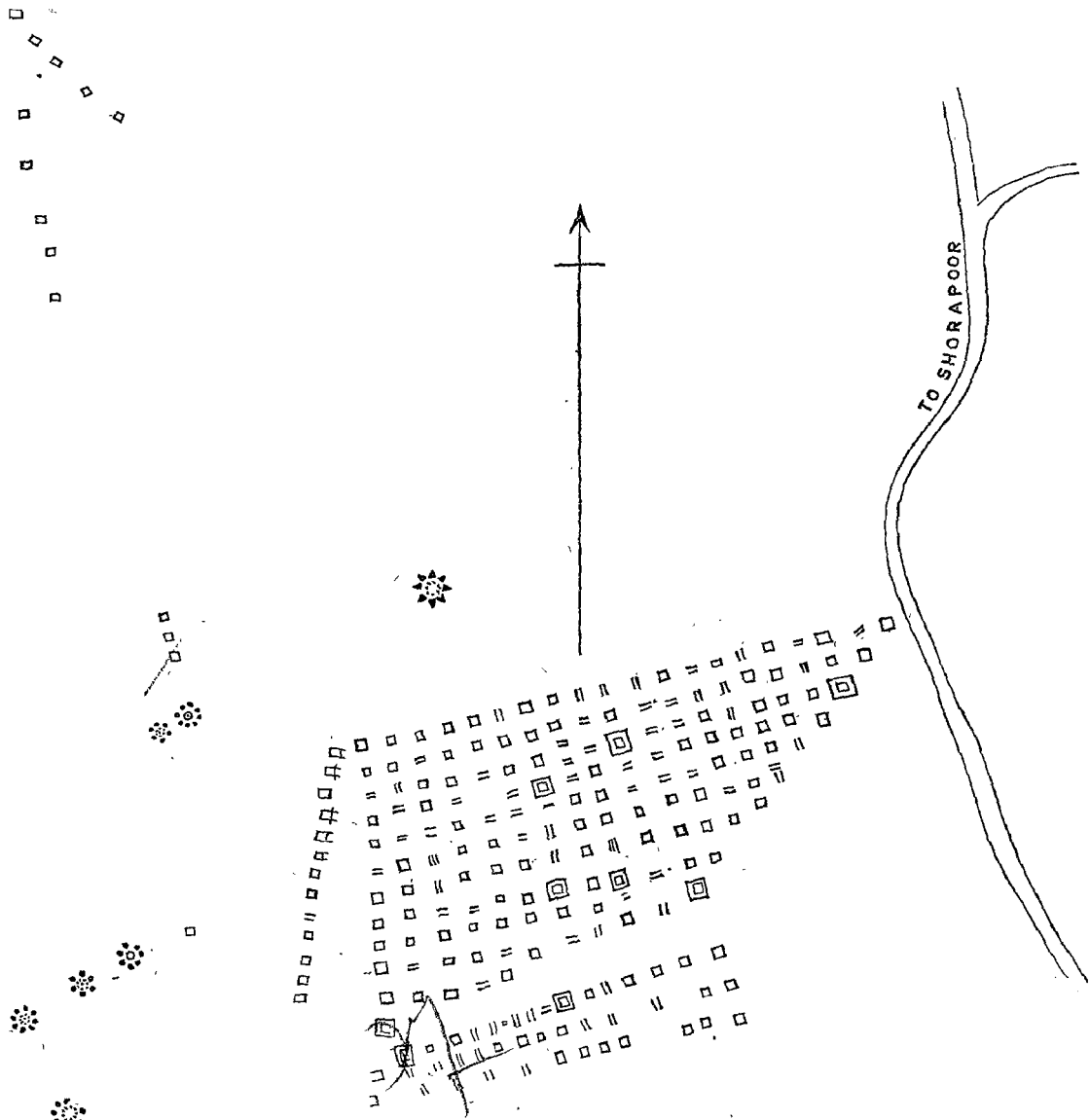


V.—*Descriptions of Cairns, Cromlechs, Kistvaens, and other Celtic, Druidical, or Scythian Monuments in the Dekhan.* By CAPT. MEADOWS TAYLOR. • *With Sixty-four Illustrations from his Original Sketches and Surveys.*

Read May 12, 1862.

