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Donegal Town : Site of the hallowed ruins of the Franciscan Abbey, and O'Donnell's Castle.

THE DONEGAL ANNUAL

The County Donegal Historical Society.

IRIS CUMANN SEANCAIS DUN NA nGALL

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REV. RICHARD LAIRD,
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PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

THE KIDNAPPING AND IMPRISONMENT OF RED HUGH ...	457
(MORWENNA DONNELLY, Ashdon Hall Saffron Walden, Essex).	
GLEANINGS ON O'DONNELL HISTORY	463
(FR. CANICE MOONEY, O.F.M., Killiney)	
COUNT O'DONNELL PROPOSES A COADJUTOR FOR THE SEE OF RAPHOE.	473
(FR. TERENCE O'DONNELL, O.F.M., Ros Nuala)	
ANCIENT ROADWAYS OF DONEGAL	478
(PATRICK J. MCGILL, F.R.S.A.I., Ardara).	
SEAGHAN Mac a'BHAIRD	485
(MICHEAL Og MacPHAIDIN).	
FOUR ANCIENT STONE FORTS IN CO. DONEGAL	491
(R.F.G. ADAMS, M.A., F.R.S.A.I.)	
THE NAME BEAL ATHA SEANAIGH	499
(T. S. O'MAILLE, Ph.D.).	
HEARTH MONEY ROLLS	501
(J. C. MacDONAGH, B.Comm.).	
ANCIENT CHURCH AT MALIN HEAD.	503
(ANONYMOUS)	
RALLY OF THE CLANS.	505
(C. A. CELKIN)	
THE PLANTATION OF DONEGAL—A SURVEY	509
(V. W. TREADWELL, M.A., QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY, BELFAST)	

The Kidnapping and Imprisonment of Red Hugh

(BY MORWENNA DONNELLY)

THE kidnapping of Red Hugh was the climax to a long struggle between O'Donnell and Sir John Perrot and was far from being an unheralded bolt from the blue. The first act in this struggle took place in September, 1584, when O'Donnell signed an agreement with Perrot at Dunluce, undertaking to maintain a number of footmen in Tirconnell for as long as the Queen's pleasure demanded. This garrison turned out to be an undisciplined rabble. The commander, a Captain William Boyne, ransomed the pledges given to him by O'Donnell and sent others to Dublin. He handed over the four towns which O'Donnell had given him for the relief of his forces to Hugh MacDeaganach O'Donnell, O'Donnell's nephew and "utter enemy," with the result that Tirconnell was soon in an uproar against O'Donnell and in danger of being wasted. To make matters worse, Alexander MacDonnell, Ineendubh O'Donnell's first cousin, was slain in an encounter between the English and Hugh M'Edegany.

O'Donnell made strong representations in Dublin and was finally allowed to revoke his original indenture on condition that he paid seven hundred beeves a year and sent in as pledges

his second son, Rory, and the eldest sons of MacSwiney Doe and MacSwiney. Fanad. Red Hugh commented drily some years later that his father "haply (through extremity) consented to give more than he could perform." In fact, neither the pledges, nor the delivery of the seven hundred "good, fatt and lardge" beeves materialised, either that year or the next (1587). Perrot had been deeply vexed by O'Donnell's hauteur over the removal of the garrison and he was affronted by this failure to honour an—admittedly grossly unjust—agreement. When the alarm of a possible Spanish landing made it necessary to ensure the quiescence of the Ulster lords, he determined to bring O'Donnell to heel, not only by extracting pledges from him to prevent him drawing in Scots, but by encouraging his enemies, notably Hugh M'Edegany.

This illegitimate son of Calvagh O'Donnell had always had the government's blessing and in March, 1587, he was sent to court with a special letter of recommendation to the Queen. He returned to Ireland flaunting his favour and, tacitly backed by the government, proceeded to waste Tirconnell. By this policy Perrot hoped to get his hands on Tirconnell, as Fitzwilliams

THE KIDNAPPING OF RED HUGH

was later to apply the same tactics to Monaghan. It is perhaps a mistake to think that Red Hugh's attitude to England was determined by his abduction and treatment in prison. He seems to have arrived in Dublin Castle with an already developed animus towards them, which was undoubtedly formed by his experience of their disintegrating tactics in Tirconnell during these formative years of his boyhood.

In May Perrot wrote to Burghley outlining his famous plan to kidnap one of the O'Donnells and announcing his intention of making a journey to the borders of the North. By the time he left Dublin for this journey at the end of the summer, the plans for the abduction were complete and in charge of Nicholas Skipper, a Dublin merchant captain.

The subsequent course of events was curious and from Perrot's despatches we can almost whittle down to a day exactly when Red Hugh was captured — probably September 24th (O.S.). Perrot was back in the capital by the 23rd, when he wrote to the Queen, giving a report of the meetings at Trydathé with O'Neill, O'Donnell and the Earl of Tyrone. In this letter he said nothing about the abduction, though he knew it was then on foot; presumably because he had no news yet of whether his venture had succeeded. But three days later he was jubilantly writing to Elizabeth that he had Mr. Hugh Roe O'Donnell under lock and key, Skipper having brought him, the two MacSwineys, and Owny (possibly Owen Oge) O'Gallagher to Dublin on the previous day — September 25th, 1587. The abduction had been carried out "without any stir at all." Red Hugh was within a month of his fifteenth birthday and one of Perrot's reasons for his abduction was that he "ruled that country (Tirconnell) very much," nourished Scots and encouraged the "strong and disordered" MacSwineys. He was kidnapped while

his father was on the return journey from Trydathé, for some years later he stated that when his father was ordered to send in Rory as a pledge, he would have done so "but before he could be in his country, the Lord Deputy sent one Skipper with a bark . . ."

ACCURACY AND BRILLIANCE

Perrot had moved with telling accuracy and brilliance. In one blow he had collected four of the best pledges in Ulster and, by the terms of the land agreement between the Earl and O'Neill, drawn the claws of the three most powerful men. The Ulster chieftans had allowed themselves to be hopelessly out-manoeuvred by a really fluent stroke of statemanship.

The Earl saw the danger immediately. If O'Donnell went down before his rivals, his own western flank would be menaced by an alliance between O'Neill and Hugh M'Edegany. He addressed himself to the Queen, to Walsingham and to the Earl of Leicester, soliciting their aid in the release of Red Hugh. But the Government was determined that Tirconnell should pass into the Queen's hands through the pliancy of Hugh M'Edegany. All the appeals failed and the new Deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliams, was instructed to continue Perrot's policy and to keep Red Hugh "in our Castle at Dublin". The Earl and O'Donnell tried bribery. Perrot was offered £2,000 for the liberation of Red Hugh and it was not long before Fitzwilliams was approached in the same manner.

The Government were secretly egging on O'Neill and Hugh M'Edegany to waste Tirconnell and by January 1588 old O'Donnell had nearly been driven out of his country. In May however, Ineendubh settled her long score with Hugh M'Edegany. There was a brush between them at Mongavlin and her Scots despatched him. The next month

THE KIDNAPPING OF RED HUGH

she came calmly to Dublin with O'Donnell to pay what must have been a somewhat equivocal farewell to Perrot. As she was on the Government's black-list this was a singularly audacious act. The circumstances were such that it was probably the only occasion in her life when it was reasonably safe to risk an appearance in Dublin, and doubtlessly she seized the opportunity because it made possible a visit to her Benjamin.

O'Donnell offered Fitzwilliams through intermediaries £1,000 for the release of his son and to his intimates £300 "to labour it." Reporting these overtures to Walsingham, the Deputy referred to Red Hugh as O'Donnell's "hairbrained and ungracious imp of son," and warned him against the danger of letting him loose to combine with his mother "a native Scot, envious to this nation." In the light of these comments it seems probable that the hairbrained and ungracious imp was the originator of the prison rags mentioned by Philip O'Sullivan. Certainly, Red Hugh's apparent refusal to dissemble his contempt and hostility was a contributory, if not the principal factor, in his continued imprisonment.

In September O'Donnell came to Dublin to intercede in person for his son's liberation, bringing with him thirty wretched Armada castaways with which he hoped to bargain for Red Hugh's freedom. The Council were placed in an embarrassing dilemma. As they did not wish to alienate the old man altogether they concocted an elaborate letter for his benefit, duly signed, which granted him his request. This letter they secretly followed up with another to the Privy Council, directing them to pay no attention to the first letter and to resist all representations from O'Donnell to release his son. "The young man," they wrote, "is of so proud and stirring a disposition, as would no doubt be easily led to enterprize any disloyal intention."

NOT DECEIVED

O'Donnell was not deceived and "returned home greatly discontented." In the meantime Ineendubh was thundering in the background, stormily asserting that she would maintain the Spanish refugees "and as many as she can get to stir up wars except she can get her son that is in the Castle at the return of O'Donnell, her husband."

At the beginning of 1589 the Earl once more applied to Walsingham and this proving fruitless, he made a last attempt at the end of the year to win the Deputy over by open means. Fitzwilliams wavered. Though he was an avaricious old man he seems to have disliked the business of incarcerating youths and children. In a letter to Burghley he added a postscript advocating that, provided he accepted certain conditions, Red Hugh should be set free. "I think his liberty would do better service to her Majesty than his imprisonment," he wrote, adding naively, "And upon my word, no reward maketh me write thus much."

But the Privy Council remained adamant.

Of Red Hugh's treatment in prison, a vivid account is given by Captain Thomas Lee. Though Lee does not mention any names it is obvious—from his close association with the Earl—who was in his mind when he wrote:

(Where there has been a stratagem used for the taking into your Majesty's hands a young youth, heir of a great country, his manner and usage were most dishonourable and discommendable, and neither allowable before God nor man. My reasons are these: he being young, and being taken by this stratagem, having never offended, was imprisoned with great severity, many irons laid upon him as if he had been a notable traitor and malefactor, and kept still amongst those who were ever notorious traitors against your Majesty; having no other counsel or ad-

THE KIDNAPPING OF RED HUGH

vice, or company, but theirs, what good could come of this young man for his education amongst such, I humbly refer to your Highness.

It has always been assumed that Red Hugh was imprisoned in the Birmingham Tower in Dublin Castle and several writers have stated that he was confined in the 'grate,' that notorious quarter of the Castle prisons where the captives had to rely on alms for subsistence, like the wretched prisoners in the Newgate goal of the city. The grounds for this opinion are very debatable. We know that the grate was deep underground—twenty-four feet—and that there was a better prison in the upper rooms to which prisoners with any wealth or influence aspired. The fact that on both escapes Hugh fled by means of a rope would scarcely accord with the theory of a subterranean prison, and from a comparison of the details of the first escape with what we know about the Castle and its prisons it would seem likely that he was imprisoned in one of the Gate Towers.

In 1685 a plan was made of Dublin Castle showing it in almost its original form—at all events as it was in Red Hugh's time. Only eighty years after the making of this plan, while there was still a considerable amount of the old fabric of the Castle remaining, the antiquary Harris wrote a description of the building and its previous organisation. Both Harris and also J. T. Gilbert, state that the Birmingham Tower and the Wardrobe (or Gunner's) Tower were used as prisons—the latter continuing to be used for this purpose to the end of the eighteenth century. According to Harris the Gate Towers were also used as prisons, being specially put aside for the Constable's lodgings and "the custody of State prisoners, and so late as the year 1715, one of them together with the adjoining buildings was applied to the latter of those uses." He says that

Lord Delvin was imprisoned in one of these towers, but unfortunately gives no clue to the source of this information. Delvin, who was suspected of complicity in Red Hugh's final escape, broke prison himself in 1607, by a rope smuggled into him, and Sir Arthur Chichester, describing this feat as a "desperate escape" added that it was "an accident which has often happened in this place."

THE FIRST ESCAPE

There were only two sally-ports in the old castle, the principal being the main entrance in Castle Street, with its drawbridge, port-cullis and flanking Gate Towers. The other led to the out offices and was near—but not in—the Birmingham Tower. It faced towards Ship Street, which would seem to indicate that it opened interiorly into the Castle precincts. These details are important because it is highly probable that in his careful description of the first escape O'Clery was writing from first-hand knowledge.

About eighteen months after Hugh's capture, a number of pledges escaped from the grate, where they had been lodged either before, or shortly after, Fitzwilliams' arrival. It would seem from Fitzwilliams' reports that **all** pledges were confined in this dungeon or dungeons and most writers have assumed that Red Hugh was also confined there, but, apart from the **nature** of the escapes, there is evidence to the contrary. Unfortunately within the scope of a short paper it is not possible to examine this evidence at length. One point must suffice. Red Hugh's friends, Oweny O'Gallagher and Donnell Gorm MacSwiney were among those who escaped—poor Donnell Gorm was recaptured and escaped later with Hugh. At the time when Donnell first escaped he was obviously not in the same prison quarters as Hugh, otherwise how could Hugh have been isolated from a venture in which,

THE KIDNAPPING OF RED HUGH

had he had the remotest chance, he would certainly have been the ring-leader?

It is highly unlikely that with the wealth and influence of the Earl behind him, Hugh would have been allowed to suffer the semi-starvation of the grate if there was a "better prison" in "the upper rooms" to which a little gold would have admitted him. Indeed, if O'Clery is to be relied upon, he leaves no shadow of doubt that Hugh was somewhere upstairs—at least in the day—and that the first escape was made boldly from the main gate of the Castle. After describing the fosse, portcullis, drawbridge and the guard on the gate, he tells us that Hugh and his companions planned to slide down from one of the windows above "until they alighted on the bridge outside the door of the castle." To effect an escape at this point the prisoners must therefore have been in one or other of the Gate Towers, which we have already seen were used as prisons. O'Clery's account is clear and closely detailed; he may have had it from a participant, even from Red Hugh himself.

After the failure of the first escape, Hugh was returned to the Castle once more. It is possible he was consigned this time to either the Bermingham or the Gunner's Tower, for in the final escape we know that he had to manoeuvre the Castle ditch—actually a mill race beyond the south curtain and not, technically, the fosse at all. He was still permitted to receive visitors and among these was Fergus O'Farrell, High Sheriff of Longford, and his sons, who were friends of "great acquaintance and familiarity" and who not only visited him frequently, but wrote to him as well. Fergus was a close friend of O'Rourke, also of the Baron of Delvin; one of his sons was a friend of Feagh MacHugh O'Byrne. Delvin and O'Byrne were both involved in the plans for the escape and it is not unlikely that Fergus and his

sons acted as agents between Red Hugh and his friends outside. After Hugh's escape, Fergus sent messages to him by his servant, O'Hanley, to whom Hugh presented a horse which O'Hanley gallantly christened "O'Donnell." Other visitors were, a devoted servant, who visited him disguised as a horse-boy; Edward Eustace, and Richard Weston, a man of a special trust with the Earl and his chief auditor. These visitors must greatly have enlivened the bleakness of the prisoner's life and doubtless they brought him comforts in the shape of extra food and clothes.

It was Richard Weston who was entrusted with the task of smuggling in to Hugh "certain silk called Sarsnet to make him a line to slide down by." Another probable visitor was a gentleman from Athboy called Henry Dowdall, who occupied a key position in the second escape, though what exact part he played is unfortunately very obscure. It is curious that this name should have been connected again with Red Hugh, as another Dowdall—George, a fisherman of the Bann and a hawk-fancier—had been clapped into the Castle "for his knavery in the taking of Red Hugh." Standish O'Grady assumed that the part played by Dowdall (or Dudall) was a villainous one, but it is clear that his sympathies were Irish and violently anti-English.

According to Walter Reagh Fitzgerald, Henry Dowdall was responsible for Hugh's final escape and it is very tantalising that at present we know so little about him.

O'Sullivan also describes the rope used in the escape as silk and says that it was very long. Speaking of Delvin's escape, Chichester described the Castle wall as being "of great height"—Delvin's rope was thirty yards long. The perilous character of these escapes becomes vividly apparent when we remember that the silk sarsnet can only have been smuggled in length by length and then spliced together—not

THE KIDNAPPING OF RED HUGH

a very secure method of making a descent of over ninety feet.

There was a year's delay before the second escape was initiated. Unfortunately Hugh had been placed in prison with the half-brothers, Henry and Art. O'Neill and the Earl, according to Walter Reagh, would not put the escape on foot sooner because he "did not love Henry and Art O'Neill"—i.e. did not want them at liberty, since they represented dissident elements in his domains.

It has been repeatedly asserted that Turlough Buidhe O'Hagan was the guide who conducted the fugitives from Dublin to Glenmalur. O'Clery plainly states that he was sent later by the Earl to conduct Hugh northward and there is not a single mention of him being sent to Dublin in any con-

temporary source. Fr. Paul Walsh says the guide to Glenmalur was Edward Eustace, but O'Clery wrote that he was the faithful servant who visited the captives in the Castle "as a horse-boy."

At Ballinacor, Hugh bought from an Ulster man a horse which he rode north. Feagh MacHugh also gave him another horse "which was a white bob-tail." The injuries to his feet, sustained in the escape, were so severe that he was unable to walk and had to be lifted on and off his horse.

Both the Warrens of Drumcondra and the Moores of Mellifont, respectable colonists, had been secret parties to the escape plans and volunteered horses at one time. William Warren was half-brother to Garrett Moore and greatly devoted to the Earl.

A SEE FOUNDED BY ST. EUNAN

Raphoe is a small place, but the See of a bishop. It was founded by St. Eunan about the middle of the 6th century and a Cathedral was erected on the ruins of St. Eunan in the eleventh. Palacit Magonail, Bishop of Raphoe in 1360, built three episcopal houses, and Bishop Dooley, by will bequeathed £200 for repairing the Cathedral, such money was applied by his successor. Within a few years, a round tower was standing on a hill in which the bishops of Raphoe kept their studies. A celebrated cross, said to have been famous for the performance of miracles, stood in the Cathedral, but was about the year 1438 removed to Armagh by Bishop O'Galchor.

The mansion house of the bishop is a castle and was built at the expense of the Government in the reign of Charles I. It withstood a siege in the rebellion of 1641. It has been repaired lately by Bishop Oswald and is now a handsome dwelling.

"Post Chaise Companion."

KILBARRON AND ROSSNOWLAGH

The coast in the neighbourhood of Kilbarron is considerably indented with coves, which are often the resort of seals, and it frequently occurs that whales of a large size make their appearance in the bay. Just before reaching Rossnowlagh (the promontory of the plague stone?). We pass Coolmore, "the great nook or inlet, a place much frequented by summer visitors. The curious here may examine the remains of a rath or fortress, situated like Dun Angus or Aran, upon the edge of a cliff. Near the village, at a little distance from the roadside are the remains of an enormous megalithic work of "the giant's bed of class."

W. F. Wakeman "Erne," 1877

JULY ASSIZES 1848

Jane Duddy, "a habitual poultry stealer," found guilty of stealing 5 chickens from Hugh Doherty, Ballybofey, sentenced to transportation for seven years.

Gleanings On O'Donnell History

BY FR. CANICE MOONEY, O.F.M.

(1) **Hugh O'Donnell, titular earl of Tirconnel, 1608-42.**

This Hugh O'Donnell was the son of Rory, the first earl, and of Bridget Fitzgerald, his wife, who was daughter of the earl of Kildare. He was less than a year old at the time of the flight of the earls, and since his mother, partly for personal reasons (she was expecting the birth of another baby) and partly, perhaps, for diplomatic and political reasons (in an attempt to salvage some of the lands and rights forfeited by Rory's flight), did not follow her husband into exile, the baby remained in charge of two Irish wetnurses. When the earls set out from Louvain on their journey to Rome in February, 1608, the infant was placed in charge of Anne Madden, wife of Denis Kelly, who had replaced Sheila, wife of Hugh Gallagher, as his nurse and fostermother. At the request of the Archduke Albert, the party was given quarters in the convent of the Augustinian Canonesses, known as The White Ladies. Rory O'Donnell before departing had given Colonel Henry O'Neill and Fr. Donagh Mooney, O.F.M., guardian of St. Anthony's College, Louvain, a general right of supervision over his son.

In October, 1610, Hugh, with his three young companions, Seán and Brian O'Neill (sons of the earl of Tyrone by his third wife, Catherine Magennnis) and a namesake (his own first cousin, the son of Cathbharr) were removed on the orders of the Archduke to the Irish Franciscan Col-

lege of St. Anthony, where they were placed under the jurisdiction of Father Aodh MacAingil, O.F.M., and their education continued. In October, 1621, Hugh enrolled as a student at the University; a few years later we find him in attendance at the court at Brussels; and before the end of 1625 he had entered on the military career which was to occupy him until his death in action sixteen years later.

King Philip IV of Spain and the Archduchess Isabela Clara at Brussels continued towards him the benign favour of their predecessors, by grants and pensions, commissions in the army, and titles of honour. In January, 1632, he was made *Maestro de Campo* of an Irish regiment like his friend and rival John O'Neill, titular earl of Tyrone, and the eyes of all patriotic exiles were turned towards those two scions of the princely houses of O'Neill and O'Donnell to lead them back some day to free Ireland once and for all from her ancient enemy.

In order to ensure a lasting friendship between them for the common good. Archbishop Florence Conry, O.F.M., had proposed a marriage between Seán and the famous Lady Mary Stuart O'Donnell, sister of Hugh, who had been born in Ireland shortly after the flight of Rory, and who, allegedly, to escape marrying a Protestant, had fled to Flanders from England about March, 1626, disguised in man's clothing. Nothing came of the proposal, and the eve of the rebellion of 1641 found

wise counsellors of the king of Spain advising that both of these men should not be sent to Ireland together, as their mutual jealousy might wreck the undertaking. Fate took a hand in the game and neither one nor the other but a greater than both, the dauntless Eoghan Rua O'Neill, was destined to become the leader of the Ulster army of the Confederation. John died in Catalonia in Spain, 27th January, 1641, and Hugh was killed in action in the summer of the following year during a naval engagement against the French in the Mediterranean.

For three centuries the O'Clerys had proved themselves faithful and efficient chroniclers to the O'Donnells. When the sad news of the death of Hugh reached St. Anthony's, Louvain, Brother Michael O'Clery, O.F.M., lamenting the death of his hereditary chieftain, sat down and penned his obituary notice on one of his manuscripts, which is now preserved in the Royal Library at Brussels. As far as I am aware, this is the first occasion on which it has been published.

'Aois Criost, 1642. O Domhnaill dá ngoirthí Iarla Thíre Chonaill, i. Aodh Mac Rudhraighe mhic Aodha mhic Maghnasa í Domhnaill do bhádhadh a Samhradh na bliadhna so ar an muir dá ngoirthir Mari Mediterraneo ag cuidiughadh le Rí na Spáinne isin cogadh tarla idir é féin agus Rí Frangc, 7c. A mí October na bliadhna roimh an bliadhain si mar ata 1641, do thionns-gainsiod senGhaoidhil agus senGhoill Eireann d'urmhór coimheirghe chogaidh in aghaidh na n-eitricedh in Erin, dá saoradh ó gach broid da raibhe orra.

Mar do-chualaidh an t-iarla O Domhnaill adubhramur an coimheirghe cogaidh sin do bheith in Erin do-chualaidh do lathair rígh na Spáinne agus do mhaidh a sheirbhís féin agus bás í Neill roimhe sin air agus gach obliogáid da raibhe ar rígh na Spáinne fa chuidiughadh le hEireannchoibh, agus

da bhrigh sin do iarr a ched le congnamh dfaghail, no gan a fhaghail, agus a léigen dá dhuthaigh. Agus as amhlaigh do-conncas don rígh agus dá chomhairle gan a léigen go hEirinn acht a chur ar cogadh na fairrge do chathughadh re Frangcachaibh.'

