,
 And all my knights—blue, green, and yellow—dead !
 No more the midnight fairy tribe I view,
 All in the merry moonshine, tippling dew ;
 Ev'n the last lingering fiction of the brain,
 The churchyard ghost, is now at rest again.
 Enchantment bows to wisdom's serious plan,
 And pain and prudence mar and make the man.”

CRABBE.

THE following legends or “ Fairy Annals” were collected during a residence, in the summer of 1857, in the vicinity of the Giants' Causeway, and in that of 1858, in the neighbourhood of Cushendall (Co. Antrim), at the request of the Editor of this *Journal*, who wished to ascertain to what extent the belief in the supernatural, in its various manifestations, still existed in our northern province.

The conditions favourable to the success of an investigation of this nature were wanting, apparently at least, in the locality first mentioned. The scenery of the coast, magnificent as it is, was not “ Fairy” scenery. The land, though well cultivated, possessed but little sylvan beauty; and was inhabited chiefly by a sober, industrious, Presbyterian community, working hard for daily bread, diligent in attendance at their Calvinistic places of worship, and in whom the “ romantic element,” had it ever existed, might have been supposed to be—if not preached out^a—at least ground out, under the pressure of high rents. But the land though not picturesque, had a few green spots, still believed to be the haunts of the “ Gentle People;” and a friendly intercourse established with its kind-hearted and simple inhabitants, sufficiently proved that the profession of

^a“ The Kirk was the agent in suppressing the romantic element in Scotland; and this explains the fact that so many Scotch *literati* have been Episcopalians.”—*Athenæum*, May, 1858.

... from the lights from Fairy-land. We have yet to learn why those lights, all brightly shining among ourselves, should have also illumined the popular mind in all countries—in Europe, Asia, Africa,—and, as has been recently shown, have shed their rays in the far West, midst our brethren, the Red Indians of the American prairies.^b

It is more than poetically true that the belief in Fairies is not a mere “mid-summer night’s dream.” We have them in Ulster, in this nineteenth century, in all the “pomp, pride, and circumstance” with which they are invested in the ancient mythology of Iceland. They are with us (as is clearly demonstrated in these Annals) to improve our morals and our habits, to reward and punish, to delight and terrify, to torment and amuse, and even to combat in armed legions for our material interests; while, unlike some spirits of modern times, they come without “rapping.”

Dr. Dryasdust, the sage philosopher, who probably presides over this and other similar Journals, may, if he can, in the plenitude of his wisdom, discredit the universal testimony of mankind as to the reality of these spiritual existences. The annalist of the Fairies of Ulster bows in modest silence before it; and, to sanction the introduction of their “Annals” into pages so erudite, pleads the words of Charles Dickens, who assures us that “There is in all literature nothing that can be produced which shall represent the essential spirit of a man, or of a people, so completely as a legend, or a Fairy-tale. The wild freaks of fancy reveal more of the real inner life of man than the well-trimmed ideas of the judicious thinker.”^c

K.

^b Far and wide among the nations
Spread the name and fame of Kwasind.
No man dar’d to strive with Kwasind;
But the mischievous Puck-Wudjies,

^c *Household Words.*

They, the envious little people,
They, the fairies and the pigmies,
Plotted and conspir’d against him.
LONGFELLOW’S *Hiawatha.*

“ I WAS tradin’ at one time, back and forward on the coast of Scotland, in a smack belongin’ to a merchant in Greenock ; our cargo was sometimes fish, but mostly oil of different kinds, that we took from one port to another. I never can forget what happened to me one winter, many years ago.

We were off the west coast, and the weather was rough and stormy ; it blew so hard one day that we had to run for it, and took shelter in a small bay in Islay, along with eight or ten fishing-boats, driven in by the gale to the same place. There were three men besides myself on board the smack. We got the oil-casks ashore, and hauled the smack up as far as we could on the beach, and kept her up with a leg on each side ; and the three hands went to spend the remainder of the day and night with some acquaintances they had on the island, leavin’ me in charge of the smack.