IN the year 1850, my attention was first attracted to these ancient remains, by observing the large group of cromlechs near the village of Rajunkolloor, in the principality of Shorapoor (an independent native state, situated between the Bheema and Krishna Rivers, immediately above their junction), of which I was then Political Superintendent. They were called by the people, in the Canarese language, "Mori-Munni," or "Mories'" houses; and these Mories were believed to have been a *dwarf race* of great strength, who inhabited the country in very remote ages. There were two groups, separate, and situated about half a mile from the village westward, in some rocky uncultivated land which sloped gently to the south; and, strange as the fact of Druidical, Celtic, Scythian, or Aryan remains existing there appeared to be at first, subsequent investigation proved beyond a doubt that these, and others which will be detailed in this paper, were indeed such.

I regret that I cannot submit plans of both of these groups of remains; but that of the smaller one, Plan No. I., will explain the positions of the cromlechs in relation to each other, and also of cairns or barrows which exist in connexion with them. The larger group consists of, perhaps, one hundred cairns and cromlechs, small and large, and occupies about five acres of ground. The scale of the plan will give the dimensions of the smaller one.



PLAN No. I.

Cromlechs, Kistvaens, and Cairns, Rajunkolloor. Scale 160 yards = 1 inch.



In order to ascertain the nature of these remains, and their contents, I had several opened—large and small, closed and otherwise. The interior of the closed cists contained a little black mould on the surface, a few inches thick; below this, the earth was greyish-white, known to the people of the Dekhan as “Pandré-Mutti,” a substance which has an antiseptic quality, and had evidently been brought from another locality, as it did not exist on the

spot. With this earth, human ashes and portions of bones and charcoal were mixed; and pieces of broken pottery, red and black, also appeared. These remains rested upon the solid rock, upon which the cists had been constructed.

No entire urns, or spear or arrow heads, knives, or other remains, were found in any of these kistvaens or cromlechs; nor was there any difference in the contents of any of them. Grey earth, mixed with portions of bones, human ashes run into a rough slag with sand, and small pieces of charcoal, were in all; and the inference was, that the ashes of burnt human bodies had been placed there, and perhaps originally in urns; but why they should all have been found broken was not intelligible, as there was no appearance of disturbance of the monuments.

Many of the closed kistvaens had round holes in the centre of the slab on the south side. The diameters of these holes varied; but were never more than 9, or less than 4 inches. What the particular use of these perforations was, is, I believe, a disputed point among antiquarians; but it is at least remarkable that this peculiarity is found to exist in similar remains in Brittany, in England (Kits Coty House, near Boxley, in Kent, being, I believe, a well-known example), and in Circassia, according to Mr. BELL; and, with the descriptions of such monuments, those at Rajunkolloor entirely agreed.

I here make a distinction, whether correctly or not I cannot say, between kistvaens and cromlechs. They are similarly constructed, except that the former—whether with or without a top—has always four sides, and the latter only three. In none of the *open* cromlechs could anything be found, and the original earth of the floor remained undisturbed. Indeed, in most instances, they were placed on the solid rock, or where the surface soil was very shallow.

The size of these monuments differed very widely; the smallest being oblong, about 10 inches wide, and 2 feet long, probably graves of infants; the larger having interiors 8 to 10 feet long, by 6 to 8 feet broad.

I beg to submit herewith an original sketch, No. I., made on the spot, of a portion of the largest group of kistvaens and cromlechs; and I found the dimensions of the slabs of which the large cromlech are composed to be as follows:—Side pieces, 15' - 3" long by 9' - 0" broad, and 1' - 9" inches to 1 foot

thick. The top covering slab is 15' – 9" long by 10' – 9" broad, and 1 foot to 2' – 9" thick; the interior space being 8' \times 6½" feet, open to the south.



SKETCH NO. I.

Another, somewhat smaller, in the foreground of Sketch No. II., has a top slab 12 feet by 10' – 6", and 9" inches to 1 foot thick, and the side slabs 12 feet 2 inches long by 8' broad. In a third the side slabs are 9 feet high, 12 feet 3 inches long, and about 1 foot thick. In this kistvaen, the slab containing the round hole is to the south. The Sketch also gives a view of part of the general group, including those of which ground plans are given.