English translation :

A.D. 1642. O'Donnell, who was called Earl of Tirconnel, that is, Hugh son of Rory son of Hugh son of Manus O'Donnell, was drowned in the summer of this year in the sea called the Mediterranean Sea helping the king of Spain in the war that occurred between himself and the king of France, etc. It was in the month of October of the previous year, namely in 1641, that the Old Irish and the Old English of Ireland in general began an insurrection and war against the heretics in Ireland to free themselves from every disability under which they laboured.

When the Earl O'Donnell, whom we have mentioned, heard about this insurrection and war in Ireland, he went to the king of Spain and referred to his own service and the death of O'Neill before that and the many obligations under which the king of Spain was to help the Irish. For those reasons, he besought his permission to secure aid and return to his country, or even to go without aid. But the king and his council decided not to let him go to Ireland, but sent him to war at sea to fight against the French.'

Reading between the lines, one can discern Brother Michael O'Clery's enthusiastic support for the rising of 1641, his joy at the union of Old Irish and Old English in the common cause, a slight regret that not an O'Donnell but an O'Neill would now lead the forces of his native province, and a hint of the old native pride in his way of saying that O'Donnell was **helping** the king of Spain and not merely serving under him. Notable too is the ready acceptance of the English title of **earl** side by side with refence to Ó Domh-

naill, The O'Donnell.

Bibliographical note: The obituary note is from Brussels MS 4639 (505), ff. 178v-179r, the MS which also contains the shorter recension of the Martyrology of Donegal. For Hugh O'Donnell, see B. Jennings, 'The career of Hugh, son of Rory O'Donnell, earl of Tirconnell, in the Low Countries, 1607-1642,' in *Studies*, XXX (1941), 219-34; T. O Cianáin, *The Flight of the earls*, ed. P. Walsh, pp. 4-5, 18, 73; *Analecta hibernica*, VI, 116; *Cal. s. p. Ire.*, 1625-32, p. 192; S. O'Brien, ed., *Measgra i gcuimhne Mhichíl Uí Chléirigh*, p. 78; *Commentarius rinuccinianus*, I 334. Archivo General de Simancas, Estado, legajos 625, 989, 1749, 2025, 2300, etc. (See section 3 below).

Note that while O'Clery says he was drowned, the authors of the *Commentarius* put it rather differently: 'flamma aliquot classis Hispanicae navibus a Gallis injecta, incendio luctuosum in modum periit.'

There are several documents in the Franciscan Library, Killiney, which bear his signature, usually in some such form as 'Odonel, Comes de Tyrconnell.' Two or three of them also bear his seal. Cf. *HMC, rep. on Franciscan MSS*, pp. 28, 37, 98, 99, 100, 103. For interesting references to him in a letter of Archbishop Florence Conry to Fr. Luke Wadding, see *id.*, pp. 104-6.

For Mary Stuart O'Donnell see also Mac-Geoghegan, *The history of Ireland, ancient and modern* (Dublin, 1844), pp. 556-7 (whose account derives from one written in Spanish by Albert Henriques and published at Brussels); O'Donovan in *AFM*, VI, appendix, 2380-4; *Archivium hibernicum*, IX, 275 XII, 136-8; *Cal. s. p. Ire.*, 1625-32 pp. 41, 43, 44, 55 108, 486. MacGeoghegan reproduces a letter of praise and commendation addressed to her by Pope Urban VIII on 13th February, 1627, after her memorable escape from England. On the other hand, there is a Spanish letter of Hugh O'Donnell in

the Franciscan Library, Killiney, D 2, P. 532 complaining about a woman going around in man's clothes claiming to be his sister and defaming him and his people. This letter is dated 29th July, 1630, Cf. *HMC, rep. on Franciscan MSS*, p. 28.

For Rory's wife and her reactions to his sudden flight without informing her, see *Cal. s. p. Ire.*, 1606-8, pp. 295-300; C. P. Meehan, *The fate and fortunes of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, and Rory O'Donel, earl of Tyrconnell* (Dublin, 1868), pp. 230, 241-52.

I am indebted to the authorities of the Royal Library at Brussels for permission to print the note by Michael O'Clery from the MS in their charge; to Don Ricardo Magdaleno, director of the Spanish state archives at Simancas for permission to utilise information from documents in his charge; and to Dr. Richard Hayes, Director of the National Library of Ireland, and the board of trustees for permission to consult their microfilm of the Brussels MS and to utilise information from the Simancas documents.

(2) The praises of Cinéal Chonaill.

MS A 14 in the Franciscan Library, Killiney, consists mainly of a copy of Keating's history of Ireland which once belonged to the Franciscan Friary, Donegal. Bound in at the beginning of the volume are miscellaneous papers which did not belong to it originally, and one of these, now marked f. ix, contains two pages in Irish which might be called a summary of the glories of the O'Donnells and their kindred. The scribe has not so far been identified. He may have been one of the O'Clery family, or a Franciscan admirer of the O'Donnells. At any rate, it would appear to have emanated from some follower, client, or chronicler of the O'Donnell chieftains. Owing to tears, rubbing, and fraying at the margins, parts of the text are no longer legible. It has the appearance of

GLEANINGS ON O'DONNELL HISTORY

being a rough draft or copy and has a number of corrections and additions. The third and following paragraphs, constituting nearly half the first page, have been crossed out, but not to such a degree as to make the text any more illegible than it would otherwise be from the causes referred to above. Not all the statements are historically defensible, for instance, that St. Columcille was an Augustinian monk; that St. Dominic wrote personally to O'Donnell in regard to the founding of a Dominican priory at Derry; that Aodh Rua O'Donnell (it really should be Aodh Dubh) took the Franciscan habit at Donegal; but the text is of interest as showing the beliefs and opinions in historical matters of a learned person of the early seventeenth century.

The first paragraph speaks of the number of saints, (Colmcille, Adamnan, etc.), friars, and devout men and women produced by Cinéal Chonaill, and of those chieftains who having bequeathed their estates to their heirs, took the religious habit. Thus, it says, Turlough of the Wine took the habit of a monk in Assaroe, and Aodh Rua took the habit of St. Francis in Donegal.

The second paragraph treats of the religious houses founded by the Cinéal Chonaill, the many gifts they conferred on them, and the way they defended their inmates from their enemies.

'Sna comaoinibh do cuireadar ar egluis Dé le hoibreachaibh, le tiadhluicthibh, agus lena cosnamh ar escairdibh. 'Sna hoibreachaibh mar 'ta mainisder S. Bernard da ngoirther mainisder Easa Ruaidh, do thogaibh Maolruanaidh Mór Ó Maoldoraigh agus dar mharb duthaigh ro-aoibhinn maille re socharaibh móra oile do thaobh eisg, mara, agus tire. Mainisder S. Aibisdin a nDoire an anoir Choluim Chille do bi 'na manach agus 'na abuidh d'ord S. Aibisdin. Mainisder S. Domenic a nDoire do tionnsgnadh an aimsir S. Domenic féin, do sgríobh d'ionnsuidh

Domhnuill Óig le brathraibh d'ord S. Domenic, le ttug ordughadh doibh an obair do tionnsgnamh agus an mhainisder do dhenamh san mheid dobudh ferdd' leo, agus go ttiobhradh fein na huile neithi do biadh d'uireasbhaidh ortha, ionnus go ndernadar an mhainisder do réir a ttoile. Do bhi an litir soin S. Domenic 'na monament a ccoimhed san mainisder gusan n-aimsir si ndeighennaigh si a ttanuig armail go Doire gur sgriosadh an mainisder, nachar fagbhadh cloch ar cloich innti. Agus 'na dhiaigh so, se mainisdrecha don Treas Ord S. Proinséis, mainisder na cCarmelíte, agus fa dheiredh an aimsir Neill Gairbh mic Toirdealhaigh an Fhiona, mainisder oirdere an Uird Mionúr a nDun na nGall, do bhi 'na blath ar mainisdrechuibh Eirenn o do-rinnedh í le foghlum, le crábhadh, agus leis an uile ní do biadh do riachtanus ortha, agus ina raibhe móran do dhaoineibh naomhtha'

English translation :

'In the favours they conferred on the church of God in the form of buildings, gifts and defending her from her enemies. In buildings such as the monastery of St. Bernard, called the monastery of Assaroe, which Maolruanaidh Mór Ó Maoldoraigh built and to which he granted in mortmain a beautiful countryside along with other valuable appurtenances relating to fish, sea, and land. The monastery of St. Augustine at Derry in honour of St. Columcille, who was a monk and abbot of the Order of St. Augustine. The priory of St. Domenic at Derry, which was begun in the time of St. Dominic himself, who wrote to Domhnall Óg by means of the Dominican friars, as a result of which Domhnall ordered them to begin the work and to make the priory as large as they wished and he would give them everything they needed, so that they built the priory according to their own wishes. That letter of St. Dominic was preserved as a monument in the priory until these latter times when an arm-

GLEANINGS ON O'DONNELL HISTORY

ed force came to Derry and destroyed the priory so that there was not left in it a stone upon a stone. And along with that, six houses of the Third Order of St. Francis, a Carmelite priory, and finally, in the time of Niall Garbh son of Turlough of the Wine, the celebrated friary of the Friars Minor at Donegal, which from the time of its foundation was the flower of Irish monasteries for learning and sanctity and every other requisite good quality, and in which lived many holy people.'

Fr. Ambrose Coleman in his edition of O'Heyne's **Irish Dominicans**, p. 5, says the first trace of the story about the letter of St. Dominic is to be found in a report drawn up by Fr. Ross Mageoghegan in 1622. It is possible that this text carries the tradition back a stage further. It is an interesting coincidence that part of this volume was written in the Franciscan friary of Kildare and that MacGeoghagan had associations with that part of the country and became bishop of Kildare in 1629.

The next paragraph begins by telling that the O'Donnells defended the two episcopal cities of Derry and Raphoe, that were under them, from the heretics and permitted only bishops of the Roman church chosen by the lords until the English armed force entered Lough Foyle, and the Earl of Tirconnell fled Ireland because of his faith, and Red Hugh died in Spain. The writer continues: 'If the ancient histories of the world were consulted, it were difficult to find a people who preserved their honour longer than Clann Mhíl-ídh and above all Sliocht Eiremoin who had so many kings of their blood both in pagan and Christian times, and even when they lost the kingship, they retained a good part of Ireland to this very day, and especially the descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages from whom came forty-six kings since the introduction of Christianity.'

The next paragraph treats of the

estates of the O'Donnell chieftains and their wealth from sea and land, not to speak of their rents in Connaught and Ulster. It refers, among others, to the rent of Moylurg which used to be paid humbly even in the author's own time, and the black rent of Tirawley handed over freely by the Barrets in order to be defended from the Burkes.

The verso of the folio mentions St. Patrick's prophecy about Conall Gulban, son of Niall and how well it was fulfilled in himself and his descendants. Incidentally, it dates St. Patrick's arrival in the year 423, during the papacy of Celestine and the reign of the Emperor Theodosius. The remaining few paragraphs deal briefly with the exploits of early kings and chieftains of Tirconnell, Ruaidhri Ó Canannan, Maolruanaidh Ó Maoldor-aigh, and Gofraidh Ó Domhnaill.

(3) O'Donnell references at Simancas

It would be impossible to write a full history of the O'Donnells without a thorough search through the vast collection of documents in the Spanish state archives at Simancas. Whether and when that complete history will be written is something hidden deep in the womb of the future. Here and now the curious reader and those interested in the history of that illustrious family may be interested to learn in brief summary what a five months examination of a cross-section of these archives revealed in this regard. The information is made available here by kind permission of Don Riccardo Magdaleno, director of the archives at Simancas, and Dr. Richard Hayes, director of the National Library of Ireland, and the board of trustees of the same library.

As the student of Irish history would naturally expect, the material is most abundant in those **legajos** or bundles of documents which deal with the period 1595-1608.

There are originals of letters signed by Red Hugh O'Donnell; his brother and successor, Rory, first earl of Tir-

connell; Rory's son and heir, Hugh; etc. The usual subject-matter of these letters is appeals for military aid for Ireland or for private financial aid, and recommendations of various Irishmen for succour or promotion. There are also memorials on behalf of Red Hugh, Rory, and other members of the family, written by Fr. (afterwards Archbishop) Florence Conry, O.F.M.

During the war waged against England by O'Donnell, O'Neill, and Maguire, the Spanish ambassador in London and Spanish agents in England garnered news items from written reports and the rumours that were flying around about the progress of the Irish campaign and sent them back to Spain for the information of the king and his council. Many of these *Avisos de Londres* can still be read at Simancas, but as a matter of fact in the light of the fuller knowledge now available to us, we are able to discern that many of them had no more solid basis than the distorted propaganda and the wild, unfounded rumours which are always so prevalent in time of war. There were rumours that O'Neill had surrendered, that the Spaniards had landed at Killybegs, even that they had landed in Tyrone itself.

We can trace the whole sad, tragic progress of the earls and their retinue from their arrival on the continent to their death at Rome, the efforts of the king of Spain to keep them from going to Spain lest he should offend his friend, the king of England, the pope's proposal that the king of Spain should give them a pension, and the king's proposal that as his coffers were empty the pope should try to support them. Finally, the pope housed them and the king of Spain supported them, but they were sending in constant complaints that the amount allowed them was too niggardly. On one occasion, when O'Neill succeeded in wheedling an extra allowance out of the king, he warned that O'Donnell should not be told,

lest he should become discontented.

The Archduke Albert at Brussels proved a staunch friend of theirs. When they arrived in Flanders, the English ambassador protested at their presence and the honours they were being accorded. He demanded that they should be arrested and delivered over to the king of England. The Archduke gave him a firm refusal, saying Flanders was a free country, and he was not aware that the earls had done anything wrong. The reports of the Archduke to the king at this period make interesting reading, because they also describe the full retinue that accompanied the earls on their flight, their names, occupation, status, and intentions for the future. The list includes Tadhg Ó Cianáin, who afterwards wrote an Irish account of the flight (now preserved in the Franciscan Library, Killiney), Eoghan Rua Mac an Bhaire, the poet, the two noblewomen who acted as wetnurses of the infant baron of Donegal (the Hugh O'Donnell of whom we have treated in section 1), as well as their two servants, who were also in attendance on the young baron and the husbands of these two women, who were his custodians and tutors. There are a few different lists, namely, the number who arrived, the number proposing to go to Spain, the number intending to stay in Flanders. One list contains about fifty names.

There is frequent reference in these documents to Nuala O'Donnell, sister of Rory and Red Hugh, whose memory has been perpetuated by James Clarence Mangan as 'the woman of the piercing wail.' She went from Louvain to Rome with the earls but afterwards made several petitions to the king of Spain to be allowed to return to Flanders where she hoped to enjoy better health and to be near her nephew, the young Hugh O'Donnell, son of Rory, who since Rory's death had become titular earl of Tirconnell.

GLEANINGS ON O'DONNELL HISTORY

The permission was granted, but on condition that nobody else of the Irish party at Rome accompanied her, 'so as not to offend the king of England' by the proximity of Irish rebels and plotters to his domains. There is also mention of this Hugh, her nephew, at different later stages of his career.

There are contemporary references to the death of Red Hugh at Simancas and of Rory at Rome. I have treated at greater length elsewhere (in an article now with the printers which is due to appear in a coming number of **The Irish Ecclesiastical Record**) of the references to the death of Red Hugh, so let it suffice on this occasion to state once again that there is no evidence at Simancas that he died of poison administered by an English agent.

There were two documents among the bundles examined by my colleague Doctor Joseph Healy which, on his showing them to me, left a particularly vivid impression. One was a letter dated 24th April, 1600, which was sent from Donegal by the Spanish Franciscan, Matthew of Oviedo, archbishop elect of Dublin at the time. It told of a gathering there of sixty Irish gentlemen to concert plans for a vigorous prosecution of the war for homes and altars. Nowhere, the writer assured the king, had his majesty more faithful or more valorous vassals than these. He praises O'Neill and O'Donnell and says he delivered the chains sent as a gift by the king. He vigorously rebuts the calumnies being spread about them that they are mere savages. On the contrary, they are most prudent men. The other document was a letter sent to O'Connor Kerry by Red Hugh shortly after he had gone to Spain to seek further aid for Ireland. It is an original signed by his own hand. He buoys O'Connor up by assuring him of the king's strong determination to help Ireland whatever the cost, and asks him to keep him, Red Hugh, fully informed of hap-

penings in the country, but in such a way that, if there is bad news, while letting him know he will keep the information from the Spaniards. He naturally feared that if the position of the Irish deteriorated too much, the king would be reluctant to commit himself further. As bad luck would have it, this letter was discovered by the English when they captured O'Sullivan's castle at Bearehaven. Astutely enough, they decided to use it to drive a wedge between Spaniard and Irish. An English soldier, Captain Harvey, had been befriended by a Spaniard, Pedro Lopez de Soto, and the lords of the council wrote to Carew, lord president of Munster, instructing him to get Harvey as a pretended act of gratitude to hand over this letter to Lopez to show 'how this traitor O'Donnell only tempers a bait to deceive the king your master.' The letter was duly forwarded, as the English had foreseen, to the king of Spain, but the death of O'Donnell soon afterwards took greatly from the effectiveness of the English stratagem. It can now be examined at Simancas with its accompanying letters, a vivid reminder of a great epoch and an impressive memento of a great man. It is still stained brown with the marks of the fray and turmoil between English and Irish at Bearehaven.

Bibliographical note: Summaries of a large number of the documents at Simancas relating to Ireland for the period 1558-1603 will be found in **Letters and state papers relating to English affairs preserved principally in the archives of Simancas**, ed. M.A.S. Hume, I-IV (1892-99). Copies of some of the documents dealing with Red Hugh O'Donnell will be found in the introduction to L. O'Clery, **Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill**, ed. D. Murphy. For an account of the capture of Red Hugh's letter to O'Connor Kerry and the use to which it was put see **Pacata Hibernia**, ed. S. O'Grady,

GLEANINGS ON O'DONNELL HISTORY

II, 236, 242-3, 246-7. The Simancas documents consulted by me on which the above summary is based are to be found in **Estado, legajos** 611, 625, 840, 989, 993, 994, 1745, 1746, 1749, 1751, 1856, 1860, 2025, 2300. As has been said, this represents a mere cross-section. Limitations of time and the lesser promise of fruitfulness in Irish materials they held out, prevented an examination of other sections of this vast collection, but it was clear from even the printed catalogues that there was material available in them for the careers of later members of the O'Donnell family who settled in Spain.

ADDITIONAL NOTE : For the fullest account in English to date on Mary Stuart O'Donnell and her flight from England see C. P. Curran, 'The notable career of Mary, Countess of Tirconnell', in **Journal of the National Literary Society of Ireland**, II (1916), 53-96.

The Anti-Tithes War

Glenties, September, 1838

Cattle belonging to the Rev. Mr. Early, P.P., seized and sold for the sum of 12/- tithes a protest meeting held in Glenties, presided over by Mr. William Barrett, Attorney, son of the Rector of Inniskeel. Speakers included Attorney Boyle of Ballyshannon; Rev. Daniel O'Donnell, of Ardara, and the Revs. Stephenson and Coyle of Ballyshannon.

ARDARA, JANUARY, 1834

The detachment of the 27th regiment, stationed at Ardara, under the command of Captain McPherson, marched into Ballyshannon, the barracks in Ardara being unroofed in the late storm.



THE O'DONNELL

Mr. John O'Donell, Monkstown, Dublin, acknowledged head of the O'Donnell Clan.

RAPHOE. JUNE, 1848.

Three hours rioting between Repealers and Orangemen at Raphoe fair. The Repealers were led by Maguire from Stranorlar and the Orangemen by Campbell from Castlefin. It began in Hamilton's Inn. Maguire was arrested and broke away and he and his party drove the Orangemen to seek shelter in Caher's house, where they got firearms. The police, with fixed bayonets, eventually drove the Repealers from the town.

Count O Donel Proposes A Coadjutor For The See Of Raphoe (1777)

BY FATHER TERENCE
O'DONNELL, O.F.M.

I

Jus patronatus, that is, the right of a lay ruler to nominate clerics to benefices in his territory, or, at least the claim of a prince or chieftain to exercise some control over ecclesiastical appointments, has long been tolerated by the Church. It is a privilege that has long survived the disappearance of the peculiar circumstances that first gave rise to it. To-day it is unknown in Ireland; but in former times, especially in pre-Reformation days, *jus patronatus*, or 'right of patronage' was claimed and exercised in this country.

The Normans, familiar with the practice on the continent and in England, certainly favoured it when they overran Ireland. In doing so their motives were purely political. The better to spread their own Norman ways and institutions they sought to exclude priests of purely Gaelic stock, and hence of Gaelic culture, traditions and outlook, from the territories they had carved out for themselves. That was the spirit behind the *Statute of Kilkenny*.

Native chieftains, on the other hand, so long as they remained the effective rulers of their territories, can hardly have seen much point in claiming for themselves a similar concession; for they would permit none but native priests and prelates to fill be-

nefices or occupy sees in their kingdoms. Nor would a Norman — that is, an Anglo-Irish — cleric be anxious to live under the rule of a Gaelic chieftain. But when the tide of effective English conquest began to reach out to the four corners of the country; and when native rulers were engaged in a life-and-death struggle for their ancient liberties, the question of ecclesiastical appointments assumed a new importance. For the Irish chieftain it was now, if never before, imperative that local prelates should share to the full his political views and aspirations.

Hugh O'Neill and Hugh Roe O'Donnell, the last native leaders to make an all-out effort to re-establish a free Gaelic state in Ireland, were particularly anxious that none but bishops whom they could trust should fill the Sees of Ulster and Connacht — the territories where their authority was most firmly established. Accordingly we find them petitioning the Holy See to grant them the *jus patronatus*, or rather to confirm that right previously possessed by their predecessors. In a long draft-instruction prepared seemingly by Archbishop Peter Lombard about autumn, 1600, for submission to Pope Clement VIII, and containing recommendations for the guidance of a nuncio to be appointed to Ireland, it is stated: 'The same Prince O'Neill and Prince O'Donnell, and the other chieftains request that, in order to obviate such abuses

O'DONNELL AND THE SEE OF RAPHOE

(these are referred to in preceding paragraphs) they be granted for their territories, or rather that the **jus patronatus**, which their predecessors possessed, be restored to them.'¹ A few months later Hugh O'Neill writing from Donegal again appealed to Clement VIII to concede to him the 'right of patronage' which his forebears possessed.²

Did the Holy See accede to the wishes of the Ulster chieftains? In other words, did O'Neill and O'Donnell exercise any effective control over episcopal appointments in the provinces of Ulster and Connacht? Archbishop Lombard tells us in a memorandum written in 1612 that Hugh O'Neill after three years soliciting and negotiating did succeed in having two of his nominees appointed to archbishoprics, one to Tuam, and one to Dublin. The latter had been nominated to Clogher, but O'Neill had him translated to Dublin. But Lombard states—and this, he says, was well known to O'Neill—that the Pope reluctantly yielded to the wishes of the Ulster chieftain.³ The whole tenor of Archbishop Lombard's memorandum makes it quite clear that he is, at this date—1612—totally opposed to O'Neill's having any voice in the appointment of bishops. Indeed he goes so far as to assert that his interference in episcopal nominations has had disastrous results.⁴

It does seem certain that in making appointments to vacant sees in Ulster and Connacht the Pope was loth to be guided by the wishes of O'Neill and O'Donnell; otherwise it is hard to account for their persistent appeals to him in this matter. In 1617, that is, five years after Archbishop Lombard's memorandum we find Tyrone and Tyrconnell petitioning Pope Paul V to have due regard to the views of the natives of Ulster and Connacht when providing bishops to sees in these two provinces. On this occasion they

expressly exclude the Archbishop of Armagh — Dr. Lombard — from any voice in these appointments. Though the chieftains ask that their own opinion or that of the Archbishops of Dublin and Tuam be followed, it seems plain enough that they are still trying to assert their right to some control over episcopal appointments in these provinces; and the reason they put forward in support of their claim is the loyalty of their forebears as well as their own loyalty to the Holy See.⁵ It is worthy of note that this petition elicited from Pope Paul V the promise that he would keep in mind the wishes of the northern chieftains when filling vacant sees in Ulster and Connacht.⁶

Though space does not permit of a reference to each of the many occasions on which the northern chieftains appealed to the Holy See in the matter of episcopal appointments in Ulster and Connacht, it is quite clear that regularly during the first half of the seventeenth century, O'Neills and O'Donnells, whether at home or in exile, pressed their claim to a sort of a right of patronage in these two provinces.⁷

When, it may be asked, did the Ulster leaders cease to press this claim? We do not know exactly. But it may safely be inferred that after

¹ Arch. Hib. III, p.310.