I amused myself watchin’ the fishermen settlin’ their nets and sortin’ their fish, for they had caught plenty before the wind got up ; and when it grew dark I went below, took my supper, and got into my berth for the night. I can’t say how long I slept, until I was awoke by a noise on deck like people dancin’ ; and nice music, softer and sweeter than any ever I heard before, playin’ at a little distance : at times I took it for the pipes, but no pipes ever came up to it for sweetness. After listenin’ for a while, I got up and looked out ; there was nothin’ to be seen on deck, and the music sounded as if it was a mile off, and at last died away.

I went below, greatly surprised at what had happened, and was soon asleep once more in my berth. Again I was awoke by the dancin’ over my head, and the music, that sounded louder than at first. I lay for some time listenin’, and expectin’ it would stop, but no such thing : at last I got up and called out, crossly enough, for them to leave that, whoever they were, or it would be worse for them. I had a pair of pistols in the cabin, and takin’ one of them in my hand, I went up a second time ; but nothin’ was to be seen, and the music soundin’ as before, at a great distance, soft as ever. I began to think it was some of the fishermen that were playin’ these tricks on me,

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try-people to teach their children, after they have eaten an egg, to run their spoon through the end of the shell, to prevent the Gentle People using them again for boats to sail away from us.”^d

“Where do you think they live now?” I inquired.

“Mostly in their underground habitations; but since the gospel was preached in this country, it was too strong for them, and they are greatly dispersed; some say they have taken to the air, but God only knows.

“One mornin’, some years ago, in hind-harvest, before day-break, Jemmy Thompson and I got up to look about some young cattle we had grazin’ near the Bush; there had been a great deal of rain, and there was the largest flood in the river that any of us had seen; it was over the Cutts entirely when we went down. It was one of the spring-tides at the fall of the moon, at the time, and a westerly wind blowin’ in pretty strong. I never saw a greater commotion at the mouth of the Bush than there was that mornin’,—between the breakers as they came foamin’ up, and the flood in the river. We stood lookin’ at the wild picture before us, when all at once we saw a tall figure of a man standin’ on one of the pillars in the middle of the Bush, with a long, loose grey cloak on him, his face turned next the strand, so that we could not see it. We were scared at first—Jemmy worse than I was—when we saw the man (as we took him to be) in such a place, where nobody could have got to him, even in a boat, in such a surge of water. Scared as I was, I hailed him, and asked how he got there. There was no answer. I hailed a second time, and asked could we help him: after a little he moved himself, but did not speak or turn his face to us. ‘Come away, Alick,’ says Jemmy, ‘we’re too long here:’ and indeed by that time I was ready enough to go, for I was weak at the heart with fear, and Jemmy was worse. We turned home, never looking back. Jemmy went to his bed, but I did’nt; and when the family got up, and the breakfast over, I went in to see Jemmy. I found him in bed, and it shakin’ under him, he trembled at such a rate, and the perspiration hailin’ off him with the fright he got!”

“What do you think the figure was?” I asked.

“It was the *Grey Man*,” he replied, “he has been often seen along this coast; there is a path called after him ‘the Grey Man’s path,’ at Fair Head, as every body knows.”

“Who or what is the Grey Man?”

“I know very well what he was,” replied he; “it was clear enough that mornin’ for us to see the colour of the cloak he had on, and we could have seen his *cloven* foot, only he was standin’ in the water that was over the pillar at the time!”^e

^d Reginald Scott, in his *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1584), says it was believed that witches could sail in an egg-shell, a cockle, or a muscle shell, through and under the tempestuous seas.—*Steevens, Notes on Macbeth*.

^e “The ghastly humour with which the “Deil” was associated in the popular Scottish mind, was, perhaps, more terrible than the awe which he inspired. Inexplicable as

many of the phenomena of witchcraft seem to be, the key to the whole belief is the intense realism with which our ancestors thought of the “Enemy.” He was not a principle of evil only, but a real, living, terrible personage, who could manifest himself in the flesh whensoever he pleased. In fact, he was “a familiar terror,” and might pass out of the invisible into the visible world any moment.”—*Chambers*.

going startling incident forms a striking contrast, in its details, to the former "Gentle" of our friend, the farmer. If, as the poet informs us,

"From his brimstone bed, at break of day,
A-walking the Devil had gone,"

the realism of his appearance to the two awe-struck and terrified spectators proves the fact, belief in this living and terrible personage still exists in the Church of which they were

"FAREWELL rewards and Fairies,
Good housewives now may say;
For now foule sluts in dairies
Doe fare as well as they.
And though they swepe their hearths no less
Than mayds were wont to doe;
Yet who of late, for cleanlynesse,
Finds sixpence in her shoe?"