Comparing these monuments with the dimensions of the cromlechs near Plás Newydd in Anglesea, they do not appear much inferior in size. The great one there, which I believe is one of the largest known, has a covering stone 12 feet 7 inches long, 12 feet broad, and 4 feet thick; another, near it, is a square of 5½ feet only.

The slabs of stone, of which the largest monuments at Rajunkolloor are constructed, were obtained from a very peculiar formation, which exists about

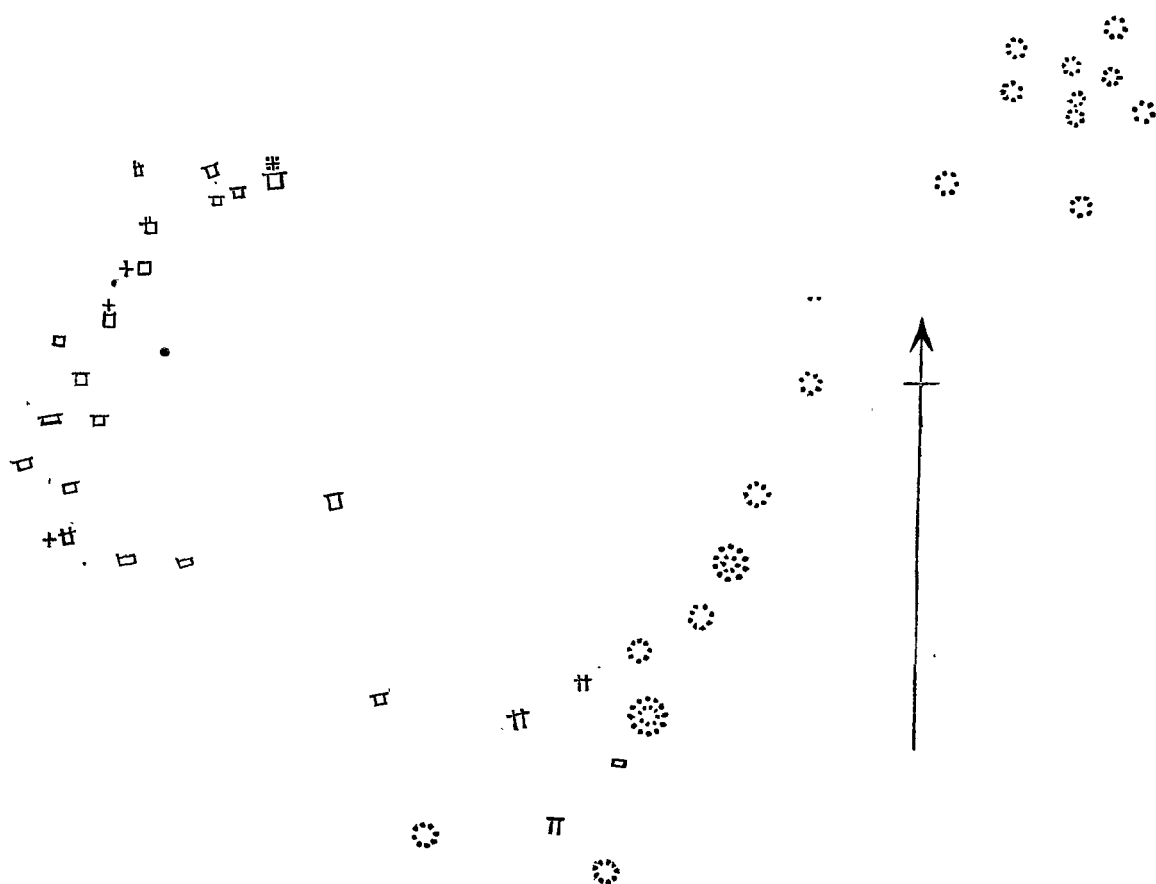


SKETCH No. II.

three miles to the west. Here granite, in a state of fusion, has disturbed the stratified limestone and sandstone, and to some extent vitrefied both; and the latter-named material, though much more difficult to quarry, was preferred to the stratified limestone, which could have been obtained close by. It is difficult, however, to conceive how those large slabs of stone were quarried—for the rock is very hard—or transported to their present locality.