² Ibid, p.241.

³ Arch. Hib. III, p. 286.

⁴ Ibid. p. 296, p. 297. According to Lombard O'Neill's action led to the colonisation of Ulster after his flight from Ireland, and to the persecution of Catholics in Dublin. (Arch. Hib. III, p. 297) Neither reason seems sound.

⁵ Arch. Hib., IV, pp. 293-295. In art. 6 & 7 of this document (op. cit. p.296) O'Neill and O'Donnell state their reasons for their attitude to Lombard.

O'DONNELL AND THE SEE OF RAPHOE

the Cromwellian conquest, and after the fading out of their own hopes for a restoration of their ancient rights in Ireland, they gradually lost interest in ecclesiastical appointments in a land with which they had lost intimate contact—which had, indeed, become for them rather shadowy.

II

Nevertheless, though exiled O'Donnells may have ceased actively to interest themselves in Irish affairs, ecclesiastical or secular, a tradition, or a memory of their right to a voice in Church appointments, seems to have persisted in Raphoe. This is suggested by a document recently brought to light.⁸ This document is a petition addressed to the Holy See in 1777 by Count O Donel, a member of the Austrian Branch of the Family, in favour of the appointment of a Franciscan to the bishopric of Raphoe. As the presumption is that it has never been published, and as it may be of interest to Donegal readers of this *Annual*, I am printing it here. The original is in French; but I am taking the liberty of giving a translation of it, while inserting a copy of the French original as an Appendix. The translation runs:

Monseigneur :

The solicitude of Your Eminence for the Irish Mission, and the trouble which you have given yourself for the sake of this unfortunate island, deserve the sincerest gratitude of all who are interested in the welfare of this country.

⁸Arch. Hib. IV, p.303.

⁷Ibid. pp. 304-305, 305-307, 307, 308-309, 309-310. The **Report on the Franciscan MSS** gives reference to further documents on this subject, covering, roughly, the years 1626-1631. These have been printed in O'Donovan's work—now hard to procure—**The O'Donnells in Exile**; but Mr. Rupert O'Cochlainn kindly sent me copies of them.

Allow me, then, Monseigneur, to unite my voice with those of so many others, that I may add my most humble thanks, and that I may give Your Eminence a further opportunity of deserving well of this island.

The late Mons. O'Reilly, Bishop of Raphoe, having been reduced as a result of several years' illness, to a state of second childhood, committed the care of his diocese to his Vicar General. The pastors of the diocese having cause to complain about this man, wrote to me, as did a neighbouring Bishop, a year ago, to interest myself in having a Coadjutor named, and they asked me to arrange it so that the choice would fall on the Revd. Father Patrick Thally of the Order of

⁸I have to thank my *confrere*, Father Bede Lane, O.F.M., St. Isidore's College, Rome, for drawing my attention to this, and also to the other document quoted in the latter part of this article. It was he who kindly supplied me with copies of them.

Apropos of the suggestion that there was in Raphoe a tradition that the O'Donnells had a voice in episcopal appointments, it is of interest to note that Hugh O'Donnell, pastor of Killybegs, writing to Rome on 25th August, 1777, stated: 'It was formerly the custom that on the death of a bishop (of Raphoe), our most noble patron, O'Donnell . . . with the consent of the Chapter always presented the most worthy candidate . . .' He means, presumably, that O'Donnell presented a candidate to Rome for approval. But one cannot give too much credence to that statement; for the pastor of Killybegs was at loggerheads with his bishop when he made that assertion; he had an axe to grind.

O'DONNELL AND THE SEE OF RAPHOE

St. Francis. The reply which I gave to these gentlemen was that they had only to make their complaints known to the Sacred Congregation, and then send a postulation for this Father.

As a result of all this I received some time ago letters from these gentlemen informing me that they have followed my advice, and renew their entreaties. I have learned, however, that this petition has not arrived in Rome. But in order to convince Your Eminence that its non-arrival has been due to some accident which one cannot explain, I am sending to the Revd. Father who will have the honour to give you this, the two latest letters which I have received on the subject, (and) which he will communicate to you.

Your Eminence will be surprised that I should have been approached on a matter which seems so little in my line. It is because these gentlemen imagine that a certain right of petition belongs to the descendants of those ancestors (of mine) who did so much good for religion in those regions, and that they like to believe that I shall always interest myself in anything that may advance the glory of God, and contribute to the welfare of persecuted religion in that country.

It is above all this last reason that induces me to recommend the Revd. Father Patrick Thally as a truly apostolic man. I do not doubt but that he will fulfil the desire which Your Eminence has always shown of sending worthy, tireless workers to this mission.

POTEEN DEATH

Stranorlar, Dec. 23, 1842.

While the Revenue Police, stationed at Stranorlar, were searching for poteen in the Barnes mountain they discovered a still house at work, its fire going etc. In it lay two men insensible from drinking and a third man dead.

Having recommended to Your Eminence a matter which will be all the more dear to your heart because it concerns the glory of God and the salvation of souls, there remains for me only to offer you the deep respect and great esteem with which I have the honour to be the very humble and obedient servant of Your Eminence,

Count O Donel,

Lieutenant-General in the service of their Imperial Majesties.

From Vienna, 9 July, 1777

This document poses some interesting questions. First, who exactly was this Count O Donel? Obviously he was a descendant of one of the exiled O'Donnells—of those who, as the writer says, 'did so much good for religion in those regions' (Ireland). And he states that the cause of religion in Ireland will always find in him a warm supporter. Unfortunately he did not sign his baptismal name. But Mr. Rupert O Cochlainn kindly informs me that he has no hesitation in identifying him with Major-General Henry, Count O Donel, founder of the present Austrian line.¹⁰ Mr. O Cochlainn's biographical note on Count Henry runs: 'Henry of Aughty, Murrisk, Co. Mayo, founder of the present Branch of the O'Donnells in Austria. He was born in 1729 (the date always given on the Continent is 1726). He entered the Austrian Service at the age of 16, and was reputed to have been the handsomest man in the army. In 1754 he married Leopoldine, Princess Cantacuzene, at the express wish of the Empress Maria Theresa, who gave the bride a dowry of three estates in Galicia, and led her to the altar on her wedding day. Henry was very influential at Court. He was a great favourite with the Empress, who, when disposing of her jewellery after her husband's death, presented Count Henry with some fine pieces for his wife. In 1754 he had attained the rank of Captain. He fought in the

campaign of 1759. During the Seven Years' War he held the rank of Major. On 30th April, 1762, he received the Seventh Promotion with the Small Cross of the Military Order of Maria Theresa. In 1763 he was promoted Colonel. In 1767 he was given command of the O'Donnell Regiment of Cuirassiers. He became Major-General in 1771; and in that same year he retired from the army. He died in Galicia on 4th August, 1789.'

Clearly Count Henry was a man of standing in the Catholic Court of Austria. Those who sought his influence in favour of Father Thally's appointment as Coadjutor to the See of Raphoe must have felt that his word would carry weight in Rome. That raises the further interesting questions: who were 'the pastors of the diocese' (Raphoe), and who was the 'neighbouring bishop' who wrote to the Count in 1776 to interest himself 'in having a Coadjutor named' for Raphoe? We do not know. Furthermore, 'the two latest letters' sent to Count O Donel, and forwarded by him to Rome, have not, so far as the present writer knows, been discovered.

But Count O Donel was not the only person resident in Vienna whose influence was sought in support of Father Thally's nomination as Coadjutor to Dr. O'Reilly. From the Austrian capital there came another plea in favour of the Franciscan. This is a short letter, written in Italian, and addressed to Cardinal Castelli. It is

dated 12th June, 1777. It was written, therefore, almost one month before Count O Donel's appeal. As it contains a few interesting points, I give a free translation of it: 'My Most Eminent, Very Reverend, and Right Honourable Sir, The respectful petitions of the Catholics of the diocese of Raphoe, in the kingdom of Ireland, will already have reached Your Eminence, and as they concern the granting of a Coadjutor to the present Bishop because of his ill-health and advanced age, I respectfully take the liberty of uniting my prayers to those already sent you by the Catholics of Raphoe in favour of Father Patrick Thally of the Order of St. Francis. This religious has spent many years teaching philosophy and theology with distinction in Prague, and has been here in Vienna for the past nine years, where he has been of great help to the English Catholics, who are fairly numerous here. His Superiors also express the most favourable opinions of him. With deep respect I most humbly kiss Your Eminence's hands.

Earnestly renewing my petition, and rejoicing at having this occasion of once more assuring you of my respectful homage,

I remain,

Your most humble and most devoted servant,

Ccale (?) Migazzithi (?)¹¹

The writer of this short letter—his name cannot be deciphered with certainty—is aware that petitions have been sent from the Catholics of Raphoe in favour of Father Thally's appointment as Coadjutor to the infirm and aged Dr. O'Reilly. The words, 'Catholics of the diocese,' would seem to suggest the lay faithful—as distinct from the pastors mentioned in Count O'Donel's letter. Unfortunately, the 'respectful petitions of the Catholics,' like the 'the two latest letters' referred to by the Count, have not come to light.

⁹For ref. to source of original see Appendix I.

¹⁰The discrepancy in military rank between the titles 'Lieut.-General' and 'Major-General' is, Mr. O Cochlainn thinks, purely terminological; the Austrian 'Major-General' corresponding, probably, in status with 'Lieut.-General' in French usage.

O'DONNELL AND THE SEE OF RAPHOE

As the original of this letter is in Italian, one may legitimately surmise that the author of it was an Italian, possibly a Papal dignitary resident in Vienna, and possibly well known to Cardinal Castelli. If the latter supposition were really true, then those who appealed to him to plead for Father Thally's appointment, would have done so with some confidence that his advocacy of their candidate would, like Count O Donel's patronage, carry weight in Papal circles. The Franciscan's supporters were certainly active on his behalf. Yet the tone of this letter seems rather formal. One gets the impression, I think, that the author has been asked to use his influence in this matter of the nomination of a Coadjutor to the Bishop of Raphoe, and unwilling to refuse this request, has penned a formal—certainly not a very enthusiastic—supporting plea.

Would it be presuming too much to see Franciscan influence behind both these appeals to Rome? Dr. O Reilly's two predecessors in the See of Raphoe had been Friars Minor. The friars may well have suspected that Dr. Anthony Coyle, the Vicar General to whom Dr. O Reilly had 'committed the care of the diocese,' and who, it was probably felt, would be his personal choice as his successor, might not be particularly friendly towards them. The Irish Franciscan house in Prague had kept Irish Friars in close touch with the descendants of the exiled Irish nobility. The head of the Austrian line of O Donnells was, most likely, well known to them. It would have been an easy matter for them to secure his support for their candidate. The friars would also have known others whose influence at Rome might tell in their favour. All this is conjecture; and yet it may not lack foundation in fact.

Of Father Thally almost nothing is known beyond the few facts given

in the above letter. In 1776 he was appointed Guardian of Drogheda, and again in 1778. In 1782, 1784, 1785, 1794 and 1796 he was nominated titular Guardian of Carrickfergus. He was also appointed titular Guardian of Lisgool in 1790 and 1791. At Chapters held in 1779 and 1781 he was elected Custos. His baptismal name was Patrick, and his religious name, Francis.¹²

Of course it is hardly necessary to add that Father Thally was not appointed to the See of Raphoe. That honour fell to Dr. Coyle.

APPENDIX (A)

Monseigneur :

Les soins de Votre Eminence pour la mission d'Irlande et les peines que vous voulés bien vous donner pour cette Ile infortunée meritent les sentiments de la reconnaissance la plus sincere de tous ceux qui s'interessent au bien etre de ce pais. Permettés donc, Monseigneur, que je joigne ma voix à celle de tant d'autres, que je vous en fasse mon remerciement le plus humble; et que je fournisse à Votre Eminence une nouvelle occasion de bien meriter de cette Ile.

Feu Mons. O'Reilly Eveque de Raphoe aiant été réduit depuis quelques ann années à un etat de seconde enfance par ses infirmités commit le soin de son diocèse à son Vicaire général. Les Pasteurs du Diocèse aiant sujet de se plaindre de cet homme, m'ecrivirent avec un Eveque voisin, il y a un an, pour m'engager à m'interessier à faire nommer un Coadjuteur et me prierent de faire en sorte que le choix tombât sur le Revd. Pere Patrice Thally de l'ordre de S.

¹¹ For original and its source, see Appendix B.

¹² Chapter Acts. Information kindly supplied by Very Revd. Fr. Canice Mooney, O.F.M.

O'DONNELL AND THE SEE OF RAPHOE

Francois. La réponse que je donnai a ces Messieurs fut, qu'ils n'avoient qu'à faire leurs plaintes à la Sacrée Congrégation et puis envoyer une postulation pour ce Pere. En conséquence de quoi je recus il y a quelque tems des Lettres de ces Messieurs par lesquelles ils m'informent qu'ils se sont conformés à mon avis et renouvellent leurs instances. Je viens cependant apprendre que cette présentation n'est point arrivée à Rome, mais pour que Votre Eminence soit convaincue que cela n'est arrivée que par quelque accident on ne sauroit répondre j'envoie au Revd. Pere qui aura l'honneur de vous remettre celle-ci, les deux dernières lettres que j'ai recues à ce sujet, qu'il vous communiquera.

Votre Eminence sera surprise qu'on se soit adressée à moi dans une affaire qui paroît être si peu de mon ressort. C'est que ces Messieurs s'imaginent qu'une espèce de droit de présentation appartient au descendant de ces ancêtres qui ont fait tant de bien à la religion dans ces cantons; et qu'ils veulent bien croire que je m'intéresserai toujours à ce qui peut avancer la gloire de Dieu et contribuer au bien de la religion persecutée dans ce pays. C'est surtout ce dernier motif qui m'engage à vous recommander le Revd. Pere Patrice Thally comme un homme vraiment apostolique. Je ne doute pas qu'il corresponde au desir que Votre Eminence a toujours montrée de fournir à cette mission des ouvriers dignes et infatigables.

Après avoir recommandé à Votre Eminence une affaire qui vous tiendra d'autant plus à cœur qu'elle regarde la gloire de Dieu et le salut des âmes; il ne me reste qu'à vous prier le profond respect et l'estime la plus grande avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être.

De Votre Eminence
A Vienne ce 9 Juillet 1777
Le très humble et obeissant
Serviteur

Le comte O Donel
Lieut. General au
Service de Leurs Maj. Imp.¹³

APPENDIX (B)

Emo e Rmo Sig. mio Ossmo.
Saranno di già pervenute a V.Ema le riverenti suppliche dei Cattolici della Diocesi di Raphoe nel Regno d'Irlanda; e siccome si tratta di dare al presente Monsignor Vescovo un Coadiutor per il cagionevole suo stato di salute, ed avanzata età, così piglio la rispettosa libertà d'unire le mie preghiere a quelle già inviatele da cattolici della detta Diocesi in favore del P. Patrizi Thally dell'ordine di S. Francesco. Ha questo religioso passati più anni nel convento di Praga insegnando la Filosofia e Teologia con molta lode, e sono ormai nove anni, che si trova in questa Capitale, servendo con non mediocre profitto i Cattolici Inglesi, i quali ci sono in non poco numero. I suoi superiori parimente gli danno le più vantaggiose testimonianze; e pieno del più riverente ossequio bacio a Vra Ema umilissimamente le mani.

Di Vra Ema alla quale rinnovo con tutta l'effcaia le mie suppliche, e Vienna li 12 Giugno 1777
mi rallegro d'aver questa occasione di rinnovarle la mia riverente servitù
Sig. Card. Castelli Roma
Umilissimo Devsso Servitore
Ccale (?) Migazzithi (?) ¹⁴

¹³ Arch. de Prop. Scritture non riferite 1777-1778. Ibernica v. 13, f. 135r-133v. The signature, in a different hand from rest of letter, is presumably the Count's autograph.

¹⁴ Arch. de Prop. Scritt. non rif. 1777-1778. Ibernica v. 13, f. 123r.

Ancient Roadways Of Donegal

(By PATRICK J. McGill, F.R.S.A.I.)

The Roman occupation of Britain, which ended about the beginning of the fifth century, left that country with numerous good roads which, however, were sadly neglected for centuries after. Ireland, also, had its ancient roadways. The annals of the Four Masters mention five great highways that radiated from the capital seat at Tara to the provinces. One of these, the *Slighe Míodhlúachra*, led North through the Newry Gap and continued to the north-east corner of Lough Neagh, where the main fork turned westward across the Ford of Toome to Aileach and Derry. Another line to *Tír Conaill* spanned the Ford of Camus south of Coleraine. Within its own immediate territory Aileach, undoubtedly, had its roadways linking up with the fortresses of its subchieftains, occupying strategic points by mountain pass and Atlantic headland. Over the same routes our early saints travelled from Gartan, Raphoe and Drumolm to their various outposts of Christianity.

ST. PATRICK IN DONEGAL.

St. Patrick, journeying from Connaught, crossed the Assaroe at Ballyshannon. He travelled by Donegal and Barnesmore to Stranorlar and along the Finn Valley to Donaghmore and Aileach—a route which was, in all probability, the ancient line of communication between the Royal Fortress of the North and Rath Cruachan, capital of Connaught, and terminus of another of the five great highways—An *Slighe Asail*. From Aileach he went around Innishowen by Dromin, Carndonagh, Merville and

northward to Magilligan, a route which we venture to assume was the principal highway of the peninsula.
EARLY ROADS IN IRELAND.

Early roads in Ireland were of three main types—those formed of planks laid on a brushwood foundation, those of cobbled stone, and others that were merely paths, where crops need not be sown, and instead of being fenced were marked with stakes or standing stones. In 1833 a wooden house found at a depth of 16 feet in a bog at Drumkeelan, near Mountcharles, had traces of a paved road leading to it. The paving rested on sleepers of timber. A road of the plank variety found in Co. Galway has been found to be of late Bronze Age date.

TRACING ANCIENT ROADS.

By the place names of our country-side we can trace many of our Ancient roadways. Such places contain words like *slighe*, a highway, *tochar*, a causeway *bealach*, a passage, *ceish*, a wattled path; *casán*, a footpath, *bothar*, a cattle-track, *bearna*, a gap, and *braghaid*, a gorge. River crossings are found under *coradh*, a weir, *scairbh*, a gravel-bank, *ath*, a ford, *clochan*, stepping stones, *clath*, a hurdle-ford, and *fearsad*, a sand bank at mouth of river. Those interested in the importance of water-crossings in the lives of our ancestors should read "Historic Fords of Donegal" by Very Rev. T. J. Molloy, D.Ph., in the Annual for 1951.

South of Ardara (on the way to Killybegs) can still be discerned parts of the old road from which the

ANCIENT ROADWAYS OF DONEGAL

Nick of the Ballagh and Meenavalley take their names. We have *Bealach na gCreach* (passage of the cattle spoils) on the mountain road between Glenties and the Reelin. *Casan na mBrathar* (the monks' pathway) crosses the foot-hills of Bluestack towards Donegal. Close to Brockagh we have Cloghan and the townland of Cloncleigh (meadow of the hurdle-bridge). Old time highways are well represented in the toponomy of Inishowen. We have Togher causeway), Glantogher and Maghtogher, Annaslee (the ford of the highway) and Ballylawn (bealach Leathan).

Enshrined in the folklore of North-West Donegal is the old road-way which crossed the hills from Gweedore to Cloghaneely, passed by Keeldrom and Cashel and continued on to the old churchyard of Tullaghbegly — then the burial-place for Lower Gweedore. Part of its course across the mountain is marked by seven standing stones, known as "Na Seacht Leachitai" erected, it is said

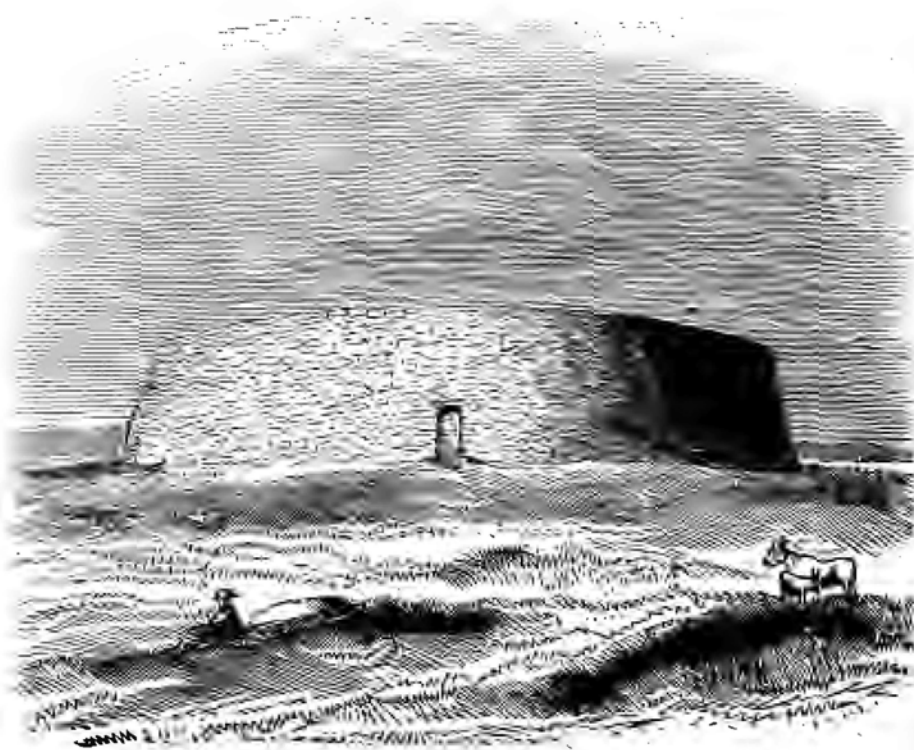
to guide travellers in darkness and in mist. Another storied highway in the same area was that which ran from Dunlewy, through Termon to Letterkenny.

WARFARE RETARDS PROGRESS.

For many centuries continued warfare in Ireland prevented much progress in road-making. Besides there was the very important consideration that facilities for communication would be more advantageous to the enemy than to the lightly-armed Irish troops. Furthermore Irish chieftains almost invariably selected inaccessible situations for strongholds and residences. Consequently we can understand why there was little or no roadbuilding in Donegal for centuries before the Flight of the Earls in 1607.