DR. CORBET, 1635.

Following Annals, redolent of the County Donegal, are given, as nearly as possible, in the words of the narrator, an elderly woman, of the Roman Catholic persuasion, born and bred in the County Donegal, but settled down in the vicinity of Bushmills, in the Co. Antrim.

It might be expected from her antecedents, she was a sincere professor of the Fairy faith, one who believed in the existence of the Fairies, and feared the Gentle People, and an honest chronicler of their sayings and doings.

Were there any Fairies about the Giants' Causeway? "Oh no," she replied, "but they say they are about the hills above Bushmills, up the Bush river, at the Ness Rocks, and such like places; and as far more, aye, plenty of them, in Innishowen, where I came from; and the reason of their being there is the rayson of the people's few churches there. The Ginty don't like to live near churches, or ugly Meetin'-houses, they like a scrogger, where there be's heaps of gentle bushes, and to be about the walls of the castles that was destroyed at the time of the disolation of Ireland."

They were the only Ginty in the world at one time, but a bigger people took place, and things went on by degrees; they were put down, and they live underground ever since. If they are moaning about their habitations, and they warn you about it, take the warning, or be sure it will be worse

of the Celtic and Gothic ancestors, whether Germans, Romans, or Gauls, imagining there was something beyond the reach of man in "mechanic" skill, they could scarcely believe that an able artist was of his own species, or descended from the same common stock.

This, it must be granted, was a very foolish notion, but let us consider what might facilitate the entrance of it into their minds. There was, perhaps, some of the Ginty people which bordered upon some Celtic or Gothic people, which, though less warlike than themselves, were inferior in strength and stature, might yet excel them in industry, and, addicting themselves to manifold arts, and carrying on a commerce with them sufficiently extensive, the fame of it spread pretty far.

The circumstances agree with the Laplanders, who are famous for their magic as remarkable for the lowness of their stature; pacific, even to a degree of cowardice, but industrious, and their magic industry which must have appeared very early in this one place of the translation, applied the word

considerable. The stories that were invented of this people, passing through the mouths of so many ignorant relations, would soon acquire all the degrees of the marvellous of which they were susceptible.

"As the dwarfs were feeble and of small courage, they were supposed to be crafty, full of artifice and deceit. These fancies, having received the seal of time and universal consent, it was the business of the poets to assign a fit origin for such ungracious beings; this was done in their pretended rise from the dead carcass of a great giant. Maggots at first, afterwards God bestowed upon them understanding and cunning. By this fiction, the Northern warriors justified their contempt of them, and, at the same time, accounted for their small stature, their industry, and their supposed propensity for inhabiting caves and clefts of the rocks.

"After all, the notion is not every where exploded, that there are, in the bowels of the earth, "Fairies," or a kind of "Ginty" in our common English notion of it; but our author

the floor before they wint to their beds, thinkin' the Gintle People might be on it before mornin' : they don't think that way now, more's the pity, for they're far rougher in their ways, and uncivil like.

“My grandfather lived in Innishowen, and took a sore leg, and wrought with the doctors for many a day, and had to sell one of the cows to pay them ; but no matter for that, the leg grew the longer the worse : so he got up one night before day-break, for he could'nt lie with the pain of it, and he went a piece along the road on the crutches. It was summer, and the road was dusty, and the times bad, and markets high. All at once he heard a sound as if somebody was batin' the dust off the boots or shoes ; and he sees a little Gintleman, dressed in green, with beautiful top-boots, ridin' on somethin', and batin' the dust off his boots with an elegant cuttin' whip he had in his hand. ‘Good mornin', good man,’ says the little Gintleman. ‘God save your Honour,’ says my grandfather. ‘What's the matter with you?’ says the little Gintleman ; ‘you look but poorly.’ ‘It's a leg I have, please your Honour, that's killin' me outright.’ ‘Well,’ says the little Gintleman, ‘work no more with the doctors these times when money's scarce and markets high, but make a salve of herbs, after my directions, and you'll do.’ So he tould my grandfather what herbs he was to gather, and thin he put his hand in his pocket, and gev him the full of it of silver.