Plan No. II. is of another remarkable group of cromlechs and kistvaens, connected with cairns, near the village of Huggeritgi, about four miles west of Rajunkolloor. There are twenty-three cists here, and twenty cairns, two of which are of large size. The whole are irregularly disposed on a piece of waste land, also sloping to the south, upon the left bank of the River Dône. Those marked with crosses were examined, generally with the same result as at Rajunkolloor in regard to contents. But one cairn contained urns of red pottery, which were full of ashes and partially calcined bones. All these monuments

were constructed of limestone slabs, and rested upon the solid granite rock as foundation. This limestone lies naturally in laminæ, which are from 1 inch



PLAN No. II.

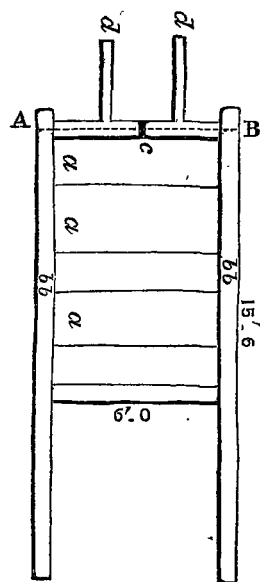
Cairns and Cromlechs, Huggeritgi, Shorapoor. Scale 160 feet = 1 inch.

to 1 and 2 feet in thickness; it is, therefore, easily quarried, and can be broken by a hammer, or even a hard stone, into flags of any size. No surface dressing, therefore, was required; and the sides and top stones of these kistvaens were smooth, and at once available for use, after having been shaped to the size required.

Plan D, annexed, gives the ground plan of the largest kistvaen at Huggeritgi. The dimensions of the side slabs are 15 — 6 long; the cross pieces being 6 feet each. In the front slab was a round hole, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter; the top was 11' — 3" long, by 7' — 4" broad; so that it projected a little beyond the upright sides. The sides fitted very neatly; but, whether from damp or other causes, none of the urns inside were whole, and what were found crumbled

away on exposure to the air. There were two upright stones on each side of the entrance slab, which I did not remark in any other cist.

In another kistvaen were found seven large pots, or urns, the dimensions of one being 3' - 9" high, and 2' - 3" in diameter; but none of them could be removed whole. They contained ashes, charcoal, and fragments of bones.

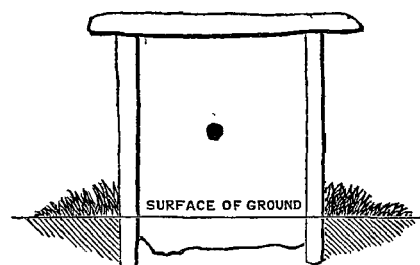


PLAN D.

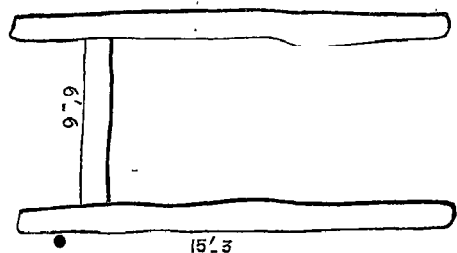
REFERENCES.

- a a a*, Floor slabs.
- b b*, Side wall slabs.
- c*, Round hole in centre slab.
- d d*, Upright slabs for entrance.

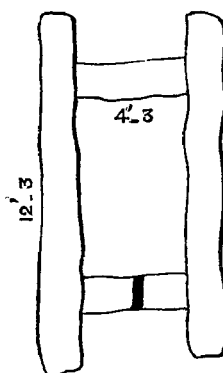
Contained broken pottery, calcined bones, ashes (human), and charcoal mixed with grey earth.



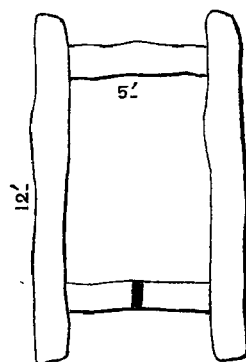
Section across A B.



Open Cromlech No. 1.