STATUTE LABOUR SYSTEM 1614.

In 1614 the Statute Labour system of road-making (already in operation in England) was introduced into this country. By this enactment every house-holder and cottage-



AILEACH — ROYAL FORTRES OF THE NORTH
(See reference page 493).

ANCIENT ROADWAYS OF DONEGAL

labourer inhabiting the parish was obliged to give six-days labour at road-making every year. This system having proved inadequate an act of 1711 allowed Grand Juries to present money towards making and repairing the highways in addition to Statute Labour. Both together having proved insufficient the Turnpike system was introduced in 1730, but owing to lack of traffic this system did not thrive either.

17th CENTURY ROADS IN DONEGAL

From reports of the period it would seem that the earlier systems were no more successful in Donegal than elsewhere. Two eminent historians have stated that in 1650 and long after there existed no road in Donegal except the roughly laid thorough-fare for soldiers between Ballyshannon and Lifford. The Vicar General of the diocese of Raphoe writing to the Cardinal-Secretary of Propaganda about 1671 refers to the roads of the diocese as

"those rugged paths truly like to those of the Alps or the Apennines".

OUR ROADS IN THE 18th CENTURY

Even the next hundred years brought little change except in a few districts. To the industry and observation of Rev. Dr. Pococke who travelled in Donegal in 1752 we are indebted for a description of many of our roads. He gives special praise to Mr. Wray of Ardes for

"those fine roads which are made over Lough Salt mountain, and in other parts, laid out so as to be finished in about seven years: by allotting such a measure of road yearly to each house, according to the value of the land they hold; they are twenty-one feet broad, with a margin on each side of green turf about two feet wide; they are first

raised with the earth that is thrown up to make a fosse--on each side, then they lay a coat of broken quarry stones, on that some earth and gravel at the top. These roads considering the cheapness of carriage on little trucks drawn by one horse almost answer the end of water carriage, for they will draw a hogshead of wine, or anything not exceeding 600 lbs in weight, and one man will attend three or four of them. They commonly feed their horses on the grass they find on the road . . . "

In the neighbourhood of Kilmacrennan he saw an extraordinary old road built along the edge of a precipice with a deep lake directly under it. The boggy nature of the road from Falcarragh westward was a great hindrance to his progress, but he encountered his most serious difficulty in the Glasbeggin Mill area of Templecrone. The road was absolutely impassable, but

"the guide went to the mill and brought a board and an ox's skin. So laying sods and heath on the skin, and the board on that, and sods on each side of it to keep the horses from slipping in, we crossed on them safely and passing on still over bog. When we came to any narrow passes the horses leaped them . . . "

On the way to Lettermacaward he "chose to go on the edges of hanging grounds and over rivulets or low places which are driest". Having crossed Gweebarra Bay on a curragh while his horses swam over he came in two miles to the Rectory of Inniskeel, "the first half on the strand, and the remainder within the sandbanks". Evidently there was no roadway. While here he was told of a highway that had been built from near Lough Finn to Strabane. He

ANCIENT ROADWAYS OF DONEGAL

crossed the Owenea on a bridge and the Ardara river on a bridge. Approaching Carricknamohill on his way to Killybegs he travelled over "the long bog of Stragar on a very good road", and he gave special praise to the high-way between Ballintra and Ballyshannon.

ROADS OF KILLYBEGS.

The road through Stragar must have been of recent construction for a map of 1749 (Bell's map of the Murray-Stewart estate) shows no road through Carricknamohill, Faifannan, or the Commons, but the Bungostin River had a ladder-shaped bridge across it. It may have been that carriage-way roads only were marked by some of those early map-makers. According to Bell "The Great Road" running between the town-parks of the "City of Killybegs" turned abruptly at Knocknagin, where it parted with its fences, crossed at the end of Loughhead and over Carnmore in the direction of Bruckless. In 1765 thirteen new pipes at a cost of 10/- each were constructed between Carricknamohill and Killybegs. In the same year bridges of stone and lime were built at Carricknamohill, Faifannan and Owenamallagh (was this latter the Commons?).

GRAND JURY PRESENTMENTS, 1753-1800.

From the Grand Jury records of 1753-1800 we learn that this was a period of great activity in road-making and bridge-building. Many previously built roads were diverted or reconstructed in accordance with the requirements of wheeled traffic then coming into vogue. Here and there through-out the county can still be seen traces of earlier roads running dead straight up hill and down without regard to gradient or centres of population. A classic example is the old road (never com-

pleted) from Ardara Diamond across Drumbarron, and over the hillside of Cashel to the Nick. The present road from Ardara to the Nick was laid out and gravelled 14 feet wide in the years 1766-68. The causeway previously in use ran close to the river in the bottom of the valley.

EXTRACTS — A FEW OF MANY

- 1756. A bridge over the River Finn on "the Great Road from Boyleagh to Ballybofey" was built at a cost of £165.
- 1756 The road from Mountcharles to K. Iraine was in course of construction, and 9 bridges and 48 pipes were built on the "Great Road" leading from Ballintra to Pettigoe.
- 1757 £9 was paid to James Hamilton and Wm. Brice to build a bridge of one arch over the River of Killybegs.
- 1757 The road from Tryenagh to Gweebarra was coated with stones and gravel at a cost of £105.
- 1758 On the "Great Road" from Donegal to Killybegs a new section was opened through the lands of Drumark and Balliweel, another through the lands of Mountcharles and Drumore, and a third through Carricknagore.
- 1760—New Bridge over the Glen River. New road to be run straight through the lands of Straid, Curtecro and Carrick, beginning at Straid and ending at the Bridge of Glen. Request of Rev. Robert Phillips and Andrew Hamilton.
- 1760 A bridge over the River Cloghanlea (Dungloe).
- 1761 New Road from Letterkenny to Ballinamore.
- 1762 £141-15s. granted to build a four arched bridge of stone

ANCIENT ROADWAYS OF DONEGAL

- and lime over the River Clady on the "Great Road" from Dunfanaghy to Killybegs.
- 1765 New road Clenmanny Br. to Buncrana. New road (part) Carn to Culdaff.
- 1766 Ballindrait. £6 presented to fill up and pave 210 yards of the street beginning at the N.W. end of the town and ending at John Killoon's house.
- 1767 Ballindrait £13-5-8 presented to pave 672 yards of the street beginning at the bridge and leading towards Castlefin at 4d per yard, also 1,000 loads of clay at 1d per load.
- 1767 New road through Shallogans and Derryloughan to Gweebarra River.
- 1768 Section of new road between Letterkenney and Raphoe so as to avoid the extraordinary steep hill at Lismonaghan.
- 1768 £257-8-8 presented to build a bridge over the river of Donegal.
- 1771 Glen to Killybegs. Repair bridge of Portachran, build arches at Argall, Derrylahane and Roxborough.
- 1771 Repair the road from Keenaghan (Kilcar) to Murphy's Ford.
- 1771 New road from Ballyerriston through Clogher to Narin. The old road veered seaward via the Castlegoland houses).
- 1783 New road from Dunkineely through Castletown and Loughmuilt.
- 1783 New road from Calhame Lough to Bruckless.
- 1787 Glenties-Maas. New road to be opened at request of Right Hon. Wm. Conygham through Maas, Letterilly, Lough Crililin, Stranaglough and Gortnamucklagh.

- 1788 New road Maas to Gweebarra.
- 1792 Mountcharles-Ardara. New road through Castlogary and Carrickatleve.

ARTHUR YOUNG, 1776-79.

Arthur Young in his "Tour of Ireland", 1776-79 was particularly impressed with the excellence of the roads in every part of the country. "I could", he says, "trace a route upon paper as wild as fancy could dictate, and everywhere I found beautiful roads without break or hindrance I found it perfectly practicable to travel upon wheels by a map." We must remember, however, that our traveller avoided the more backward parts, and also that his comparison was based on the roads of England which, from sheer neglect, had got into a deplorable condition.

In Donegal he confined his itinerary to the road from Raphoe and Convoy through Barnesmore to Mountcharles and Ballyshannon, with a visit to Killybegs. In Clonleigh there was no such thing as a wheeled car, and on the road to Ballybofey he met "oxen drawing sledge-cars of turf, single with collars". Of the road to Barnes Gap he writes, "I had often heard of roads being made over such quaking bogs that they move under a carriage but could scarcely credit it. I was, however, convinced now, for in several places, every step the horse took, moved a full yard of the road in perfect heaves"—a description which enables us to form an opinion of conditions in more remote areas.

POST ROAD ACT, 1792.

The Post Roads Act of 1792 (amended 1805) was designed "for improving and keeping in repair the Post roads in this kingdom for the better conveyance of His Majesty's mails by coaches, and for the greater

ANCIENT ROADWAYS OF DONEGAL

security of persons travelling therein". Each surveyor was "to divest himself entirely of any attachment to proximity to the old road and choose the best line for the (new) road". Hills were lowered and hollows filled. About this time also milestones were erected, and travellers were obliged to take the left hand side of the road under a penalty of 10/-.

ABUSES IN THE ROAD MAKING SYSTEM.

In those early years many abuses crept into the road-making system. The interests of the landlord nearly always pre-dominated. New roads radiated from Big Houses like rays from a centre with a surrounding space without any communication. Money presented for the construction or repair of public roads was sometimes expended on making private avenues. Even this gave employment, but there were instances where public money was paid out and not one perch of road made anywhere. In one county (not Donegal) abuses were so glaring that the following lines were written :—

"From the measurer who lays
down the chain,
To him who grasps the sacriligious gain;
Thro' every stage, on oath, the
process speeds,
And all the swearers have their
sev'ral meeds;
Hence are confounded, abstract,
right and wrong,
Scruples are jests and morals are
a song".

McPARTLAND STATISTICAL SURVEY, 1802.

Dr. McPartland tells us that the success of the Winter fishing in the Rosses in 1784 and 1785 induced Col. Conyngham to expend a sum of fifty thousand pounds (£50,000) in

building houses and stores on the island of Innishmacadurn, "and in making roads through the mountains to the champain parts of the country". "Nothing can exceed", he continues; "the goodness of the roads of this county. In the mountain regions the materials are everywhere at hand and the roads remarkably smooth and excellent. To this there is but one exception, that is the coast-wise road from Rutland towards Derry".

ROADS OF KILCAR AND GLENCOLUMBKILLE.

We can be quite certain that the ecclesiastical foundations of the Glencolumbkille peninsula in early Christian times had a road-way connection with the principal monastic establishments of Tircanaille, and the natural course for this route would be via the little monastic cells of Killybegs (Na Cealla beaga). Along this way travelled such notable saints as Colmkille, Meadhog of Ferns, Naai of Inver, Claran of Ossory, and holy hermits like Aodh Mac Bric and Bishop Assicus. St. Claran's well by the roadside at Shalvey marks one of their resting places.

Historians in tracing the course of ancient lines of communication generally assume that most, if not all, battles were fought adjacent to a main road. The battle of Derrylahane in 1590 between Red Hugh's mother, an Ineen Dubh, and her step-son, Donal O'Donnell was hardly an exception. The road to Glen in those days was little more than an open track, levelled and worn with centuries of use. Still it sufficed to bring two armies, with their equipment together. Bell's map of 1749 (referred to at Killybegs) shows a ladder-shaped bridge spanning the river from Letter to Drimnafinagle, about the same position as the present bridge, but there is no sign of a paved road way at either end.

ANCIENT ROADWAYS OF DONEGAL

A CARRIAGE ROADWAY TO GLENCOLMKILLE

A street of Killybegs known as Old Fintra Road was the outlet for the first paved highway to Fintra, Kilcar and Glen. The steep Silvermine hill adjacent to the town held no terrors for those early road engineers. Its site through Fintra and Largy was the same as that of the present road. But at Kille (Cunningham's), instead of inclining shoreward, it shot across the hillside through Largymore and above the larger village of Bavin where it turned Westward to Gortnagillagh and continued to Kilcar. From Kilcar it passed through Ballintemple, Curris, Portachran, Derrylahan, and across the well known ford on the Glen River below Carrick. Tradition has it that a bridge erected at this point at a later date was demolished overnight to prevent Revenue Police crossing to Glen.

From the Meenavean-Malinmore junction the old road took a course over the hill west of the present road. It is still used for the transport of turf. Portion of a disused highway that ran from this point to Malinmore is now submerged in Lough Awa. Another old road to the Malins went from Sean Gleann through Killanfid. Casan an Ghearrain was an old pathway from Teelin to Malinbeg.

MALINBEG.

THE ROXBORO RECTORY, 1750.

Road improvements in the Kilcar-Glen area are thought to date from about 1750 when the first rectory was built at Portachran (which had been re-named Roxboro in the reign of Charles II). The Rector who was also landlord of Cuskry Glebe exerted his influence with the Grand

Jury to get presentments for the dual purpose of employing his tenants and improving his property. One of these roads, still pointed out, ran from Cuskry over the top of Bogagh and northward to Straleel and Meenaneary. The main road was paved and gravelled, and bridges and pipes were built.

A Murray-Stewart estate-map of 1815 shows the road from Kilcar through the Glen of Ballydubh and over Mullanough to Ardara. The construction of this road may have been due to the influence of the Nesbitts of Woodhill who, as well as being Grand Jurors, were landlords of Ardara and of certain townlands adjacent to Kilcar. At this point there was no roadway through Crove, and many of the houses stood dangerously close to the bank of the river. In 1831 the road from Glencolmkille to Leamagowra was in course of construction through Largynaseeragh and Stravalley. Many new roads have been made since, and the work goes steadily on.

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Seághan Mac a'bháir

1842-1911

le míceál ós mac páirín

TÚS A SAOĞAIL, A SINNSEAR
AGUS A CURO TÚSMIŠTEOIRÍ :

Ir i tóir boigne i n-iaréar tír
Conaill mhic Néill a rugaó Seághan
Mac a'bháir ran bliádh, 1842. Bí
ré ar an mac ba rine de deicneabair
a múirgín a bí ag páiric Mac a'
bháir agus bhúirí ní Cuinnigean.
Oighe a bí ann de'n t-rean-treid
uairtín a bí mar ollamh ariamh anall
ag Clann Dálais na nDonn Sciat. Bí
clú an léiginn agus na ribialtae
leo i gcomhairle agus de éiríse rín
seirísear a n-ainmeaéa go minic in
na h-annalaéa. Cuairt an t-raoğal
traeé agus iompa ar Eogan Mac a'
bháir, an file móir-clúiteaé a cum an
oán truağcanta rín fá báir na nártaí
ran Róm. Bí ollamh de éiríse mhic a'
bháir ag Clann Dálais go tóí teic-
eaó mí-fortunaé na nártaí in diaó
bhíreáó Cinn tsáile. Ó'n uair rín
reabaó agus bíreáó na filí agus na
reanóirí agus bhíreáó ar rean-rí-
ialtaé an Šaeóil.

A BAILE DÚTCAIS IMEASS SLIAB
TÍR CONAILL

Bain móran de Clann mhic a'bháir
fubéa ran rlior tíre rín eadair an
Deannuir mhóir agus an Šaeó Deann
i n-iaréar Connae Dún na nŠall. Tá
ainmeaéa na mbailte agaimm mar
éiríseáó ar reo mar tá: leitir mhic
a'bháir, Cluan mhic a'bháir, Carrac
mhic a'bháir agus mar rín.

A OIGHE I MBLIAÓC'ITAI AN
DROC-SAOGAIL

Baó ar an Cáiric, i bháiric
Cill Aéaóir, a tógaó Seághan Mac
a'bháir. Cait ré túr a raoğail ag
obair ar šabaltar beag talamh le
'n-áir agus an curo eile de'n teag-
laé. Connaic ré agus o'fulang anar
agus cruairítean agus šanntannr an
droc-raoğail ar feaó bliádhantai an
šorta. Ir iomaóa rceal a bí aige ar
an raoğal leaé-éromae a bí ann an
t-am rín. Connaic ré túr an imirce
mhóir, na rluagíte ag imteaeé táir
ráile. Connaic ré, dar leir, deiréaó
le réim an Šaeóil i n-a éalaini dú-
éair.

BÉAL-OIDEAS AG ÁIRNEÁL,
AN SEANAÉAIR

Aéé réar páiric Mac a'bháir
agus a múirgín an fóó go raó an
droc-uair éair. Annrin éainis trom-
ríúro ar raoğal muinntir' na tuata i
ngaé ceair de'n tír. Bí plúr aor óis
na tíre imear na gcomhš i gceim
agus ní raó an céiríó nó 'n áirneál nó
clúice péile ann mar bíóó róm an
imirce. An caiteam-aimirce baó mó
a bí aca—go h-áiric ar feaó an
šeimríó—ag eirteaeé le reanaéairíte
—fir boéa a cuir na tiğearnaí tal-
am ar a gcuir talamh agus a bí anoir
ar na bealaš ó ceann go ceann na
h-éireann. Bí fáilte rómpa i tóis
mhic a'bháir agus érimmí na comar-

panni uilig ipcead go scluinfeadh ríad
 rceál úr nó rean-rceál ó'n fear-ríu-
 ail. Bí rin aise i scomhairde nuair-
 ead na tíre agus rcealta go leór.
 Daó maíe an éluar a tug Seagan
 Mac a'Dáiró do gac reanaíde a
 uiseadh éar, agus bí a ríuict air,
 congbuis ré cuinne maíe ar na rceal-
 ta ríannairdeáda, ar na h-amháin
 agus rannata bí aca. O'fás ríad a rían
 air i ríe a ríogail. Tug an reanaíde
 ramailteada agus ríocúirí iongan-
 taá i sgeann an gáruir a ríreag a
 inntinn agus a tug ádóbar meabruisge
 agus maíe naíe do. Bí feíe an léiginn
 ó tóitear leir agus daó mór a éiríge
 an oileamaint reo a fuair ré éir na
 teinead 'ra baile.

"AN DÓRO NÁISIÚNTA"

Cuiríde na rcolta Náisiúnta ar
 bun fa bliadain 1831 aet ní raó ríad
 coitceann fá'n tuair go ríe fáda 'na
 óiríe rin. Leir na rcoltaá rin éiríge
 tuile Déarla agus Sallódaíe sup
 ríuad ré an tír, réadain a ráó. Aet
 níor baín an tuile rin aon carad ar
 Seagan Mac a'Dáiró, gíe sup bráe
 ré ar éiríe agus tuata i móran aitead
 ra tír. Cuir ríaltar na Sapan ar bun
 na rcoltaá reo leir an Déarla a éir
 i n-uadair i néireann agus an Saeóils
 a éir i leat-taóib. Agus fan am reo
 bí an Saeóils dá labairt go coit-
 ceannta taob éar de líne a éarainn-
 eodá ó Dóire go Port Laine agus
 bí rí dá labairt i móran aitead eile
 taob éir de'n líne rin.

AN SAEÓILS I SCRUAÓCAS

Daó é an éad curpóir a bí as
 an Dóro Náisiúnta teanga tóitear na
 h-éireann a ríuad ar fáo agus "Sar-
 anais beaga chearta" a réanam de
 aor ós na h-éireann agus ní mó ná
 sup éiríge leo. Ní raó iongantar sup
 glaoó an ríaríe an "Murder
 Machine" ar an gléar oideáir reo
 no ríuad ré inntleat agus éir-
 cinn na ríuagte páirí a bí 'na mún-
 ígín.

OIDEACÁIS

Aet o'ainídeín an réim ríeann-
 ain Salló reo congbuis Seagan Mac
 a'Dáiró ríeim ríangean ar an teag-
 arc agus an béal-oidear a fuair ré
 éiríe teinead. Níor ríre do an tóit-
 raíe rin a beíe aise agus daó maíe a
 éiríge ré do'n líne as a éiríge fáoi
 na éreoir mar múniteoir rcoile nó
 bí ré Saeóealac go ríuoir. Bí an t-áó
 ar Seagan Mac a'Dáiró i ríaríe an
 ama reo go ríeiríge múniteoir rcoile
 go páiríe na sCeall mbeag ar
 b'ainm do ríaríe Mac ríonnlaig.*
 Daó de éann íaral ar Slean Col-
 uimille a éiríge an múniteoir ós reo
 agus bí a éiríe agus a éiríe ar fuo tír
 Conaill fan am. O'iongantac ríaríe a
 éiríe ríaríe i rcoile na Críue. O'iom-
 aíe ádóbar ríaríe agus múniteora a
 éiríge fáoi na ríuad agus a t'ull-
 muis a tóit ar ágaríe i sCúrra léiginn.
 Ní caigíeán íaríe a bí aise ac
 h-oiread mar múniteoir nó bí ríaríe
 aise dá tír agus gac níó t'ár baín
 leí.

SÁR-MÚNITEÓIR

Ní réaríe ré réaríe de'n Saeó-
 ils nó de Stáir na h-éireann agus bí
 na h-áódaíe reo mar baínne ríuir as
 Seagan Mac a'Dáiró. Bí an mún-
 teoir reo oile léigíeannata éar an
 coitceann nó ríuad ré leabair ríu-
 eamail "Stáir tír Dóigne" **
 agus ríaríe léigíeannata ar móran
 áóbar eile. Daó mór an ríuad do
 múniteoir rcoile leabair a éir i
 glóó fan am rin. Cuirígeann ré an
 mianac agus an éiríe-áigne a bí inr
 an múniteoir reo. O'fás ré rían a
 inntleat ar gac ríaríe a éiríge
 fáoi na éiríe. Aet cheiríe nár leán
 aon ríuad aca coiríe ríuad t'á
 réag-ríompla agus t'á éaríe ar
 ríne Seagan Mac a'Dáiró.

*Aetíe Monr. Mac ríonnlaig Béal
 áta Seanaig agus an t-éaríe
 Mac ríonnlaig U.S.A.

**History and Antiquities of South
 Donegal.

AS TEAGAS PÁISTÍ SCOILE

Ar a teacht i n-aoir do, tosaíodh Seagán é féin mar mhúinteoir scoile. Ní raib ceirto ar bit ní b'annra leir 'na an múinteoiréacht. Cait ré real ar dtús as teagasc i scoil Malainn, b'is i bPáráirde Shleann Colum Cille. Cuairt ré ó rin go scoil Fáitche Bean-nam comhgharac do Na Cealla Deaga. Cait ré as teagasc ran scoil reo go dtí 1909 nuair a d'éirigh ré ar obair na múinteoiréachta ran bun-scoil. Bí a cliú i n-áirde i n-gac ceapn de'n Connrae agus táinig mic-léiginn cuige ó'n uile ceannair go scoil Fáitche Beanainn. Daó táirbeac an máire dóib é no d'éirigh go bréag le gac tuine aca rlige beata maic a baint amac dá bairr a gcuir léiginn. Fuair mórán aca pórtai áirde ran Stát-Feirbír agus i ngnaithe trácála ra baile agus i gcéin. Ní raib a cuir oibre san áirde-molaó ó éirigh an "Dóir Náirúnta" agus bronnad an tuair céimeamail rin air—Capitla agus Blake—dá bairr a cuir muinteoiréachta. Sió sup raol an Sean Dóir Náirúnta a bí Seagán Mac a' Dáirio as obair níor leis ré faill éir ar ariam a dtiocfaó leir nar mún ré teanga agus Stáir 7 Ceól na h-Éir-eann do na páirí. Bí ainmneacha na mbailte, na cnuic, na h-áirde, na rú-éain éir ar gac taob i n-gaeóil agus baó deir uair mímúgáó na n-ainmneac rin a cuir poim an t-aoir ós.