‘Who am I to thank for this kindness?’ says my grandfather. ‘I am the Commander of the small Ginty of Ireland,’ says the little Gintleman, ‘goin to war with the officers of the little Ginty of Scotland, on account of them raisin' the markets in that country, till the meal is seven thirteens a score.’

‘God prosper your Honour,’ says my grandfather, ‘but when you're fightin', how am I to know who wins the battle?’

‘I'll tell you what you'll do,’ says the Commander, ‘go up to the fort to-morrow evenin', and sit down under the Gintle bush that's growin' beside it, and put your ear to the ground, and listen, and you'll hear music. It will be loud and bould at first, and as long as you hear that, I'm bate ; listen on, and when you hear music sweet and gentle, I'm winnin'.’

“So the Commander disappeared, and my grandfather wint accordin' to direction, the next

of dwarfish and tiny beings, of human shape, remarkable for their riches, their activity, and malevolence. In many countries of the North, the people are still firmly persuaded of their existence. In Iceland, at this day, the good folks generally uses the French word Fees (or fairies) to signify, not the little imaginary dwarfish beings to which we appropriate the words, but to express the Fates or Destinies, or those inferior female Divinities who are supposed to watch over the lives and

shew the very rocks and hills in which they maintain that there are swarms of these subterraneous men, of the most tiny size, but most delicate figures.”—*Mallet's Northern Antiquities*.

fortunes of individuals. In this, he seems to have had an eye to the Oriental fables, rather than to those of genuine Gothic origin: the duty of translator requiring me to follow him, I beg to apprise the reader of our author's application of the word.”—*Translator*.

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ANTIQUARIAN NOTES AND QUERIES.

FORMULAS OF MARCELLUS. — The formula of which Professor Pictet has proposed a translation, [see *Journal*, vol. 4, p. 266,] namely, *Excicumacriosos*, may be read thus in Irish:—

Feic-se or *ec-se cuma criosos*.

Feic, imperative mood, “see;” *se*, “thou,” (an intensitive affix); the initial *f* may have fallen into disuse among the Irish colonists in Gaul, as we find it has in some dialects of the modern Irish; or *ec* may be the original root of the word *feic*, the *f* being a dialectic prefix. The word *ec* in the formula is more likely to be the 2nd person of the imperative, than the preposition *ex*, which Pictet seems to prefer.

Cris signifies to heal, or, at least, to bind the lips of a wound. If this be the meaning of the word in the formula, *criosos* [*criosas*] is precisely the present tense, consuetudinal form, of the verb, having, as usual, the relative *a* understood; as in the example, *an fear (a) bhuaineas*, “the man who reapeth.” The charm would therefore be read thus: *Ec-se cuma criosas*—“Behold the shape that healeth.” If *criosos* be the genitive of a noun, it is a form not now known or used. It has a resemblance to the Greek genitive of certain nouns. Could the terminal *os* be the Irish *so*, “this?” we often meet with inversions of the kind.

One of the other charms (against any thing sticking in the throat) on which Grimm has recommended future inquirers “to try their teeth,” is certainly a tough morsel. It is as follows:—

Heilon prossageri uome sipolla na builet onodieni iden eliton. [*Journal*, vol. 4, p. 268.]