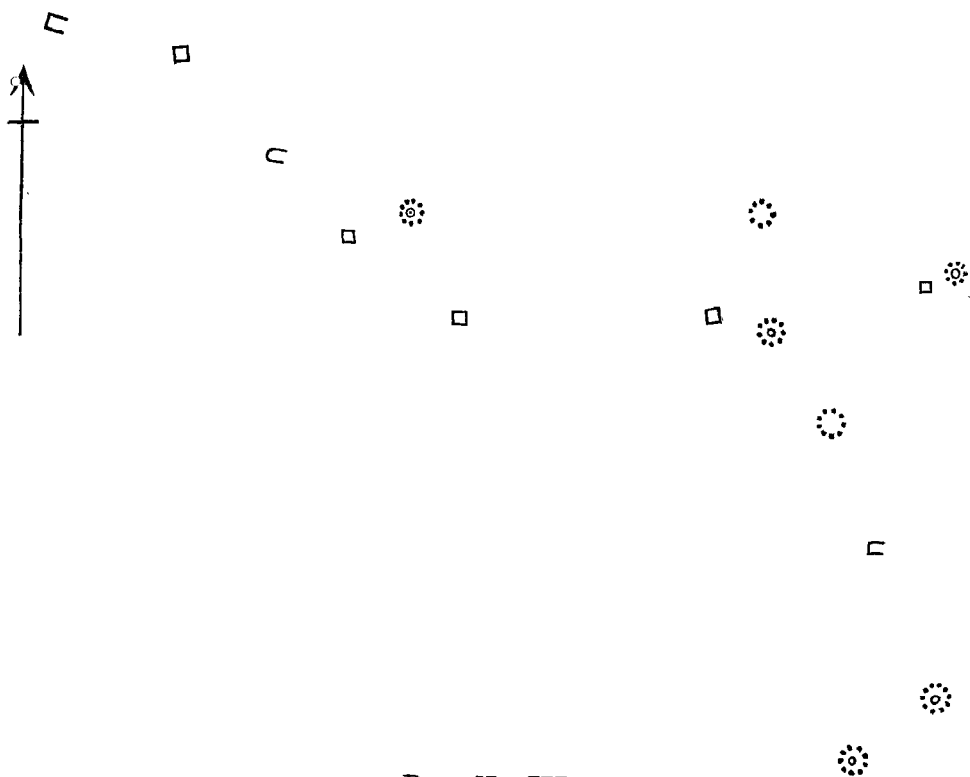
Kistvaen No. 1.



Kistvaen No. 3.

Plan No. III. is also of a group of cists and cromlechs, with cairns, at Belsettee Hall, six miles north-east of Rajunkolloor, which needs no particular explanation, the remains being of the same character, though not so perfect or so large.

The foregoing localities were the only ones in the Shorapoor district where, to my knowledge, cromlechs and kistvaens above ground exist; but on the hill of Yemmee Gooda (the hill of the Buffaloes), about seventy miles to the south of Rajunkolloor, in the Raichore district, there is a very large and remarkable group (*vide* Plan No. IV.). These remains occupy a tolerably level spot, near the top of the hill, which has once been rudely fortified. Here are sixty-five cromlechs and kistvaens, many of large size; and, as a new feature,



PLAN No. III.

four of the largest are surrounded by double circles of large stones. Thus also, at Ter Dryn, in Anglesea, the cromlech is surrounded by a circle of stones. The whole lie among the immense granite rocks of the locality, as shown in the plan; and on the west side of the cromlechs are a number of graves, formed by slabs of granite let into the ground, with cross pieces at the head and feet; forming, as it were, sunken cists. The dimensions of the largest cromlech here are: side slabs, 9 feet long, by 6' – 5" broad; top cover, 7 feet broad, by 9 long, and 1 to 2 feet thick, many others being nearly of the same dimensions.

PLATE I.