AS MÚINEAD

Aé nuair a beirfead ré léigead uair anoir ip air ar Stáir na h-Éir-eann ar doó Ruaó Ó Domnaill nó Eoghan Ruaó nó ceannpuit Saédeal ní bead na páirí turrac a éiríce as éirtead leir. Tug ré mar gcéatna na rceala Fiannaróeacá dóib agus amáin agus rannta na rean-filíre. Ní raib Seagán Mac a' Dáirio san oil-eamaint i gcúrrai muinteoiréachta. Bí ré ar an éat baicle a cuair go Baile Áta Cliaó 'ra bliadain 1869 le cúrra oileamaint o'fagáil ó'n Seagáó

agus ollam eile i gColáirde Maol-briúde. U'fogluim ré mórán ó na rcoláirí móra reo fa'n teangaid. Fiannaróeacá, reanar, agus aóbaip léiginn Saédealaca mar rin. Ar pil-lead do 'na baile érom ré ar rcur-eap níor cruinne a déanam de na h-aóbaip reo agus lean ré dóib ar fead a raogail.

"PÁTORAIC" AN FILE

Nuair a bí Seagán Mac a' Dáirio as teagasc scoile i Malainn bí clia-éirfaó raol na rcurad aé Pátoraic Ó Beirp ("Pátoraic") an file. U'fár muintearad mór eatorra. Coitig Seagán Mac a' Dáirio feir na filíre-éachta a bronn Dia ar "Pátoraic" agus ip iomda dán bréag Saéóilge acá agáinn dá bairr. Pór Seagán Mac a' Dáirio, Anna Ní Beirp, deirbriúr "Pátoraic" agus éir raó raogail rona i bfaicé Beanainn sup rcar an bair iad. Bí oéar de muiúgín aca, ceirre mac agus ceirre nígean.

AS OBAIR AR SON NA SAÉOILGE

Bí Seagán Mac a' Dáirio agus "Pátoraic" i gcomhairle le céile anoir. Bí raogail agus raótar na beirte reo com ríge fuairte i ngnaithe Saédeal-acair naé mbéad cunnar ar tuine amáin i gceair san trác ar an fear eile. Daó deacair a méar anoir an mór-obair éirbeac a rigne an dá Saédeal reo do éir na teangá ran am rin—ó 1860 go dtí 1900 nuair a bí pí ar beagán carad.

ROIM CONNRAÓ NA SAÉOILGE

Bí reo bliadantaí rú ar cuiread Connraó na Saéóilge ar bun agus nuair a bí tircé-mear agus tarcurne ar Saédeal ar bit a bí as iarraíó teanga agus tréice a rinnir a com-neáil beó. Má bí Seagán Mac a' Dáirio oilir Dútracáac ran obair reo ní raib "Pátoraic" 'na éort ná na comhairle." Ní raib cumann ar bun a bí as obair ar ron náirúntacá naé raib an beirte greamúgáe ann.

OBÁIR SAN OILEÁN ÛR

San bliadhain 1878 d'imigis "Pádraic" go Meimica agus níor bfuada i Nuas Eabhrac é go raib ré 'na príomhbhall d'en Cumann Saeóealaic ran Cašair rin. I r iomda litir a bi anoir anonn 'r anall eadair é féin agus Seašan Mac a'Váirto. D'éirig leo araon brat na Saeóilge a conneáil i n-áirde éall agus i bfuir. Bí tréan-Saeóeal 'ran Oileán Ûr le linn an ama reo agus an teangsa beó i mbéal na mílte a éuaró anonn ran imirce móir agus bí "Pádraic" mar béaló ré ra baile na mearc. Bí dánta agus aipó i nSaeóilg aca ran "Irish World," "Irish Echo," "Irish American," "Irish Advocate," "Dorset Pilot," "Chicago Citizen," and the San Francisco "Leader" agus bí iir-leabair míoramail curta amac as an Cumann Saeóealaic i Nuas Eabhrac.

AS SCRÍOBAT

Scríob Pádraic móran de na dánta agus na h-aipó reo. Ran am céadna bí Seašan Mac a'Váirto as rscríobad ar na h-árbair céadna do na páirpéir i mbáile áta Cliaic. Béal feirroe agus Doirpe. Cíófeair ó reo go raib obair móir déanta—obair rparóe—agus dútraié maié cósta as an dá Saeóeal reo i bfuair rúil ar cuir-eaó Connraó na Saeóilge ar bun.

Ácť mar deirad Seašan Mac a'Váirto ní raibmuid "ácť mar súť ran fáraic" sur éruinnig muinntir na tíre uilig irteaó go Connraó na Saeóilge. "Ní neart san cur le céile" adeirad "Pádraic."

AS SRÍOSAÓ AN POBAIL

Bí an doir as tuitim ar an beirt aca anoir ácť mar rin féin ní pártá bí riad mar mbéaló riad i láir na bpuighe. Cuirig riad go cpoirdeamail leir an Craoibín doirbín as rcaad an t-rúil ó éuaró ar ó deap, coir agus éiar, ran baile agus ran Oileán Ûr. Ní raib éruinnigad de'n Connraó i sCúige Ulaó nac raib Seašan Mac a'

Váirto i lácair agus baó maié uaró oráio mipeamail a déanam ar na h-ocáio reo agus na daoine na sríoradó 'un oirpe ar ron tíre agus ceangla.

MEAS AN POBAIL

D'ionsantaó an meap, an upram agus an sráó a bí as cléir agus tuata do'n Saeóeal uaral reo. Bí cpoirde na ndaoine leir. Bí bríg agus ciall i na éuir camnte a éaicin leo agus bí craobaca de Connraó na Saeóilge as éirge ruar agus as borraó go láirir eibe áit a dtéigeadó ré le gluaireadť na teangsa a éur ar ašairó.

Bí móro agus ómór rpeirialta as múinteóirí rcoile na tíre do'n rean-leomán móir-époirteaó, caršanaó reo. Ar readó bliadantaí fada bí ré mar ácaoirleaó as Cumann na Múinteóirí i sConnrae Dún na nŠall. Cógaó é ar an Coirpe Šnóca mar com-dalta leir an Craoibín agus an Riarpac, Eóin Mac Néill, Ó Raicille agus taoirig breašca eile atá imigíte anoir leir 'na ríorparóeacťa.

LIAR OLLAN

Nuair a cuirad Coláirpe Clóic Ceannfaoilríó ar bun i oTír Conaill ran bliadhain 1906, bí Seašan Mac a'Váirto ar óirpe de na h-ollam a bí ann. I r minic a móil Ūna Ní fáirceallais agus Séumar Ó Seapcais dútracť agus oirleaóť agus macantaóť Seašain agus a móir-eólar ar an Saeóilg.

AN TEASBOŠ Ó DÓMNAILL

Bí Seašan Mac a'Váirto 'na éultaca láirir as an Earboš Ó Dómnail nuaip i rí reirpean as obair go dútracťacť i na dóig éiracťacť féin leir an Saeóilg a éur 'un córaig i oTír Conaill. Cuirig ré leir feir tír Conaill a éur ar bun ran bliadhain 1906 i tá an feir rin as dúl ar ašairó go láirir šac bliadhain ó ríoin. San bliadhain 1907 éur riad araon Coláirpe na

SEAN MAC A'DÁIR

SCeithe Maighirtir ar bun i Leitir Ceanainn. Do mhúinteoirí rcoile a cuipead an coláiríoe reo ar bun agus pinne ré obair mór-táirbeac fáo ar bí ré faoi feol.

ÚSODAR

Cuir Seágan Mac a'Dáir eadair ar an "Teagarc Críoradair" do'n Earbog Ó Domhail agus lean ré do'n obair reo gur rcríob ré "leabair Urruighe." Na ndiair reo cuipead amac ó na lán "Cuairteanna ar an tSacamaint Naomha" (Naomh Alpharur) agus airíu fíor-mair ar "Na hEiríctil agus na Soirceil." Annpin rcríob ré rrait leabair do páirí rcoile, "Srait Chann Eirne," agus cuir ré i n-eagar "leabair filíoeac fá éoinne na rcoil" ma bfuil cuir mór de dánta "Páorair" Uí Deinn, a rrean éara. Cuir ré amac leabair "crumneolair" a u'fóir go mair do páirí rcoile. Scríobad ré i rcolam i nSaeóilg rimplíoe rcoiléir agus bí ré an-éiríamac fá litríu agus gramadac. U'iomda rin litir a rcríob ré eirí na páiréir fá ríoinntí gramadairge 7 baó é bí rígin i nríorppíoeac nó i rconrppíoe ar bíe mar reo.

AN TADAIR Ó SRAMNAIS

Cuiríge ré leir an Adair Ó Srarnais na "Simple Lesson in Irish" a éur le céile agus bí muinntearóar mór eatorra. Bí bliadain amáin agus éair an beir acá a rcurt laete ríoiríe le céile i nSleann Colum Cille i rTír Conail.

AN DOCTÚIR UA DUINNÍN

Mar an rceadna cuiríge ré leir an Doctúir Ua Duinnín nuair a bí an ríagair léigeannta rin as crumnú adair an ríoclóra. Cúg an Doctúir Ó Duinnín cuairt ar Seágan Mac a'Dáir ar fead an ama rin agus éuair ríad éair ar mórán de na ceanntair Saeóealacá i rTír Conail. Ir íomda úgdar a bí faoi comáoin as Seágan Mac a'Dáir. Bí ré i rcom-

naíoe réir le comairle a éadair uóir. Ir íomda litir a rcríob ré ar an uóiríge reo agus ir íomda punt airíoe a éur ré uairíe ran éur éeada. Ir íomda mac-léiginn a éarraing ré faoi na bair agus múnlaig a inntinn agus a éríoe i ngríad do éeangair agus rean-litríoeac na h-Éireann.

I SCOLÁISTOE NAOMH ADAMHAIN

O'éríge ré ar obair rcoile ran bliadain 1909 acé ní rcríoe a bí i nroán do annpin réin. Cuir an Earbog Ó Domhail cuipead air éeac mar ollam Saeóilge go Coláiríoe Naomh Adamhain i Leitir Ceanainn. Bí a éríoe go h-íomlán ran obair rin agus u'fan ré 'na éíonn go uóainig an bair air. O'éas ré i mbliadain 1914, i n-airí adá bliadain uéas agus trí ríoead.

A UÉIS-TRÉITE

Críoradair de'n éur a b'feair b'eac Seágan Mac a'Dáir. Ní éiríoead a uéanam ar a éráibteacé, a éneartaé agus a macantaé. Agus leir na tréite rin bí an uairleacé agus an éagnairéacé. Acé i mbearna an baeóair—agus b'íomda bearna a réar ré—bí an mairneacé agus an réar-amalaé agus an réarmaé ann baó dual do rlan-oiríe de Clann Míe a' Uáiríoe. Cúg ré cuíoead mair mór do airébeóú an léiginn Saeóealairge a éadair 'un cinn agus leir an r-ríol a éur nuair a bí Éire ar beagán cuiríge. Uéarraíoe lué rcríobéa ríairíe amac annro an molaó do acá cuíite airge, molaó a b'éar as éur leir an ruo adubairt an ríle fa n-a rínnreair:

"Clann Míe a'Dáiríoe an léiginn lán

Fuair cáil ó éiríe Inre Fáil."

NÓTAÍ:

Seo tíor cuir de'n muinntir a cuiríge le Seágan Mac a'Dáiríoe ran obair mór-éadacé a éarraing ré air réin. Bí ríad com-airreairé leir agus ruim mór as ríac duine acá ra

SEAN MAC A'DÁIRÓ

Šaebóilge:— An Cáiríoeanal Ó Luġos, An Cáiríoeanal Ó Domnáill, An Doctúir Mac Šuiróir, Séamar Ó Créas, Antoine Ó Dočartais, An tAdair Ó Šramnais, An Doctúir Ó Duinnín, Páorais Ó Šallcóðair.

Carra mór-éiríoeac fláiteamail b'eadó an Cáiríoeanal Ó Domnáill. Níor óiúltais ré airgead i n-aon am do na n-úġoair reo a bí 'eup amac leab- aréai Šaebóilge nuair a bí a éiríoeac mačtanac.

Ollam le Šaebóilge i Šcoláiríoe naomh Avammain b'eadó Séamar Ó Créas. Ruġad é ar na Šleannai i oTír Conaill asur reiríob ré mórán leabair Šaebóilge ar fead a řaogail. leic-éead bliadain ó řoin euir ré i

šcoló "Šraméir na Šaebóilge" "Clann Lir" ġc., "Progressive Studies in Irish", asur leabrai eile.

Bí cártannar mór eadair an tAdair Ó Šramnais asur Mac a'Dáiró asur b'iomóa luir a reiríob riad euir a éile.

An leagan ultac adá ar mórán oe na focla i b'oclóir An Doctúir Uí Duinnín baó ó Mac a'Dáiró a fuair ear iad.

Oúġeavóir i mBaile Óún na nŠall b'eadó Páorais Ó Šallcóðair. Scolair maic Šaebóilge a bí ann a éiríois so mór le Connrad na Šaebóilge leic-éead bliadain ó řoin. O'řas ré £4,000 le cumneacán a éogail do na Ceirre Maġiririr i nÓún na nŠall.

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Four Ancient Stone Forts In County Donegal

BY R. F. G. ADAMS, M.A. (Hons. Oxon.) F.R.S.A.I.

Being so fortunate as to find my friend and your Vice-President, Mr. P. J. McGill, on holiday during a recent stay in Ardara I was enabled to visit a number of sites of great antiquarian interest in particularly favourable circumstances. Having read in some authoritative work, of which the name of author and title escape me, that stone forts are almost unknown outside the South Western counties, with the exception of Grianan of Aileach, there referred to by another name, I became anxious to have this misconception corrected as soon as I paid a visit to Loch Doon last year. Visits to the other forts which make up the subject matter of this article increased this desire. A suggestion from Mr. McGill gave me an opportunity for allaying it, and I trust that this will do something to put the Forts of Co. Donegal 'on the map'.

Since taking this article in hands I have come across a reference in J.R.S.A.I. Vol. vii No. 27, which says *inter alia* :— 'Islands, stone encircled, artificial or natural, are not so uncommon as was once supposed: as in Ulster, especially in Donegal, they are not uncommon, but unfortunately in the latter county they now, nearly invariably are "Kail Gardens" used to grow cabbage plants on; the plants in such isolated places being more protected during winter from the sheep and cattle than if on the land. Perhaps the need for this to

be better known will alone justify the choice of subject.

First of the four Forts is Grianan of Aileach, to repeat the name used in the monograph on the Fort published by the Stationery Office in 1919; this itself being extracts from the 'seventy-sixth annual report of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, 1907-1908'. The next few paragraphs are extracted from this monograph.

The Grianan of Aileach was one of the most remarkable and important works of its kind ever erected by the ancient Irish, being the palace of the Northern Irish Kings from the earliest age of historic tradition down to the commencement of the 12th century. In 1101 the King of Munster demolished the Grianan of Aileach, and he ordered his army to bring from Aileach to Limerick a stone of the demolished building for every sack of provisions which they had with them.

It appears never after to have been thoroughly rebuilt.

During the years 1870-75 a local resident, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Bernard, at his own expense, rebuilt a great portion of this Ancient Stone Fort. He took the precaution of marking in black colour the walls at the level at which he commenced the rebuilding. The work done by Dr. Bernard was in keeping with the untouched work then remaining.

This structure was vested in the

FOUR ANCIENT STONE FORDS

Board (of Works) on 9th November, 1904, and initial repairs have been undertaken. The principal dimensions of the Cashel or Stone Fort are :— Diameter internally, 77 ft. 3 ins. east to west, and 76 ft. 6 ins. north to south, walls 13 to 14 ft. wide at base, averaging 16 feet in height. The entrance faces due east, and is 4 ft. 1½ ins. wide at bottom, and 3 ft. 1½ ins. at top, and 6 ft. 1 in. in height.

There is a small well which collected surface water only, and was probably a cooking pit. Adjoining it is an opening through the wall measuring 18 inches wide and 14 inches high, narrowing to the outside face to a width of 9 inches at the bottom, 7 inches at top, and 1 foot in height. There are remains of similar forts and stone-roofed huts which have not been vested. These ruins represent the most ancient type of construction in stone known in Ireland, and are composed of stones laid dry without any cementing material.

The Fort is situated in the County of Donegal, about seven miles from Derry, on the summit of a hill 802 feet high. Three concentric ramparts surrounded the cashel, or keep, of the fortress.

This wall is not quite perpendicular on its external face but has a curved slope, or inclination inwards, like Staigue Fort, in Kerry, and most other forts of the kind in Ireland. At the height of about 5 feet from the base, on the interior face of the wall, the thickness is diminished about 2 feet 6 inches by a terrace, the ascent to which was by staircases, or flights of steps, increasing in breadth as they ascend and situated at each side of, but at unequal distances, from the entrance gateway. There was originally a succession of three or four such terraces, ascending to the top, or platform, of the wall. On each side of the en-

trance gateway there are galleries within the thickness of the wall, extending in length to one-half of its entire circuit, and terminating at its northern and southern points. These galleries are in places 5 feet high, and have sloping sides, being 2 feet 2 inches wide at bottom, and 1 foot 11 inches at top; they are covered by large stones, laid horizontally. In the southern gallery, and near its eastern termination, there is a small rectangular recess with a seat about 18 inches high. On each side of the entrance passage there is a recess, probably for the purpose of receiving the leaves of a folding door.

The building stones average about 2 feet in length, and it is quite evident that they have been in many parts squared with the hammer; but not chiselled. But in the exterior face of the building the stones are much more rounded, or worn at the edges, and indicate from their state of decay, as well as from lichens with which they are overgrown, a very remote antiquity.

Between the third and fourth walls (i.e. the two outer ramparts) there is a spring well, which when discovered was covered with a large stone, and between the second and third walls there is a small mound having around it a circle of ten large stones, laid horizontally and converging towards the centre. When the mound was opened shortly before 1835, nothing was discovered in it that would throw light on the purpose of its erection.

So much for the official record. My own notes, of a visit on the 19th June, 1952, mention the Grianan as being much bigger than Staigue Fort, the slight batter on the outer wall, already mentioned, the inner wall being apparently straight with a number of steps and three terraces. The opening through the wall is recorded as a drain opposite the en-

FOUR ANCIENT STONE FORDS

trance which has a trabeated doorway with large boulder as lintel, the boulder having been re-erected by Dr. Bernard.

The well is noted as being called St. Patrick's Well and as being beside a path running down the hill to the south. The black restoration line is now ill-defined. The interior of the fort is covered with grass. There is a standing stone on the lower slope of the hill on which the fort is erected. Local people seem to call the Fort 'Castle' for I was asked, "Were you up at the castle?" by a working man just as I reached the road near Speen church.

According to the Four Masters Grianan of Aileach was built circa 1700 B.C. It was a one-time residence of the O'Neills of Ulster. Its status as a royal seat was known to Ptolemy in the second century.

While the Grianan of Aileach stands up from the surrounding plain and is clearly visible from the road, Loch Doon, the fortified island forming the second fort under present survey, is distinctly difficult to find though the fortification makes it easily recognisable when found.

One passes a loch, Loch Birroge, on the left of the main road leading from Portnoo to Rosbeg. Just after this there is a boreen to the left. One turns down this boreen, which has a low ridge on the right, until one comes to a cart track on the right. This cart track runs along the eastern extremity of the ridge and leads on up to a farm house situated directly above the loch. On p. 28 of Dr. Raftery's 'Prehistoric Ireland' is a view (fig. 20) of the fort where it is described as 'of drystone masonry'. This site represents a compromise between a land cashel and a crannog'. The only other reference to it in print with which I am acquainted is in Dr. Praeger's 'The Way I Went' in which he expresses surprise at the

neglect of this important and interesting site even by serious archaeologists and remarks that half the circumference of the wall is original work, made up of dry boulders of local slaty rock-shaggy, with a coat of grey lichen: oval, not circular, the grassy space inside 150 feet long by 100 feet, by rule wall 12 ft. high, battered on outside stippled on inside, 12 ft. thick at base, 8 ft. at top, with a creep passage.

My notes of a first visit to the island, on the 29th June, 1952, tell of two sets of steps inside, opposite each other: traces of outside ledges which might have been steps but which I have since come to believe are ventilator plugs for they are now movable and clearly admit a current of air into the creep passage if removed. The walls are much fallen, the reason being, according to the nice local boy, who, being found fishing with a younger brother, was impressed into taking me over to the island, that, 40 or 50 years ago, a number of local people pulled the walls about to see if there were anything inside. Certainly stones are strewn about outside the fort especially to the south. The walls still standing are much covered with lichen and ivy: there is much high grass inside: entrance is on the east side, and the creep passages are to be seen on each side of it and apparently go right round the walls although now collapsed in places so that direct progress round is prevented. Just to the left of the entrance, inside, is a rectangular structure contiguous to the wall, the purpose of which is uncertain.

While the fort practically surrounds the island there is space outside for a rectangular structure right on the water's edge and contiguous to the wall on the east side, south of the landing-place, which is probably recent and artificial.

In this same loch is another is-

FOUR ANCIENT STONE FORTS

land, rocky, with some debris reputed to be that of buildings but so overgrown with holly, briars, etc., that investigation would require more time than I had to spare on this occasion.

On the 26th August, in the same year, I had the pleasure of making another visit to the island, this time in the company of Mr. McGill, and am pleased to be able to provide a photograph supplied by him. While appearing to be taken from the same position as was that which appears in "Prehistoric Ireland" this one is taken at much closer range and shows up details. The small islet on the left provides a boatslip, and just beyond the structure mentioned in the penultimate paragraph can be glimpsed. Up from this to the right there is a gap in the wall: the entrance is there. On arrival at the

loch we found a large and cheerful family where I had obtained the boat on my previous visit but a bigger boy acted as oarsman and guide on this occasion.

The fort measures 117 feet inside diameter N.E. & S.W. and 68 feet S.E. & N.W. The two measurements taken of the height inside show 11 feet 3 inches and 12 feet, the latter being the height beside the steps to S.W., allowance being made for the slope given the tape by the steps. The wall is 13 feet wide on the west, or left, side of the entrance, 6 feet being the distance from outer edge to passage on this side. The guide told us that his father was setting part of the inside of the fort with potatoes 2-3 years ago and came upon what, from the boy's description, was undoubtedly a cist grave.



View of Lough Anna : the fortified Island is in the foreground.

Photograph by Mr. P. McGill.

FOUR ANCIENT STONE FORTS

Inwards from the entrance the creep passage opens both to right and to left. A few yards from the entrance on the left is an inner staircase leading to the open air on top of the wall. The outer height is 14 feet nearer the ledges, mentioned earlier, to right of the entrance: just beside these is a fall outwards which seems obviously artificial, as, further on, there is a place where there is a fall inside which seems to be natural. A willow, well over 12 feet high, grows inside the fort.

As noted earlier there is a structure inside on the left of the entrance. Mr. McGill, making enquiries after this visit, found that this was constructed and used by poteen makers so need not be described here.

The loch is fed by one spring and has a river outlet to the sea. Our young guide told us that a gold ornament was discovered in a hedge a few years ago in a townland adjacent to the loch.

Weather conditions on this occasion prevented us from visiting the second island on Loch Doon but enquiries seemed to show, as does examination through binoculars, that there the ruins consist of nothing but a heap of stones. There is, however, a small island on Loch Birroge, near by, on which distinct traces of a wall can be seen from the bank but there is no boat on the loch to enable the casual visitor to inspect it more closely. In any case, the ruins are of little account as seen from the shore.