A few words may be picked out of this, which are certainly Irish. *Brosq* or *brasq* signifies “to stop or impede,” or “to stifle:” for example, *Do brosgadh ’san m-bàire è*, “he was impeded in the goal.” *Spolla* means “a piece of flesh.” *Buil*, “state, condition, fate,” might, perhaps, be considered as the root of the verb *bi*, “to be,” as it is identical in form with the present tense (negative and interrogative) of that verb. This, though pronounced uniformly, *ni bhuil*, is written by our grammarians, *ni bhfuil*, *an bhfuil*, introducing an *f* in an arbitrary manner where it does not appear to be necessary. But, be this as it may, it is certain that *buil* is often used as a noun; as *droch-bhuil duit*, “bad fate (condition) to you;” *is deas an bhuil a ta ort*, “you are in a pretty state!”

We have now obtained three words, and with this stock let us examine the formula.

Heilon=*ealodh-on* “fly quick;” *prossageri*=*brasgaire*, “stifler, choker;” *uome*=*ua me (uam)*, “from me;” *sipolla*=*spolla*, “lump of flesh;” *na builet*=*na buil tu*, “be not fatal;” *ono*=*in a*, “to the;” *dieni*=*duine*, “man” (human being); *iden*=*eadhon*, “but” (or namely); *eliton*=*ealodh-on*, “fly away.”

With reference to the first and last words, there will be found in O’Reilly’s Irish dictionary the verb *ealaighim*, “I steal away, elope,” and also the adjective *ealamh*, “quick, nimble,”

which appears to belong to the same root. Both are, probably, akin to the German *eilen*, "to hasten." Some other Irish words, such as *eat-laim*, "I fly," may likewise be cognate.

Nevertheless, *heil* may be nothing more than the Irish *aill*, "go thou"—the imperative of an old Irish verb, likewise given by O'Reilly; and, by dividing the words of the formula a little differently, we arrive at another reading:—*Heil on*=*aill uainn*, "go from us;" *prossaggeri*=*bras go ro*, "very quickly;" *na buile*, do not madden; *tono dieni*=*dona duine*, "the unfortunate person;" *iden*=*eadhon*, "but;" *elit on*, go from us. In the French *allez-en*, "go away," we appear to have almost precisely the same form of expression.

C. M. O'KEEFFE, Dublin.

ANCIENT PLOUGHS.—To complete my notes on ancient Ploughs, as given in the last number of the *Journal* (page 220), I may remark that I have seen a plough, which is used in the Canary Islands, exactly answering to the description of the old Roman plough. Dr. Clarke saw one of a similar kind in Bothnia; and another, which he termed the ancient Samnite plough, at Beneventum, in Italy. The latter plough was drawn by a man, who grasped the end of the draught-pole with both hands behind his back. This last fact, surely, brings us as near to the "gar-ran's taylor" as we reasonably can require.

W. PINKERTON.

DEPTH OF SOIL IN IRELAND.—[Vol. 6., p. 281.] I think T. H. P. will allow, on referring to the paragraph he comments on, and on observing that I had previously compared Irish sylvan scenes with English, that I used the adjective "deficient" in the sense that, *comparatively* with

England, Ireland is generally deficient in depth of soil. This comparison was, of course, made from my own observations. Colonel Hayes of Avondale's pleasing little book on *Planting, &c.*, gives the dimensions of many noble trees in Ireland; but the fact that large trees are found in vallies and bogs, does not prove that the timber in general was large—any more than the existence of a few men of great stature proves that their general countrymen are gigantic. I think that travellers in the countries in question will have observed that there is a far greater extent of rich, plain land in England than in Ireland; and this species of soil carries, of course, the most luxuriant timber.—I beg, at the same time, to express my thanks to T. H. P., for his wish to correct apparent errors, which, indeed, it is always well to notice.

H. F. HORE.

PLOUGHING BY THE HORSE'S TAIL.—Mr. Pinkerton may add to his curious account of this practice by referring to *Riche's Description of Ireland*, and to *Logan's Scottish Gael*. It is to be hoped that this accomplished contributor to Irish archæologic literature, who brings so full an erudition, so frank a spirit of inquiry, and so much acuteness, to bear on points of social history, will oblige the world by supplying a void which the author of the recent *History of Civilization in England* (Mr. Buckle) evidently means to leave, viz., a history of civilization in Ireland.