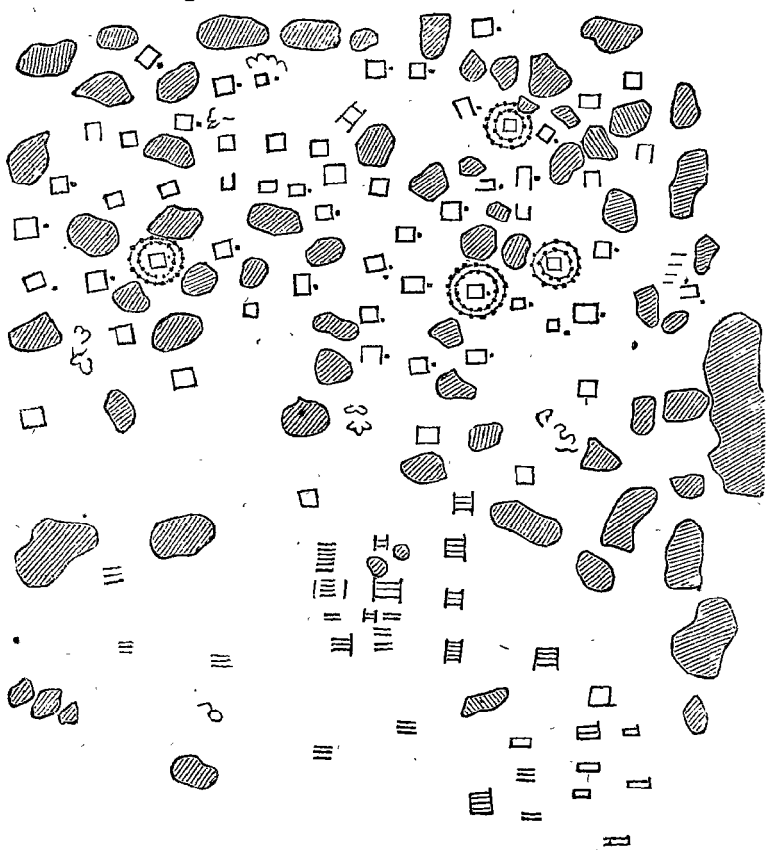


SKETCH No. III.
Cairn Cemetery, Jewurgi.

I now pass to the subject of cairns which, in relation to their construction, the remains found in them, and their complete identification with similar monuments in Europe and Central Asia, afford, if possible, more curious and more strictly corroborative results than the cromlechs and kistvaens.

I shall first notice those at Jewurgi, the largest and perhaps the most complete group in the Shorapoor district, and beg reference to Plan No. V., p. 338. The Sketch No. III. (Pl. I.) also shows the appearance of a portion of this cemetery, as taken from the north end.

Jewurgi is situated about three miles south of the Bheema River, on the high road from Shorapoor to

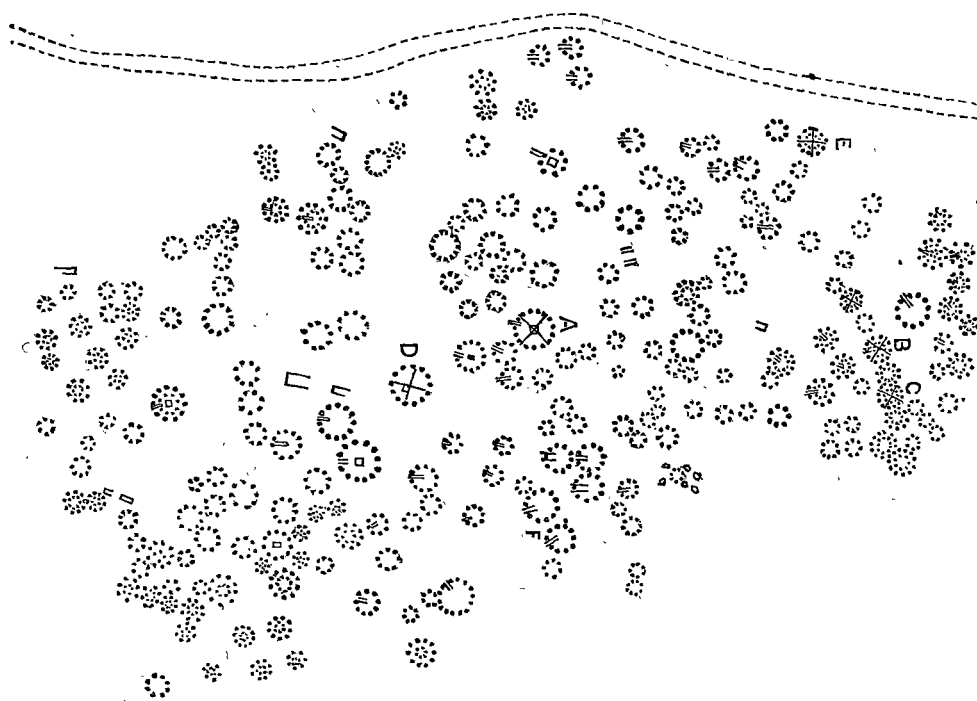


PLAN No. IV.