We turn inland again for the third fort under review. On the 3rd of August, 1953, I had the privilege and pleasure of attending the annual meeting and excursion of your Society as the guest of Mr. McGill. Among the interesting sites visited on this occasion was a fort at Clonceagh which one reaches by taking a turn to the right to Annagh Bridge, after passing the village of Cloghan, going

east along the main road from Glenties to Ballybofey. Here, your President, for whose hospitality to a complete stranger I must record hearty thanks, described some of the very numerous remains of archaeological interest in the neighbourhood, very few of which we would be able to visit that day, and mentioned that the fort beside us has a diameter greater than that of Grianan of Ailceach, with walls originally 7 feet high, but now much ruined and repaired by stop gap stones. There are other forts in the immediate neighbourhood but this, apparently, is the only one with a high wall.

Being the third walled fort now known to me in the county, despite the opinion quoted originally, the only one known to me at the time, this one confirmed in me the idea that they ought to be better publicised than they are, and that the outside world, especially antiquarians in the other thirty-one counties, should know that the County has such antiquities to show the visitor and the expert.

Already holding this opinion I was naturally very much interested when, three days later, Mr. McGill told me of the fortified island on Loch Anna, which he had been discussing with a stranger, who was interested in the structure.

But before going on to describe this it is to be recorded that he and I made a second visit to Clonceagh. From this we learned that there are three forts close together, only one of which is walled. The entrance of the walled one is to the N.E. and, from here, directly across, the internal diameter is 121 feet, while from S.E. to N.W. it is 122 feet, so the fort is almost an exact circle. The height of the walls internally is 6 feet 6 inches at what seems to be the most intact spot and where the rocks of which the original walls were formed have sand, etc., to bind them together. At this spot

FOUR ANCIENT STONE FORDS

the width of the whole wall is 4 feet 7 inches, but at its apparent widest, where there is a shallow hole in the foundation wall, the figure is 8 feet overall. The hole just mentioned cannot represent vestiges of a souter-rain. Grass covers the interior of the fort and, in this, a boulder is embedded, but there is no real evidence of any chamber being sited therein.

The day following news of Loch Anna had already been chosen for a visit by Mr. McGill and myself to a newly disclosed midden site at Cashelgolan, the owner of the site, Mr. Charles Gallagher, having told Mr. McGill how a storm had uncovered suggestive material. So, having spent a number of hours walking about Mr. Gallagher's property with himself as our guide, we made for the loch. There is one boat on Loch Anna: fortunately, a friend of Mr. McGill, Mr. Campbell, N.T., of Glenties, has a part share in it. So we called at Mr. Campbell's house and found his son, Brendan, just off to join his father, fortunately for me, now on holiday, on the loch. The Messrs. Campbell took us around and on to the fortified island and the other two islands situated in the loch. These other two do not need further mention: both are undoubtedly of natural rock formation, while neither has any signs of fortification or other building.

From this preliminary visit to the fortified island, we brought away the idea of an island elliptical in shape, longer east-west than north-south, with a boatslip to the south. It is well wooded with wild growth. Inside the surface is of soft soil, though, towards the east end it rises and is rock based. East of north centre there are stepping stones and, immediately inside of these there is an irregular line of rocks apparently artificially placed, which lead to a hut, the north and part of the east wall of which are made of unmortared

stones. The growth on the island, self set as it is, was too thick for further notes of any worth on this visit.

On return to shore we met Mrs. Campbell, just arrived, who told us that there is a story that the island was used as a prison for a lady by one of the O'Donnells. This story was borne out by a Mr. Willie Ward whom we met making hay as we descended the hill. He also told us that the boatslip was constructed by a priest some years ago, that the fortified island was once planted with sallies which were cut down early in the present century, nature since then being allowed to take control, and that the island was once in great use by poteen makers.

For the benefit of visitors it is to be stated that the position of Loch Anna is clearly shown on the O.S. maps but the track leading to it is certainly not so shown. One goes about a mile along the Glen road north of the Owenea River but not as far as the Greenans Post Office and then strikes right up a track, just negotiable by private cars, which winds up the hill and comes out on the crest at a point from which the loch can be discerned on the left.

Arrangements were made to re-visit the site in the near future so, on the 14th of August, Mr. McGill and I set out to pick up Mr. Campbell and his brother-in-law, Mr. Maguire, his son Brendan, going by bicycle. Once arrived at the loch, Mr. Campbell and his family rowed us out to the fortified island and worked heroically to clear the thick growth which had cut short our previous investigations. By dint of their efforts we are able to give the undermentioned details.

The hut mentioned earlier, or what remains of it, is rectangular, but remains of both north and south walls have a slight batter. The east and west walls are largely col-

FOUR ANCIENT STONE FORTS

lapsed but it is clear that the entrance is at the northwest corner, i.e., where the track from the stepping stones enters the fort. There is a distinct recess some inches in width and about 2 feet in depth where the boulders of which the hut is mainly constructed reach the natural rock, this being brought into use to form part of the south wall. The hut is 11 ft. 6 ins. inside length S.E. to N.W., but the crumbling which has taken place makes exact measurement difficult. The breadth is 13 ft. 3 ins. inside standing walls. Height of wall to east of entrance is 5 ft. 2 ins. on the side nearer the water. With much regret we had to conclude that this must have been the hut, probably constructed and almost certainly used, by the poteen makers.

Including the recess for the boat-slip which is 10 feet wide total circumference of the island, outside the wall, is 443 feet. The width of the wall which completely surrounds it varies from 6 ft. 10 ins. to 6 ft. 3 ins., measurements being taken in four places. Near the hut the wall is 3 ft. 10 ins. high, but such of the wall as is still standing here appears to be all reconstruction, presumably by poteen makers.

Diameter from outside of wall to outside of wall almost due north and south from beside the boat-slip is 121½ feet. For what it is worth east-west diameter is 52 steps, as I made it, but the thick undergrowth made exact measurement, despite all the Campbell family labours, impossible.

There is a rocky mound in the centre towards the east end of the island: this is covered with some 3 inches of soil and many loose boulders obviously taken from the bed of the loch; there is a trace of a landing-place outside the wall near the

breach by which one approaches the hut described earlier.

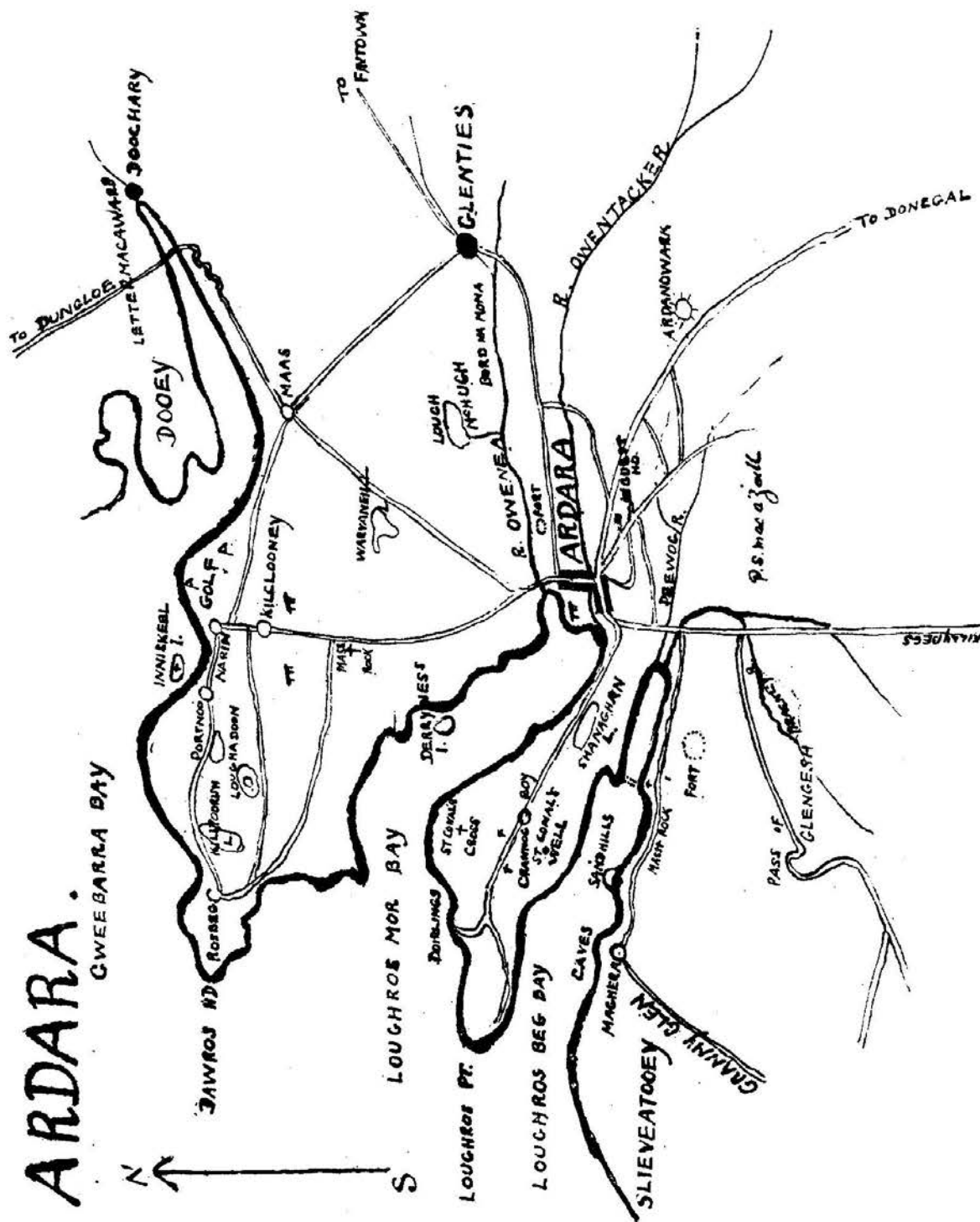
The above-mentioned mound begins to rise 25½ feet from the shore on the S.E. side, 30 feet from that on the N.E. The rise is too uncertain for other such measurements owing to sticks, grass, etc.

The loch is to be found on Sheet 75 of the 6 inch O.S. map, and on Sheet 23 of the 1 inch map.

It seems that the name 'Anna' is really the genitive of 'Annagh' and that 'Loch Anna' means 'lake of the bog'. This properly disposes of the story of the fortress as, originally, a place of imprisonment of a lady named Anna held there by one of the O'Donnells. The walls of the fortress are reliably said to have crumbled when the level of the loch was raised to supply water for a corn mill below in the Glenties direction. McShane seems to have been the name of the priest who is said to have constructed the boat-slip, and 1888 the year in which he came to Glenties.

The nature of the material inside the island and the obviously natural origin of the other two islands seem to rule out any likelihood that this is a crannog: the wall seems much more likely to have been built to afford protection in the numerous intertribal conflicts by which the district was disturbed in the earliest historical times and could have been used either as a permanent store or as a temporary refuge for humans, or for both. The site of a large fort, now much destroyed, can be seen overhanging Glenties as one looks in that direction from the eminence on which the loch is situated: but there does not seem to be any necessary connection between this fort and the one described here. Its destruction, at least, is the subject of many a tale.

FOUR ANCIENT STONE FORTS



MAP OF ARDARA DISTRICT INDICATING PLACES
MENTIONED BY MR. ADAMS

(From booklet : "Ireland in Tabloid).

The Name Beal Atha Seanaigh

BY T. S. O MAILLE, Ph. D.

It is difficult to accept as factual the story that the name *Beal Atha Seanaigh* is derived from the name of Seanach, 4-5th century king of Ulster, who is said to have been killed near the ford on the Erne, previously called *Ath Cro*, and buried nearby. Fatalities of the kind, as explanations for place and river names, in the *Dindshenchus* and similar sources, are too numerous for credence. The story of the death of Seanach is rather apocryphal, not having been recorded in any of the Annals, and apparently occurring in two sources only, themselves differing in detail.¹ Significant, also, is the time lag between the death of Seanach, in the fifth century, and the use of the name *Ath Seanaigh* in the Annals; the earliest instance I have noted is A.D. 1247, in the Annals of the Four Masters, Annals of Connacht, and Annals of Loch Ce. Previous to that date, happenings in the location concerned are referred to *Eas Ruadh*, or Assaroe.

It seems to me that the above name, instead of being derived from a personal name, is rather based on a topographical description, and that the correct form should be *Beal Atha Seanaidh* 'mouth of the ford of the slope'.

Topographically, the name suits perfectly. Elsewhere,² I have put forward the view that the Middle Irish noun *seanadh* (*seanath*), now obsolete in spoken Irish, is still found widely distributed in place names,

with the meaning of 'hillside, slope, sloping ground'. At Ballyshannon the sloping ground is quite significant, rising as it does, from the north bank of the river, at the site of the bridge, and stretching some distance east and west of the town.

The English forms of the name³ offer no basis for investigation, but orthographically the Irish forms leave room for speculation. The spelling *Seanaigh* for the third element of the name is by no means uniform in MS. sources, as shown by the examples quoted in § II below.

II

1. The T.C.D. copy of the Annals of Ulster (H I 19) has *se(a)naigh*, *passim*; compare § 111, 4, below.

2. In the O'Clery MS. of the Annals of the Four Masters (23 P 6 and 23 P. 7, R.I.A.), used by O'Donovan in his edition of the work, we find *se(a)aigh* where the word is written in full, but an abbreviation, *se(a)n—*, or *se(a)n—*, is shown in the entries at the years 1419, 1421, 1490, 1522.

3. The printed edition of the Annals of Connacht shows *senuigh* in one entry (A.D. 1522); all the other entries have *senaigh*, except for the earliest occurrence of the name, at A.D. 1247, where we read *Beol Ada Senaid*.

4. The Academy and Trinity College MS. sources of the well known Ulster poem by Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaird, *A bhean fuair faill ar an bhfeart*, have the following in quatrain 23; (*a*)*seanaigh* (23 C 35, 150; 23 F 16, 24; 23 N 26,

31; 24 P 12, 123; 24 P 27, 55), *seanuigh* (A v 2, 45b); (b) *sen*— (H I 14, 166b), *sean*— (H I 16, 132); (c) *seannaidh* (23 E 14, 165; 23 M 28, 287; 24 M 43, 3). The Book of the O'Connor Don, a very good MS., has *seandh* on page 186a. A copy of this poem from an MS. of O'Curry's collection, printed in the *Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, V 1857 (1860), 298, shows *Seannaidh*.

III

In addition to the Ulster *Beal Atha Seanaigh*, we have MS. evidence for a similar name elsewhere, as the name of the site where the battle of Uchbhadh took place, in the eighth century. This was identified in 1848 by O'Donovan (Annals of the Four Masters, A.D., 733; I 332, footnote), as Ballyshannon, near Kilkullen, Co. Kildare, but the identification has been disputed by T. F. O'Rahilly, in *Hermathena* XLVIII (1933), 201, who points out that the older forms of the name, deriving from a putative Baile **Sodhonnain*, have no resemblance to the name given for the place in early sources.⁴ It is noteworthy that O'Donovan did not mention Ballyshannon or its identification in his *Ordnance Survey Letters* for Co. Kildare, written in 1838⁵.

Whatever the location of the second Ballyshannon, the following examples of the name show a fluctuation between the dental and palatal endings, similar to that detailed in the forms given in § II above.

1. *Ath seanaith* (A.D. 733), Annals of the Four Masters (Stowe, C iii 3, 276b).

2. *Ath Seanaith* (A.D. 733), the O'Clery redaction of *Lebor Gabla Erenn* (23 K 32, 197).

3. *Cath Atha Senaith* (A.D. 735), Annals of Boyle, *Revue Celtique* XLI (1924), 324, § 230.

4. *Bellum atho senaich* (A.D. 737), Annals of Ulster I 194.

5. *Cath Atha Sēnaigh* (no date), Annals of Tigernach, *Revue Celtique* XVII (1896), 240.

6. *Cath Atha Seannaigh* (no date), Keating, *Foras Feasa ar Eirinn* (ed. Comyn and Dinneen), III 148, line 2350.

IV

In the light of the information given in the above three sections, I suggest that the Ulster name was originally *Ath Seanaith*, or *Ath Seanaidh*, a topographic description evoked by the nature of the site. Further, in the course of time, the name became changed to *Ath Seanaigh* in MSS. by reason of one or more of the following: (a) the acceptance of the story giving the death and burial of Seanach as the origin of the place name; (b) the unfamiliarity of the obsolete, or obsolescent, word *seanath*⁶, and the substitution for it of the familiar *Seanach*, a personal name which is found quite commonly throughout Irish history; (c) the confusion, since the thirteenth century, of *—igh* and *—idh* in Irish; cf. T. F. O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects Past and Present*, p. 53; (d) the tendency towards uniformity and modernization of orthography, noticeable in the writings of Michael O Cleirigh and other seventeenth century scribes; cf. J. H. Todd, *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, intro. xvi.

As a pertinent instance of a scribal change in the very word, *seanadh*, here discussed, see S. Pender's edition of the O'Clery Book of Genealogies (*Analacta Hibernica*, No. 18) § 1616, which gives *Genelach M. Magnusa an tSeanaigh*,⁷ for a family whose habitat is always written *Se(a)nadh* in the many references to it in the Annals; the dental ending is verifiable in the Latin title of the Annals of Ulster, named from that very place *Annales Senatenses*.

THE NAME BEAL ATHA SEANAIGH

NOTES

1. Hennessy and Kelly, *Book of Fenagh*, p. 326, where it is stated in a quatrain that Conall Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, slew Seanach, from whom is named *ath Senaig*. Tadhg O Donnchadha, *Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe*, p. 7, § 5; which states that Eoghan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, won the battle of Ath Cro, later called Ath Seanaigh, against the Ulstermen, three of whose kings, Cis, Cana, and Séanach, were killed and buried nearby, thus giving their names to places in the vicinity.

2. *Journal of Celtic Studies*, Philadelphia.

3. See the list given by O'Donovan in his *Ordnance Survey Name Books*, Donegal, parish of Kilbarron, No. 1, p. 13; Murphy's edition of the English version of the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, p. 321; also the names given in *Hogan's Onomasticon Goe-delicum*, under *Ath Senaigh*, and *Beal Atha Senaigh*.

4. In 1837, it was still given as Ballysonan in Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* I, 167, and as Ballysonnan on the map in volume III.

5. The maps at the end of the second volume, however, show Ballyshunan (p. 284), Ballyshannon (p. 285).

6. The place name *Seanach* (Shannagh), found alone, and in combination with other words, in many places all over Ireland, may, I think, in some cases, be derived from *seanath*, on the analogy of *sciath*, *sciach*, *scoth*, *scoch*, *balach*, *balath*, and the like; topographically, some of the places are suitable. Shannaghbeg and Shannaghmore, two townlands in north-east Galway, however, derive from *eanach*, as they are written Annaghbegg (p. 18), and Anaghmore (p. 17), in the *Book of Survey and Distribution*, Galway 10.

7. For this reference, I am indebted to my colleague, Professor Kathleen Mulchrone.

Hearth Money Rolls

(By J. C. T. MacDonagh, B.Comm.)

HOUSEHOLDERS

"Parish of Kilbarren"

Years 1663—1665.

Bally Mc Ward.

Major John Folliott 3 hearths.
John Hicks, William Leaper, Robert Patterson, John Wissel; William Barrett, William Stevens.
Kilcarbry.

Robert Henderson, William Henderson, Jas. McAtyer, Morice Conely, Connor McAtyer, William

Rathcliffe, Phelomy O'Mulkerran; Roger Conelly, Flan O'Cleary, Farfasy O'Cleary, Myles O'Cleary; Donel O'Kernan, John O'Gouer.
Cashell.

Neal O'Gallagher, Neal O'Mulkerran, Owen O'Mulkerran, Edmund McAtyer, Owen McCauley, William O'Gallagher, John O'Gallagher.
Forecossy.

Farigh McGuane, Cashell McIlmartin, Hugh McCana, James O'Con-

HEARTH MONEY ROLLS

nogher, Bryan McGilgea, Richard Studbery, William O'Luen, Edmond Allingham, Bryan McGlinchey, William Flanagan, Torlogh McFlagherty, Dermond O'Haraghoy, Daniel McAnulty, Donogh McAtyer, Patrick Con, Neal O'Gallagan, Neece McGillissy.

Corlea.

Owen O'Connegall, John McCordoge, Dermond McAnulty, Edmund Jones, James Burd.

Ballinemanagh.

Patrick O'Queen, Morice O'Cleary, Neal McGillespick, Connogher O'Gallagher, Bryan O'Diver, Nicol O'Shannaghan, Hugh O'Morea, William Fletcher, Francis Earle, Phelemy O'Boyle, William Brinan, Robert Ferrett, Donnell O'Morea, Ralph Sharpe, Bryan O'Quen, Edmund McGillespick, Donogh McCoshilly, William O'Diver, Neal O'Rogan, Edmund Burrell, Donogh McTrernan.

Ballyshannon.

Michael Hewson 2 hearths, John Johnes, 2 hearths, Thomas Preston, 1 hearth, Francis Genings, 2 hearths, William Roby, 1 hearth, Patrick McConnelly, 2 hearths, Robert Eager, 1 hearth, John Dixon 1 hearth, Nicholas Shawe, 2 hearths, William Rean, 1 hearth, John Lilly, 1 hearth.

"Parish of Templecairne"

Years 1663—1665.

(No townlands mentioned—all one hearth each).

James McGarihan, Andrew Lindsay, Tool McHugh, Bernett McGrae, Donnell McMonelly, Torogh McHugh, Manus McGilbreedy, Henry McGragh, Owen O'Brinnan, Conor McGragh, Hugh McKinan, Donogh O'Callan, Towell McHugh, Meal McGragh, John McGreeny, Bryan O'Callan, John Duncan, Hugh O'Conwall, Connor McCaffrey, Bryan O'Cassy, David Cahoune, Thomas Woodburne, Patrick Hamilton,

Donnell O'Dunnelly, Thomas Symonton, George Burnes, William Ossbrook, Andrew Dunckan, John Perry, Hugh McCauhull, Donogh McLaghlin, Farrell McLaghlin, Caheel O'Duginan, James Love.

"Parish of Innish mc Sant"

(No townlands mentioned—with one exception—all one hearth each)

Logalin McGoldrick, Donogh McCulleny, Phelomy McCulleny, Lawrence O'Crean, Owen Bulg McKilpeter, Teg O'Mulkerran, Jas. O'Muney, Owen O'Rogan, Torlogh McAnulty, Richard Bourke, Tegg Oige O'Kerogan, Owen O'Gower, Donnogh O'Cullenan, Donnell O'Mulvany, Patrick O'Banagan, John McAnulty, Shan McEver, Donogh O'Carwill, Robert Desmaire, 2 hearths, Geo. Russell, Robert Montgomery, John Rasdell, Donogh O'Tumany, Thomas O'Flen, Donogh O'Gallagher, George Griffith, Teig O'Tumany, Thomas McIlroy, Hugh Pue, William McGlone, Owen buy McConelly.

LOUGH ESKE and BARNES MOUNTAINS

1786

In Lough Eske are the fish called char in great abundance. This is a most delicate fish and, generally speaking, about nine inches in length and in some degrees resembling trout. The male, or milting char, has a red belly, but the flesh is generally white. The female, called the roeing char, has a paler belly, but the flesh is a brighter red and the fish is commonly larger. The third sort, called gelt char and frequently, though it may be corruptly the gilt char, is without roe. These fish are not to be caught by bait but feeding in deep water are taken only in nets. The adjacent mountains to Lough Eske abound with wild, red deer.