H. F. HORE.

PLOUGHING BY THE HORSE'S TAIL.—We have had ample details of this barbarous practice given in this *Journal*; but no instance of its being used in other countries than Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland has been brought forward. The

IRISH PEASANTS SPEAKING LATIN.—ANGLICUS inquires (vol. 5., p. 165) whether it be true that peasants have frequently been met with in the South of Ireland who understood Latin; and what object they could have in acquiring it. Croker, who wrote in 1824, mentions (in his *Researches in the South of Ireland*) that “amongst the peasantry classical learning is not uncommon; and a tattered Ovid or Virgil may be found even in the hands of common labourers.” He adds, that “Cæsar, Justin, Julius, Florence, Terence, and Horace, are not uncommon Christian names” in that part of Ireland. He proceeds to describe a peculiar class of persons, well known under the title of “poor scholars,” “generally the sons of reduced farmers, and natives of Ulster and Connaught, who, having swallowed all the classical information within their immediate reach, range through the bogs of Munster to complete their knowledge of Latin, and to acquire the Greek tongue. The village schoolmaster gains little from this class of students (who are often men as full grown and as old as the master himself); but the glory of possessing pupils who, when they return to their native province, will spread his fame, appears to him

an adequate recompense. He even contributes his exertions towards their subsistence, and obtains for them gratuitous lodging in some neighbour’s cabin.” “These literary adventurers without possessing a single half-crown, will traverse the whole country, sojourning in every school.” The motive for this “pursuit of knowledge under difficulties,” was the desire felt by the Irish peasant that some of his children might one day become a priest. “Many of these poor scholars made their way to France, Spain, or Portugal; studied and were ordained in the colleges of those countries; and returned to exercise their profession in Ireland, where the Roman Catholic clergy are, with few exceptions, sprung from the ranks of the people.” Since Croker’s work was published, the introduction of the National Schools into Ireland has revolutionised the whole system. The village schoolmasters have vanished, and there are no more wandering students. But the taste for classical learning still exists in very humble life. A few years ago, being driven by a storm to take shelter in a mountain cabin in Donegal, I had myself an opportunity of observing this: for, on looking over a number of well-thumbed volumes in a corner, I was surprised to

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near that city; but the book was never printed. Finding its way into the library of the late General Vallancey, it was purchased, when his books were sold, at the price of forty guineas, for a gentleman of Irish birth, Dr. Adam Clarke."—

Who was this Mr. Crab? and where is his MS.? I am anxious to know something about it.

ABNBA.

It is stated in Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* that the parish of Carnmoney, near Belfast, was anciently called *Coole*; and that, according to tradition, there was a town of considerable size, bearing that name, in the immediate vicinity of the present church; on the decay of which the parish took its present name. I have been lately informed by a respectable person residing near the place, that many reliques of antiquity are turned up yearly by the spade and plough-share, confirming the opinion that a considerable population once lived there. Can any light be thrown on this subject? or can any period be assigned for the existence of this town?

P. DILLON.

WALDENSIAN GAELIC.—Although I have carefully perused all the Geographics and Gazetteers I could gain access to, yet none of them speak of a dialect like Gaelic spoken either in Swit-

language. Although the Romansen language spoken there, I believe it is not confined to that canton; and the existence of some very old man or Scandinavian dialects has been retained in some remote vallies in several Swiss cantons. May it not be possible that remains of the Celtic (if it ever really existed there) may still be found in some of the vallies?

N.

IRISH HISTORICAL LIBRARY.—The late Hardiman appended the following note to his "Catalogue of Maps, Charts, and Plans, relative to Ireland, preserved amongst the MSS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. 4to. 1824:"—"The printed maps of Ireland are numerous. On the subject of our Plans, Charts and Maps, much valuable information may be anticipated from the learned and geographical researches of the [late] Rev. Edw. Groves, the result of which will shortly appear before the public in his *Irish Historical Library* now at press." Mr. Groves's researches have not appeared in print. Where is the MS. of this? have we any prospect of possessing a good *Irish Historical Library*? It is a desideratum in the literature of the nineteenth century, but unlikely, in a pecuniary point of view, to be the subject of profitable speculation.

ABN

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