Gulberga; and the cairns are found beside the high road, about two miles south of the river, on a piece of waste, sterile ground which slopes gently to the south, and is composed of yellowish-grey argillaceous shale, with a covering in some parts of shallow black earth, from 3 to 6 inches thick; in others, the earth has been entirely washed away.

I would here beg to remark, that all the groups of cairns, cromlechs, or kistvaens, which I have found in the Dekhan, have been placed upon ground which slopes gently to the south. In this respect I have observed no variation anywhere. Also, that all cairns in which urns were to be deposited, or cists of stone to hold bodies, were dug in dry shale, gravel, or hard earth; and that the surface of the ground was unculturable land. The space enclosed or occupied by this field of cairns measured 336 by 216 yards; and there were 268 cairns counted, with many others difficult to decide upon. The number of stones

in the circles is 24 to 36 in the single ones, and 48 to 68 in the double. Some of the cairns had open cists at the top, composed of flags of limestone, which



PLAN No. V.

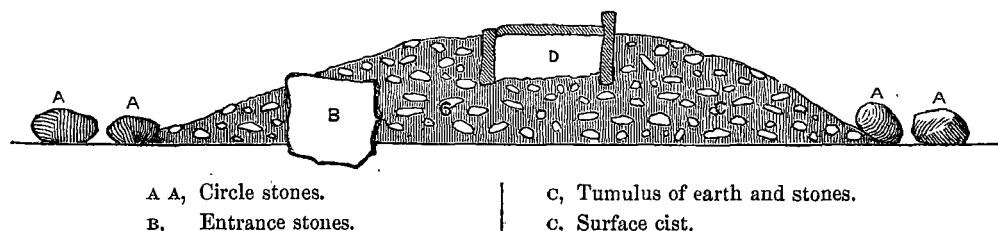
Plan of Cemetery of Cairns, Jewurgi, Shorapoor. Scale 160 feet = 1 inch.

projected a foot or more beyond the surface. The stones placed round the cairns are black trap boulders, some of large size, which were brought from the trap hills to the west. These black circles, therefore, resting here upon light-coloured yellow and grey argillaceous shale, have a striking appearance, and could not be mistaken. In all of them, the spaces contained within the circles have been filled with earth and stones till a small tumulus was formed, rising to the centre.

The Cairn A, in the Plan, was first opened by a trench run through the barrow on the top, 4 feet wide, and was commenced between two slabs of limestone which had been placed on the south side, near two of the circle stones. These slabs, which were upright in the ground, were 2 feet apart, and lay N. E. and S. W. by compass. In all the cairns also, afterwards examined, precisely the same result ensued; and the direction of the cist below the ground invariably corresponded with that of the entrance stones above. Carrying on the trench, loose stones and earth were found, and removed to a depth of 5 feet in

the centre. Below this, the ground was very hard; and, to all appearance, the natural shale had not been disturbed. Nothing was found in the trench; and for a time, further examination was given up.

Section of Barrow over Cairn A, Jewurgi.



The Cairns B, C, D, and E were next tried, with similar results; and I began to suppose that whatever had been interred had perished long ago. But observing in A two trap boulders on the south side, below the excavation already made, and sloping downwards—which could not *naturally* have existed—further examination was continued; and it was curious that those boulders corresponded with the direction of the limestone slabs in Cairn C, and formed an entrance, as it were, to the body of the grave from the S. W. side.