("Post Chaise Companion")

Ancient Church Ruins At Malin Head

(Anonymous).

Mr. Henry Morris refers to this old edifice as the Gorman Church near Malin Head, yet that name is never applied to it by even the oldest of the inhabitants of the district. The name of the townland in which it is built, Ballygorman, would suggest that at some early period people named Gorman were important enough to impress their name on the place and it is possible that Mr. Morris in his researches came across some reference to this family. There is no local tradition with regard to when or by whom the church was founded. Some of the old local people, up to recently, remember having heard that Saint Muirdealach had some connection with it but whether he was the founder of the church or not is not known for certain. The site of the church is practically on the beach at the base of a cliff on the northern side of the Malin Head promontory. The main cliff and a portion of it which juts farther seaward to the west of the ruins so obscure the view that you are within twenty yards of the old edifice before it can be seen. At present the ruins consist of the two side walls and the eastern gable, all almost intact. The foundation course of masonry is all that remains of the western gable but many of the stones of which it was composed are lying around outside and inside the structure. The building was thirty-five feet long and fifteen feet wide. The side walls were between eight and nine feet high and the apex of the standing gable is about twenty feet from the outside ground level. The walls are thirty-two inches thick. They are faced on both sides with fairly large stones of various thickness all standing on their ends with the spaces between filled with rubble bound together with lime mortar. This mortar is still so strong that some force is required to chip any of it off. In the gable there is an opening for a window forty-nine inches in height, with an exterior width of fifteen inches splayed to forty inches on the inside, while in the southern side wall there is one forty-six inches high, thirteen inches wide on outside and thirty-four inches on the inside. Thick flag stones were used as lintels on both windows. A recess in the masonry round the outside of these openings shows that window frames were used but nothing remains to show what transparent substance filled these openings. There is no evidence to show what kind of roof was on the building and the only attempt at ornamentation is a rude face carved on the top stone in the corner between the south wall and the eastern gable.

The state of the ruin has not changed within living memory and the fact that three of the walls are still standing would go to prove that the disappearance of the western gable was not due to any act of vandalism.

ANCIENT CHURCH RUINS AT MALIN HEAD

The door must have been in this gable and very probably the lintel through time became dislodged and so caused the wall to collapse. If tradition, in this case, is to be regarded as trustworthy its preservation from complete demolition is not entirely due to an innate horror of desecration on the part of the natives.

Adjacent to the church is an inlet used by the fishermen for landing their boats and the story is still told that the first stone taken from the walls was removed by a crew of fishermen who intended using it as an anchor for their boat. The cable was securely tied to the stone and the men went off to the fishing ground near Inishtrahull six miles away. On reaching their destination the stone was put overboard but it immediately became unfastened and the men believed it had gone to the bottom of the sea. We can imagine their surprise when they returned to the port, for the story says the stone was there before them and resting securely in the place from which it had been dislodged. This seems incredible but a miracle of this kind is probably within the range of possibilities. On the other hand the tale may have been invented to save the church from destruction and if such was the case it served the purpose well for never since did fishermen or any other person interfere with the walls of the old building.

Another tradition says that several generations ago the Catholic Curate of Malin Head took a number of men to explore beneath the floor of the church. On removing the earth they discovered a large flag stone which the priest believed to be the table of the altar. On lifting the flag a skeleton was found underneath. The tale goes on to say that the priest removed a tooth and took it with him to preserve as a relic. The flag was replaced and the earth again placed over it, but for

some reason or other the priest returned the next day, summoned his helpers re-opened the grave and replaced the tooth.

In the face of the cliff about twenty yards from the south western corner of the church is a cave known as the "Wee House of Malin". This cave is circular with a diameter of ten feet and a height of eight feet and it appears to have been hewn out of the rock. It was in all probability the home of some ecclesiastical hermit connected with the place.

About a hundred yards from the ruins of the church in a reef of rocks that is completely covered by the sea at high water is a well about four feet in depth and three feet in width. This is known as "Malin Well". Like that of Doon Well, the water of Malin Well is believed to possess miraculous curative powers which are specially effective in the case of those suffering from rheumatism. Up to about a dozen years ago a pattern or fair was held annually on the fifteenth of August in the immediate neighbourhood of the church and was attended by large numbers from Malin and the neighbouring parishes. Taking into consideration the Feast day on which the fair was held it seems very probable its origin was the result of religious fervour. Through the succeeding generations, however, the religious aspect disappeared and the sanctity of the spot was not being revered as it should have been and for this reason the discontinuance of the fair is not to be regretted.

Many of the older inhabitants of Malin Head still visit the old ruins on May eve and make the Turus.

Rally Of The Clans—The O'Donnells

By C. A. Celkin.

Easter Sunday, 1954, witnessed the opening of a new chapter in the history of Donegal. At 10 o'clock a.m. on that morning the Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Frank Aiken, hoisted the Tostal flag over Allingham Bridge, Ballyshannon, and that moment signalled the commencement of an event of great importance — the Clans revival movement, the first act of which was the formal reception of the O'Donnell (Mr. John O'Donel, of Monks'own, Co. Dublin), to the territory of his ancestors.

Church and State combined to make the inauguration an event of great importance. In Ballyshannon, and again in Donegal Town on Easter Monday, which day was marked by impressive pageantry and symbolic ceremonial. The attendance embraced prominent figures in the public life

of the county, and a number of priests, secular and regular, including, Most Rev. Dr. MacNeely, Lord Bishop of Raphoe.

The ceremonies at both places were witnessed by large crowds amongst whom were many members of the O'Donnell Clan from all over Ireland, as well as Count Gabriel O'Donnell representing the Clan in Austria, who travelled especially to be present at the ceremonies.

Promptly to time, the strains of martial music heralded the arrival of the guard of honour of F.C.A. under the command of Lieut. L. J. Emerson, and played into position by the Ballyshannon brass and reed band. A few minutes later the Minister was met at the Bridge End by Senator Michael Og MacFadden, chairman of the Rally of

THE FORT HOTEL, Greencastle — Co. Donegal.

At the mouth of Loch Foyle

BATHING - BOATING - GOLF - TENNIS.

TERMS MODERATE.

GREENCASTLE 3.

FULLY LICENSED

OPEN MARCH TO OCTOBER.

RALLY OF THE CLANS

the Clans Committee, Mr. F. P. Britton, chairman of the Ballyshannon Tostal Council, Mr. J. C. MacDonagh, organiser of the Rally of the Clans, Lieut. Col. Weddick (representing Col. Collins-Powell, O.C., Western Command), and Comdt. J. L. O'Brien, area officer, who escorted him to the scene of the ceremonies outside the Market Yard. Here the Minister inspected the F.C.A. guard of honour which was drawn from units of the South Donegal Battalion.

The first official act of Donegal's three weeks of Tostal participation took place then, as the Minister hoisted the Tostal flag while the band buglars and drummers sounded the general salute.

AN HISTORIC MOMENT.

By this time the crowd of general public had grown to big proportions and all traffic over the bridge was halted. There was an expectant hush as the assembly waited in brilliant sunshine for the historic moment when The O'Donnell would re-enter the ancient territory of his forefathers, as Prince of his Clan. Three hundred

and fifty years had passed since an O'Donnell chieftain had walked freely through his territory receiving recognition from his kinsmen, and now a chieftain was returning to bridge that gap in the history of one of Ireland's most storied corners. It was a solemn moment as the group was seen approaching over the bridge. There was the central figure, The O'Donnell, tall, stately and of scholarly mien. Beside him walked Count Gabriel O'Donnell of Austria, Rev. Fr. Terence O'Donnell, O.F.M., Ros Nuala, and Mr. F. P. Britton, Schoolboys from the Ballyshannon technical school and the De La Salle schools lined the bridge each holding a replica of an tSlat Bhan, the silver mounted hazel stick, symbol of chieftainship. As they approached the strains of "O'Donnell Abu," played by the band, was wafted on the breeze over the town and along the historic Erne.

On arrival at the Market Place, the O'Donnell was greeted by Mr. J. Gillespie, P.C., who presenting him with an tSlat Bhan said:

"As the person deputed by the County Committee of the O'Donnell Rally to meet you here to-day, in the

Machiners of Ryegrass,

Flaxseed Importers.

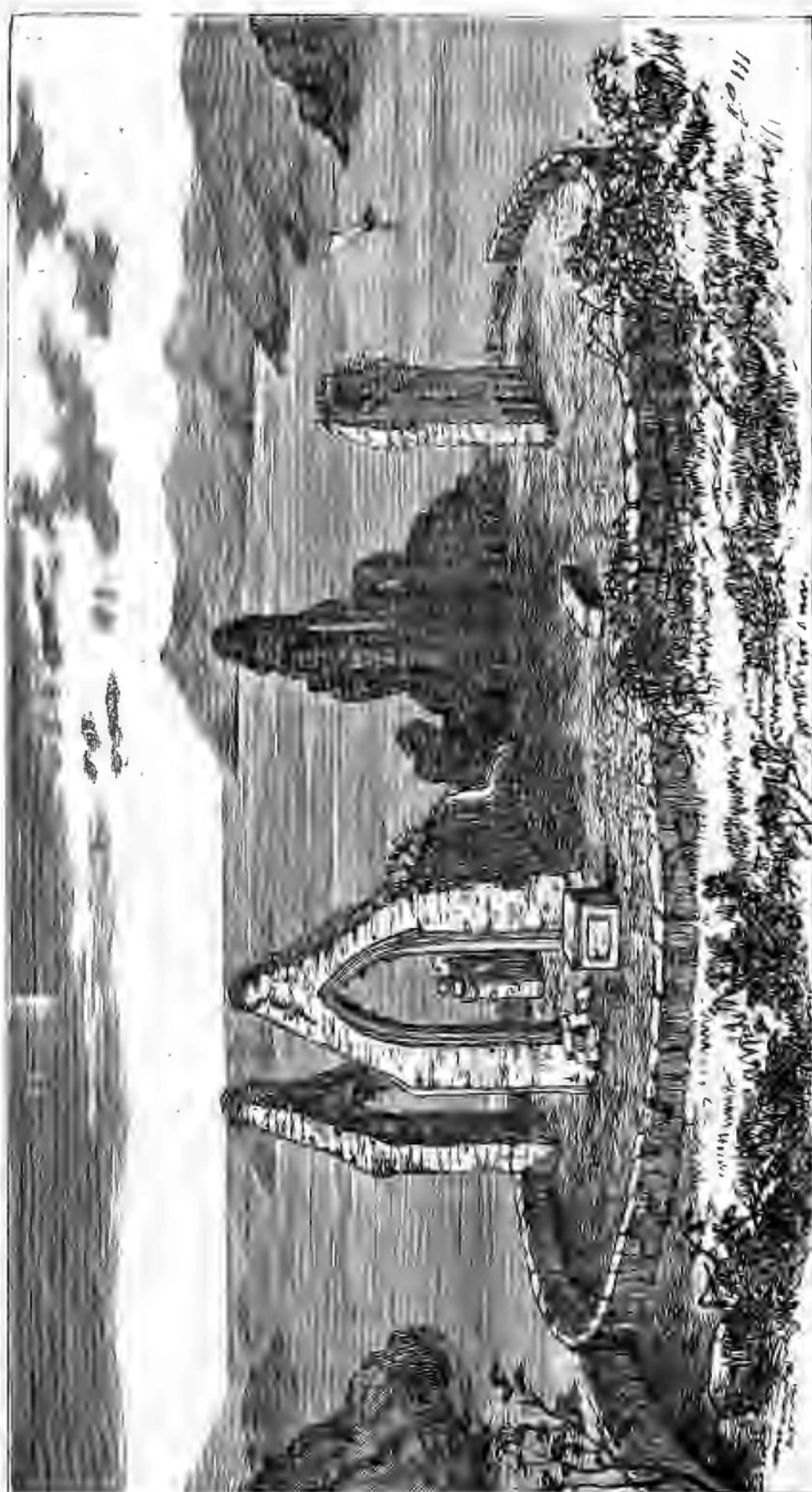
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LETTERKENNY.

RALLY OF THE CLANS



Donegal Abbey, subject of an informative talk by
Rev. Terence O'Donnell, O.F.M.

RALLY OF THE CLANS

shadow of the O'Donnell Castle, I feel that a great honour has been conferred upon me on this historic occasion, which enables me to present you—the lineal descendant of the illustrious Red Hugh—with An tSlat Ban—the equivalent of the Sceptre presented to the kings. Belashanny is the town of the O'Donnells. Here it was, on this very spot, that Red Hugh fought one of his most successful and bloody battles, when the shining waters of the Erne ran red with the blood of the defeated Saxon army. And, beneath those convent walls, where stood the rugged Urn, each in his narrow cell for ever laid, some mighty Princes of Tir Conaill sleep.

“Belashanny made history when princes and rulers walked its streets, when honest principles were vouched and vindicated. It was such men who handed down to us the title-deeds of our nation. This day is one of pageantry in keeping with that which our forefathers witnessed in the golden age of our nationhood.”

“I now formally present to you an tSlat Bhan. In doing so, may I express the wish that you will carry away with you from the land of our ancestors very happy memories of the people you may meet on your visit to Tirconaill.”

PLATFORM PARTY.

The official party then mounted the platform, where Senator MacFadden presided.

The platform party included : Right Rev. Mgr. J. C. MacGinley, D.D., P.P., V.G., Dean of Raphoe; Rev. Fr. Terence O'Donnell, O.F.M., Mr. P. O'Donnell, T.D., Mr. J. Brennan, T.D., Mr. F. P. Britton, Mr. F. Gallagher, LL.B., chairman of Donegal Tostal Council; Mr. Gillespie, Mr. P. Doherty, town clerk, Ballyshannon; Messrs. F. H. Morgan, P. J. Stephens, H. McGovern, T.C.; C. Smith, J. McDermott,

Lieut. Col. Weddick and Comdt. O'Brien, as well as The O'Donnell and Count O'Donnell. Mr. C. A. King was commentator.

The Minister delivered an address of welcome, speaking in Irish.

Mr. MacDonagh presented to The O'Donnell the Standard of the O'Donnell clan amid applause.

At the conclusion of this part of the ceremonies, Mr. Britton, on behalf of the local Tostal Council, thanked the public for their wonderful turn-out to welcome The O'Donnell to Ballyshannon and Donegal. The great gathering stood to attention as the band played “Faith of Our Fathers,” and the “National Anthem.”

There was a crowded congregation in St. Patrick's Church later for Solemn High Mass celebrated by Rev. Desmond O'Donnell, O.M.I., son of Mrs. and the late Mr. S. O'Donnell, Market St., Ballyshannon, who was ordained recently. Right Rev. Dean MacGinley presided in the sanctuary. The deacon, was Father Bertrand Keenan, O.F.M., Ros Nuala, Sub-deacon, Father Owen Roche, O.F.M., do.; Rev. J. Haughey, C.C., was master of ceremonies. A special sermon was preached by Father Terence O'Donnell, O.F.M., who before the Mass, solemnly blessed the O'Donnell Standard.

An F.C.A. guard of honour presented arms at the Consecration and the Royal Salute was sounded.

As well as those mentioned others who took part were Capt. J. Fitzpatrick, assistant area officer; Capt. J. Hyland, South Donegal Battalion O/C., and Lieut. F. Muldoon, Donegal, who had charge of the colour party.

AT DONEGAL

On Easter Monday, the scene shifted to Donegal Town where in the shadow of the ruins of the ancient castle of the O'Donnells, the O'Donnell Clan Association was form-

RALLY OF THE CLANS

ed and a big number of O'Donnells were invested as members of the Association, of which The O'Donnell is the leader. Mr. P. O'Donnell, T.D., was elected tanaiste for the clan in Donegal and it was agreed that the organising committee of the Rally of the Clans, in conjunction with the Donegal Historical Society, should continue to look after the Association's affairs for a further year when it is hoped the Association will be able to take over its own administration.

The day's proceedings opened with a lecture by Mr. R. S. O'Cochlainn, the well-known historian of the O'Donnell Clan who traced the history of the three main branches of the family — the Newport, the Larkfield and the Castlebar branches as well as the Spanish and Austrian branches — back to Conail, progenitor of the Cineal Conail. A feature of the lecture, which aroused much interest, was a genealogical diagram of the family tree.

COLOURFUL PARADE.

One of the most colourful parades ever held in the historic town of the Four Masters followed in the afternoon and was watched by a crowd estimated at over 2,000.

His Lordship, Most Rev. Dr. MacNeely, was present and on arrival was greeted with the General Salute and the F.C.A. guard of honour, under the command of Lieut. J. Harvey, presented arms. His Lordship who was accompanied by Mr. F. Gallagher, LL.B. chairman of the Donegal Town Annual Council, then inspected the guard of honour and was introduced to the platform party.

On the platform, as well as His Lordship and Mr. Gallagher were The O'Donnell, Count Gabriel O'Donnell of Austria, Master Hugh O'Donel, son of The O'Donnell, Senator MacFadden, chairman of the Rally Committee, Mr. J. C. MacDonagh, organiser; Rev.

Desmond O'Donnell, O.M.I., Father Terence O'Donnell, O.F.M., Ros Nuala; Rev. J. Kelly, C.C., Clar; Rev. P. Deeney, C.C., Donegal; Mr. Cormac Breslin, T.D., Leas Cheann Comhairle Dail Eireann, Mr. P. O'Donnell, T.D., and Mr. C. A. King.

An oration was delivered by Senator MacFadden.

THE PAGEANT

The pageant proper consisted of 20 units personifying the successive generations of the O'Donnell dead who filed past the platform in front of which was drawn up the guard of honour of Ireland's soldiers of to-day. During the march past St. Joseph's brass and reed band, Strabane, discoursed appropriate Irish airs.

The parade moved on to the ruins of Donegal Castle and were followed by The O'Donnell and the platform party. In the castle grounds the O'Donnell Standard which was in the keeping of the F.C.A. colour party under Lieut. F. Muldoon, was handed to The O'Donnell who raised it to the top of the flagpole surmounting the tower where, with the National Flag and the Tostal Flag, it floated proudly in the breeze. As he raised it the General Salute was sounded. The simple but so impressive ceremony ended with the playing of "O'Donnell Abu!" and the "National Anthem."

COUNTY MUSEUM OPENED

In the presence of a distinguished gathering, which included The O'Donnell, Count O'Donnell of Austria, the Minister for External Affairs, Right Rev. Mgr. J. C. MacGinley, public representatives, and members of the Clan Rally Committee, history was made at the Franciscan Friary, Ros Nuala, on Easter Sunday evening, when the first county museum was opened by the Minister.

RALLY OF THE CLANS

Main exhibits in the museum were the original manuscript of The Annals of the Four Masters and a number of Chalices used in the Penal times.

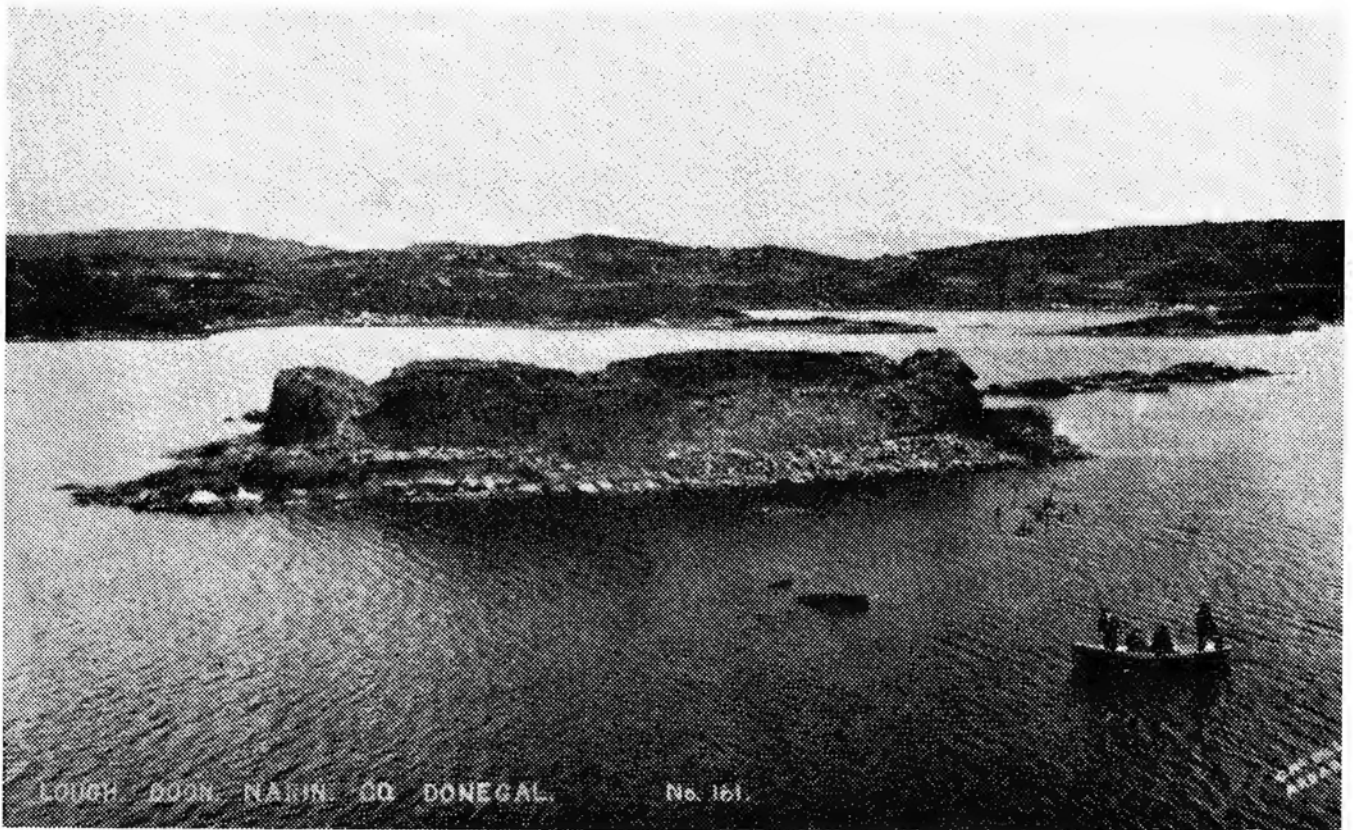
Speaking exclusively in Irish, Mr. Aiken said:

"It is an obligation on us — everyone of us — to keep the culture and tradition of our forebears alive. In every part of the country there are relics of that culture and of that tradition, and it is but right that the people of the districts themselves should make every effort to keep them safe, in order that they should be available for the generations that follow. This would be a great benefit to that important work — the keeping alive of the history and culture of the Gael. Our thanks are due to all those who took part in the founding of this museum, and, as I said before, especially to the priests

of the Order of Saint Francis, who made the rooms available for it."

Very Rev. Fr. Terence O'Donnell, O.F.M., speaking in Irish and later in English, said that the Franciscan associations with Donegal were age-old and deep rooted. It was indeed a great honour for the Friary to house the museum and he wished to thank his excellency, the Minister, for performing the opening ceremony, and those responsible for making possible its establishment there.

Referring to the precious articles exhibited, Father Terence said that the museum was only in the initial stages, but it was hoped that many objects of historical and antiquarian interest, with Donegal associations, would be donated and that it would become more representative of the various epochs in the history of the county.



REFERRED TO IN MR. ADAMS ARTICLE — PF 491/498.

The Plantation of Donegal - A Survey

(By V. W. Treadwell, M.A., Queen's University, Belfast).

ON March 20th, 1622, partly as a result of complaints from Ireland and partly as a consequence of the English government's determination to make of Ireland an efficient administrative unit, at once solvent and secure, a comprehensive Commission was issued for the investigation of the state of the country. One of the most important tasks of this Commission was to examine the charters and covenants of the undertakers in the plantations and to see how well they had been performed "either in matter of profit or safety". They were also to ascertain "the quantity of ground in payment of the rents" reserved to the King; the buildings undertaken; the leasing of lands; and the deliberate breach of covenants. Finally they were to propose suitable action to remedy defects and abuses; on all these matters the Commissioners were to deliver certificates into the English Chancery. (1).

Most of the twenty-one Commissioners entrusted with this immense labour surveyed the several plantations in groups of two or three, and, further instructed in an additional commission dated the 30th of July, (2) spent the following month to six weeks touring their allotted districts. Richard Hadsor, a native of Louth and a barrister of the Middle Temple, (3) and Sir Thomas Phillips, a prominent servitor of County Londonderry, (4) were responsible for the survey of Donegal and Londonderry. Their report on the latter county has long been in print. (5) The original returns of the Commissioners do not appear to have survived, but a seventeenth century copy of them is among the Additional Manuscripts of the British Museum. (6) From this MS., in 1924, Robert Dunlop printed an abstract *in extenso* of the report on the Munster plantation (7), and from it, has also been extracted the survey of Donegal, printed below for the first time (8).

Two general points may be noted of its contents. First, it does not include the barony of Inishowen, which was granted to Chichester in 1609 for his part in the suppression of O'Dogherty's revolt. Although this grant was bound by the general conditions of the plantation of Ulster, it was in fact a Liberty of a kind already obsolescent in England, in which the lord's officers executed all writs and other process, "with no sheriff or bailiff of the Crown to intermeddle" (9). The terms of his grant and his influence at Court, enabled Chichester to escape the general inquisition; possibly he had to make a personal report to the King, but of this, there is no evidence. On the other hand, the Commissioners did review the town and district of Ballyshannon, although (as they are careful to note) Lord Folliott's grant was **not** subject to the conditions of plantation. It was presumably for this reason that Pinnar omitted it from his survey in 1618-19 (10).

Second, although no explanation is given in the text, the barony of

THE PLANTATION OF DONEGAL — A SURVEY

Raphoe is reported on in two separate sections; the precinct of Lifford precedes and the precinct of Portlough follows the barony of Kilmacrenan. This may be the order in which the Commissioners visited the districts.

In preparing this survey for publication, I have omitted repetition of stereotyped phraseology and have placed approximate modern equivalents to seventeenth century place-names in brackets—these are intended for **general** guidance only. In addition, a number of minor alterations have been made to the original punctuation and word order, in the interest of clarity. The survey will be published in two sections: the first will go as far as the precinct of Lifford; the second will include the barony of Kilmacrenan and the precinct of Portlough (i.e. the northernmost part of the barony of Raphoe).

APPENDIX

- 1—Rymer-Foedera VII. Part III, pp. 231-5.
- 2—Cal. State Papers, Ireland (1615-25) p.364.
- 3—Cotton Ms. Titus B.X, f. 180. Cal. Middle Temple Records, *passim*.
- 4—For an account of Phillips, see T. W. Moody—"Sir Thomas Phillips, of Limavady, Servitor" in *Irish Historical Studies* I, pp. 251-72.
- 5—C.S.P.I. (1615-25), pp. 364-78. The best modern account of this plantation will be found in Moody—"The Londonderry Plantation 1609-41." Belfast, 1939 .
- 6—Additional Ms. 4756.
- 7—Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. LIV, pp. 128-146. Dunlop's introduction on p. 128 is a complete muddle; the Commission issued to Falkland on May 12th, 1622, to which he refers as authorising the survey of the plantations, was in fact just a routine authorisation to settle dis-

putes. C.S.P.I. cit. p.353; Cal. Pat. Rolls (Ireland) of James I, pp. 554-5.

8—Add. Ms. 4756, ff. 113b-118a.

9—Cal. Pat. Rolls cit. p. 161. For further details of the barony, see O. Davies and H. P. Swan—"The Castles of Inishowen", *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Series 111, vol. 2, pp. 178-208.

10—Pinnar's Survey is printed in the Cal. Carew MSS. (1603-23) pp. 403-409. Also available for comparison is Carew's survey of 1611, printed in *ibid*, pp. 75-6, 221-2, 228, 231, 234, 238-9, 244 seq.

The following should also be consulted : Cal. Patent Rolls (Ireland) of Jas. I.—details of grants. For a general narrative of the Donegal Plantation, see G. Hill—"Plantation Papers" (Belfast, 1889) pp. 110-148; and his "Historical Account of the Plantation of Ulster to c. 1620."

A SURVEY OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE PLANTATION IN DONEGAL

BARONY OF TIREHUE

The ancient fort of **Belleck** (Belleek), built of lime and stone, now ruinous and waste, standeth upon a hill 3 miles above Ballyshannon, upon the entrance from the County of Fermanagh into the County of Donegal. The fort commandeth the ford of Belleck and the end of Lough Erne, where the boats which come down Lough Erne do rest, the ford being rocky and not further passable in the boats. **Ballyshannon** is a borough town standing upon the river which descendeth from Lough Erne near unto the sea; it has a bared (sic) harbour. The town has a Port-Reeve, twelve Burgesses, about 30 Irish houses and two stone houses, inhabited with Englishmen—soldiers for the most part—and some few Irish, (All) these have neither freehold nor

THE PLANTATION OF DONEGAL — A SURVEY

leasehold belonging to the said town. Of which town, and of **Belleck**, and of the Abbey of **Ashroe**, and of some lands between **Ballyshannon** and **Bundroy** (being 4 miles apart), and of the salmon and eel fishing of the river of **Ballyshannon**, the Lord Folliott hath the farm, by letters patent from the King, not subject to the conditions of plantation. In the same town, the ruinous castle is now demolished by the Lord Folliott, who is building of a fair and strong castle there of lime and stone, already raised to the first storey, near unto the river. Adjoining thereunto, the Lord Folliott had formerly built a good strong house 3 stories high and slated, wherein he, his wife and dwelleth.

There is a ford on the river, near to the castle, where it is very fit a bridge should be erected, being the passage between the Provinces of **Ulster** and **Connaught**.

There is a chapel of ease near thereunto, built by Lord Folliott—the parish church being remote from thence and ruinous.

* Between the town of **Ballyshannon** and the town of **Donegal**, (being 10 miles distant), Lord Folliott hath a good quantity of land; the College of **Dublin** hath 4,000 acres; and the Bishop of **Raphoe** hath 6 quarters of land there. In all of this, there is not any castle, bawn or stone house but a small stone house near unto the river of **Ballymagroiety**, wherein **Francis Edmunds**, an English gent, dwelleth; the rest be Irish cottages dispersed. It would be a good strength to the towns of **Ballyshannon** and **Donegal** and those parts lying on the sea coast to have some Britons planted there.

Sir Paul Gore, kt, hath voluntarily built a strong house of lime, stone and brick, 2 stories high, upon the site of the Abbey of **Maghrebeg** (**Magherabeg**), adjoining to the sea and about half a mile from the town of **Donegal**.

The borough town of **Donegal**

standing upon the sea coast, hath a Port Reeve and 12 Burgesses; there are about 30 houses, being for the most part built with stone walls and covered with thatch, inhabited with English, who have no land in freehold or leasehold. There is also a Free School, whereunto there are 200 acres of land belonging, part whereof doth lie between **Ballyshannon** and **Donegal** and the rest into **Barns Moor** in **Tirehue**.

Sir Basil Brook, Kt., hath voluntarily built a bawn of lime and stone enclosing the raynes of the old castle there, and within the bawn, he hath built a house of lime and stone, 2 stories high and slated, where he and his wife inhabit, having no estate therein. If he had the inheritance thereof, he would make it a strong and defensible place for His Majesty's service, as he affirmeth. British men present in this town—35. •

.....The Precinct of **Boylagh** and **Banagh**, allotted to **Scottish Undertakers**. **John Murray**, now Lord Viscount of **Annan**, holdeth as an undertaker all the precinct, being 8 proportions of land containing 10,000 acres viz.

Boylagh Outragh, first granted to **Patrick Vans**—1,000 acres. Upon this stands the ruinous castle of **Ballyboyle**, to which is adjoined the walls of a house, built about 7 ft. high by Sir **Paul Gore**, all being leased.

William Hamilton, gent, hath built a house of lime and stone and birch timber, thatched, (length, 40 feet, breadth, 26 ft., and height, 20 ft.). Freeholders, nil; leaseholders for 21 years—3.

Herbert Maxwell, gent, agent for the said Viscount, affirmeth that he hath made 8 minutes, purporting leases of divers parcels for 21 years, but by what authority, appeareth not to us. British men present — 27, whereof meanly armed—17.

Cargie, first granted to **William Stuart**—1,000 acres. There is not any

THE PLANTATION OF DONEGAL — A SURVEY

building but only a small bawn of clay and stone, situate upon a rock, (length, 66 ft.; breadth, 50 ft.; height, 10 ft.). This has no gate. Within is begun the wall of a house (length, 32 ft.; breadth, 22 ft.; and height, above 7 ft.), upon which wall there doth lie some birch joists, decayed with the weather, lying waste without any inhabiting therein or near thereunto.

Freeholders—nil.

Herbert Maxwell saith he hath made 15 minutes purporting leases for 21 years of lands.

British men present—32, whereof reasonable well-armed—17.

Don Connaley (Dunkineely), first granted to William Stuart—1,500 acres. There is a ruinous castle Rahen at Castle Murray, about 8 miles from Donegal, with a bawn of lime and stone, standing on a rock compassed 3 parts thereof with the sea, being 150 ft. in length and 120 ft. in breadth, upon one side whereof there is an ancient building for lodgings of lime and stone, and a gatehouse newly built and some part of the bawn repaired, in which house, Herbert Maxwell with his wife and family dwell.

Freeholders—nil.

Herbert Maxwell affirmeth that he hath made 12 minutes purporting leases of lands for 21 years.

British men present—44, whereof meanly armed—18.

The new borough town of **Calebegg** (Killybegs), consisting of a Provost and 12 burgesses, standing on the sea coast 3 miles from castle Rahen, has one of the best harbours in this kingdom, being about a mile in length. Upon the entrance of this harbour, there is a piece of ground containing about 20 acres, 3 parts whereof is environed by the sea, and the 4th part with a bog, which may with small charge be cut and made an island, whereupon if there be cause, a fort may be erected for His Majesty's service, which will command the harbour.

There are 30 acres of common belonging to the town

In **Calebegg** there are 17 British and Irish inhabitants, whereof some are poorly armed. The Bishop of Raphoe, in right of his bishopric, possesseth the old castle of **Calebegg** a quarter of a mile distant from the new town, where there is a parish church, 2 old castles and 6 thatched houses and the Bishop possesseth the lands from thence to the mouth of the harbour. There is no building on this proportion but an old ruinous bawn of lime and stone (60 ft. square and 8 ft. high) upon one side whereof there is a ruinous castle (30 ft. in length and 20 ft. in breadth) without any floors or covering; thereto adjoining is the ruins of an old house lying waste, without any inhabitant therein or near thereunto, but only James Hamilton, who hath built a house of clay and stone, wherein he dwelleth with his family.

Freeholders—nil.

Herbert Maxwell also affirmeth that he hath made 4 minutes purporting leases for 21 years.

British men present—7; whereof meanly armed—5.

Mullaneagh, first granted to James McCullough—1,000 acres. There is no building.

Freeholders—nil.

Herbert Maxwell allegeth that he hath made 3 minutes purporting leases for 21 years.

British men present—whereof armed—1.

Boylaghutragh, first granted to George Murray—1,500 acres. There is no building.

Freeholders—nil.

Herbert Maxwell saith that there are leaseholders for 21 years or (lives?) (MS defective here).

There is but one British family.

The Rosses, first granted to Lord Bombe—2,000 acres. There is no building.

Freeholders—nil.

THE PLANTATION OF DONEGAL — A SURVEY

Herbert Maxwell allegeth that he hath made a lease for 21 years of the said proportion to Captain Thomas Dutton, who resideth not there.

Moynargon, first granted to Alexander Cunningham—1,000 acres. There is not any building but only a small bawn of lime and stone with a gate, and a little timber house within, built by Sir Thomas Chichester, Kt., wherein there is not any inhabiting.

Freeholders—nil.

Herbert Maxwell affirmeth he hath made 3 minutes purporting leases of lands for 21 years.

There are but 2 British men.

BARONY OF RAPHOE

The Precinct of Liffer, allotted to English Undertakers.

Corlackey, first granted to Sir Thomas Cornwall, Kt.,—2,000 acres. Captain Thomas Davies holds of his brother, Robert Davies, this proportion, whereupon there is a house built of stone and clay, one storey high, of birch timber and covered with thatch, and a bawn of clay and stone (adjoining to the house) 40 ft square and 8 ft. high, with 2 flankers covered with thatch. Near unto the house, there is a village erected, consisting of 2 English-like houses, birch timber-loamed and thatched; about half a mile distant from the house, there are 3 other English-like houses, inhabited with Englishmen.

Freeholders—1.

Reputed Freeholders—3.

Leaseholders for 21 years—1.

Tenants-at-will—24, whereof diverse are said to be in Wales.

British men present, well-armed—13.

Tonaforis, first granted to Sir Robert Remington, Kt., — 2,000 acres. Sir Ralph Bingley, Kt., hath built a house of lime and stone, having 2 returns, 50 ft. long and 19 ft. broad, the middle part thereof 26 ft. long and 24 ft. wide, being 2 stories and a half in height,

not yet finished—3 parts thereof being slated and there being some materials for the finishing of the residue thereof. The house is situate on the River of Fynn near unto the ford which is the chiefest passage into the mountains of Barnes Moor and is a principal place for the King's service, where a bridge is very needful to be built. Near adjoining to this house on the other side of the river, Sir Ralph Bingley hath erected a village called **Ballybofey**, wherein a market is kept, consisting of 12 houses and cottages thatched, some of stone and the rest of timber, inhabited for the most part with British.

Reputed Freeholders—4.

Leaseholders for 21 years—13.

Tenants-at-will—3.

British men present, well-armed—22.

Shraghmielar (Stranorlar), first granted to Sir Henry Clarke (also Clare)—1,500 acres.

Peter Benson hath built near the river of Fynne a house, slated, of lime and stone and birch timber—58 feet long, 20 ft. wide, with 2 returns, the one 36 ft. long and 20 ft. wide, the other 28 ft. long and 18 ft. wide, being a storey and a half high. This house is compassed with a bawn of lime and stone 120 ft. square, with 4 flankers 12 ft. square apiece—both bawn and flankers being 9 ft. high; wherein Benson, his wife and family inhabit.

Near to this house, Peter Benson hath erected a village of 10 houses and cottages, whereof 3 are stone houses 50 ft. long apiece, 1 of them being covered with thatch, the other 2 not covered, all inhabited with British tenants.

Reputed Freeholders—3.

Reputed leaseholders for lives—1.

Leaseholders for years—15.

Tenants-at-will—1.

British men present—33, whereof well-armed—26.

Agagaltie (Aughagault Big and

THE PLANTATION OF DONEGAL — A SURVEY

Convoy)—2,000 acres.

William Willson, esq., hath built a house of lime and stone and birch timber, slated, standing on a mount called Dundree, 50 ft. long and 18 ft. wide, with 2 returns whereof one is 27 ft. long and 18 ft. wide and 2 stories high; the other is 33 ft. long, 18 ft. wide and 1 storey high. The upper rooms of the house are unfloored. There is a bawn from the forefront of the house, of lime and stone, 100 ft. square and 12 ft. high. In the house, Willson, his wife and family dwell, and near to the same, there are 6 cottages, thatched, inhabited with Britons.

William Willson acknowledgeth that he hath made no legal conveyance to any Freeholder, and that he made diverse imperfect notes purporting leases for years to diverse other of his tenants.

British men present—87, whereof meanly armed—82.

Killanagerdon (Killygordon) — 1,000 acres.

Captain Ralph Mansfield hath built a house near the river of Finn, of lime, clay and stone, 60 ft. in length, and 20 ft. wide with some returns, 2 stories high, slated, some of the partitions and floors not finished, with a bawn adjoining to the forefront of the house, 120 ft. square and 9 ft. high, with 4 flankers, 15 ft. square apiece, with birch timber and thatched, wherein Captain Mansfield's son's wife and family dwell.

Near thereunto he hath erected a village consisting of 10 cottages thatched, inhabited with British, and about half a mile from the river, he hath erected another village consisting of 8 cottages which are decayed, and two of them without any tenants in them.

Freeholders—2.

Leaseholders for lives—1.

Leaseholders for years—5.

British men present—18. whereof armed—11.

Acarine, first granted to Captain

Russell—1,500 acres.

There is a castle of lime and stone standing on the river of Finn, called Castle Finn, re-edified with good additions to it by Sir John Kingsmill, 40 ft. square, 43 ft. high and 3½ stories, slated and battlemented. Adjoining to the Castle, there is a strong bawn, built of lime and stone, 100 ft. square 13 ft. high, with 3 flankers, slated. To this bawn, Sir John Kingsmill intends to make an outwork of fortification, which will make it very defensible; in which castle Sir John Kingsmill, his wife and family inhabit.

Near to the said castle, there is a village consisting of 25 thatched cottages, inhabited with Britons—being, for the most part, soldiers—where his troop lies in garrison.

Reputed Freeholders—4.

Reputed Leaseholders—4.

British men present, well armed—29.

The borough town of **Liffer** (Lifford) standeth on a river (to which boats may come from Lough Foyle); and hath about fifty-four houses, some of stone and slated, the rest of timber, thatched—inhabited, for the most part, with English.

In this town, His Majesty hath a fort, built of lime and stone, wherein is a fair stone house, 112 feet long and 21 ft. wide, 2 storeys high, slated, with 4 dormers. The walls of this fort are in most part decayed. Captain Tichbourne hath his company in garrison there.

To which town there is 1,000 acres of common allowed by Sir Richard Hansard, Kt., deceased.

There are reputed Freeholders, made by Sir R. Hansard, of their dwelling-houses and small parcels of land thereunto belonging—31.

Reputed Leaseholders for years—23.

British townsmen armed—18, and soldiers that are freemen of the town.

Monastory (Ballymonaster), first granted to Sir Thomas Coach, Kt., — 1,500 acres.

THE PLANTATION OF DONEGAL — A SURVEY

Sir Richard Hansard hath built a wide, $1\frac{1}{2}$ storeys high, slated; to which is adjoined a bawn of brick, 150 ft. square and 5 ft. high; in which house, Sir Ralph Bingley, his wife and family dwell. Near unto this house, there is a village of thatched houses, inhabited with Britons.

Near to this house is erected a village consisting of 10 houses of cage-work, some 2 storeys high and the rest $1\frac{1}{2}$ storeys, inhabited with English. There is also a water mill built near the town.

Reputed Freeholders—9.

British men present, armed—10.

Lismonaghan, first granted to Sir Thomas Coach, Kt.,—1,000 acres.

Lady Coach hath built a house, being on Lough Swilly, of lime and stone, 24 ft. long and 18 ft. wide and $1\frac{1}{2}$ storeys high, with birch timber, slated; whereunto is added a timber house, 36 ft. long, 24 ft. wide and thatched. Adjoining to this house, there is a bawn of lime and stone, 60 ft. square and 10 ft. high, with 2 flankers 15 ft. square apiece, covered; in which house Lady Coach and her family dwell. Near unto this house there are 4 houses, thatched, inhabited with English.

Reputed Freeholders—3.

Reputed leaseholders for lives—2.

Leaseholders for 21 years—4.

British men present, well-armed—18

Dromore and Lurgagh, first granted to Sir Maurice Berkeley, Kt., 2,000 acres.

There is a house of lime and stone built on Lough Swilly by Sir Ralph Bingley, 45 ft. long and 24 ft. wide, with a return, 21 ft. long and 24 feet

Reputed Freeholders—5.

Reputed leaseholders for lives—2.

Reputed leaseholders for years—23.

Tenants-at-will—2.

British men present—33, whereof well-armed—30.

DIED AT 109.

Letterkenny, November, 1836.

Died at her son's residence, Sallaghagreen, near Letterkenny, Mrs. Eleanor Gallagher, relict of Mr. Cris. Gallagher, aged 109 years. Her last confinement was about 50 years ago, when she gave birth to 3 children, two of whom are still living. She retained the use of all her faculties to within a few hours of death, having been able to read without glasses up to two months ago. Her memory was excellent and she could tell of all the important events of the past 100 years, like the great frost of 1789.

FACTION FIGHTING

Kilmacrennan, May, 1832

At the fair of Kilmacrennan a desperate contest took place between two factions — the Gallaghers and the McGettigans, which terminated in broken heads and arms. The affray would have been more serious and lives lost but for Lieut. Persse and his police, and the timely interference of Rev. Mr. Hastings, the Rector, who was obliged to read the Riot Act. The Rev. Mr. McGee, the P.P., did all that a man could to assist the authorities to restore order.

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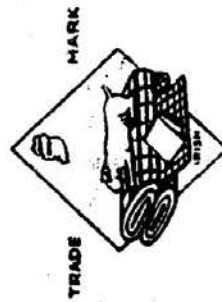
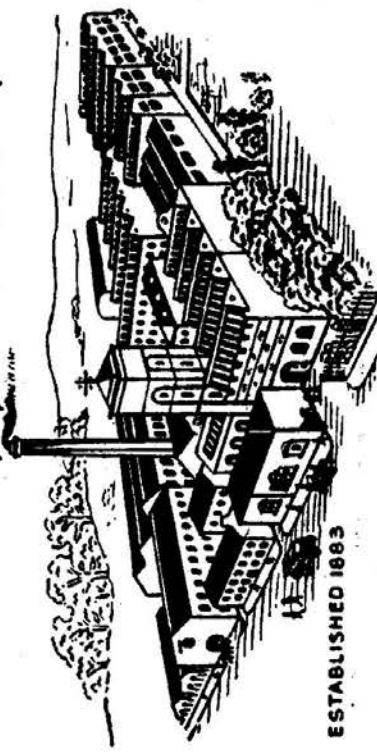
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It was born over fourteen hundred years ago, when St. Columba founded a monastery in the oak grove, on the hill where later the walled city was to stand. It began, therefore, as an ecclesiastical community, surviving for centuries frequent burnings by plundering Northmen and native armies. Then in the sixteenth century, when Ireland became involved in European wars and politics, the position of Derry at the mouth of one of the great rivers leading directly into the heart of Ulster led to its fortification as a garrison town, important strategically. So it became a walled city, numbering two sieges in its long and laden story, and the second of these makes one of the greatest chapters of history.

To anyone interested in olden times Derry has a constant fascination. Its ancient walls still stand and everywhere the present meets the past. There are quaint glimpses in unexpected places of stately Georgian doorways and windows. Old muzzle-loading cannon look down on a modern warship at the quay side where descendants of Columba's gulls are still crying and calling. Yet it has its own modern life, its clashes of standards and culture, its own interesting economic and social problems.

One of its greatest attractions is, perhaps, the ease with which one can exchange the country for the city. To the West are the hills of Donegal; down the broad lough to the East the headland of Benevenagh stands out against the sky; while to the South-East rise the rounded peaks of the Sperrin mountains.



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