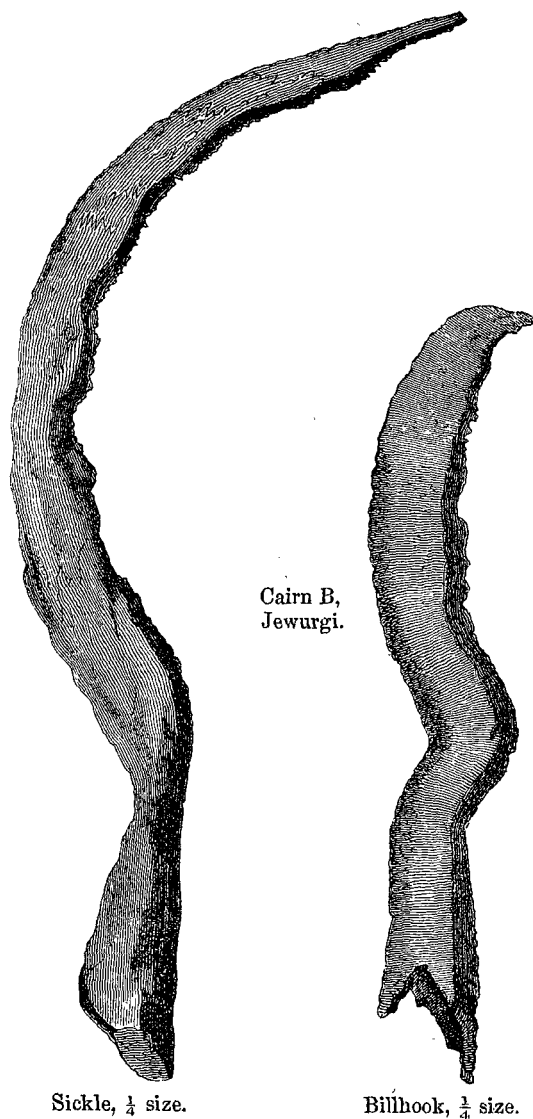
About 5 feet below the level where the first excavation had terminated, a cist formed of neat limestone slabs was found; in which, among some white earth, the bones of a skeleton were distinctly traced, and the skull recovered, though not in a perfect state. This skeleton lay on its face, and below it were two smaller ones, of which the skull of one was remarkably thick. These skeletons lay N. E. and S. W. by compass, as indeed all afterwards found also did. A red cornelian bead of oblong form, pierced, was the only article found in the cists; but when the earth behind the head slab was examined, some small vases or urns of red and black pottery, a few decayed spear and arrow heads of iron, and an iron tripod, were found. The largest skeleton measured 5—5½ feet in length from the top of the skull to the toe bones; the others were 4'—11" and 4'—9½", respectively. I may here remark that all the skeletons found in these and other cairns were of small size as to height, but having bones of unusual strength and thickness. It is curious, also, that the tradition of the constructors of these monuments being dwarfs—a tradition which, I believe, prevails wherever these remains are found—should correspond with what was found, indicating, at least, people of low stature.

Cairns B, C, and D yielded much the same results; and I show figures of a small sickle and bill-hook found in Cairn B.

In Cairn B, however, the discoveries were so peculiar, that I beg leave to detail them separately.

Two regular and complete cists, formed of limestone slabs, were found at the bottom of the grave, 12 feet from the surface. That on the east side contained one skeleton, which was perfect; the others, two skeletons, of which one skull *only* was in the cist. One of these skeletons had vertebrae attached to the spine, above the clavicles, but no skull; and there was no reason to suppose, when all else was distinctly seen, that it had decayed. These skeletons were indeed so perfect, as they lay in the dry earth, which had been carefully picked away, that every particular could be observed. Now, the skeleton which had a skull, had been laid down on its left side, and the face should have corresponded to this position, but it was found turned quite the contrary way—in fact, towards the back of the skeleton. The inference at once was, that this corpse had been beheaded, as well as the other, and the head placed as it was found. These skeletons appeared to be those of women; and the bones of the pelvis were very broad and strong. Amongst the earth above the cist, remains of several other bodies were found; but none of the skeletons had been laid down regularly: they had evidently been pitched in at random, and were in all sorts of inclinations and positions; nor was there any one skull found near or attached to a skeleton.

Cairn D—the exterior of which corresponded as nearly as possible with that of Cairn C, except that the diameter was larger—was next examined very carefully. After the crust below the loose stones—which appeared to be the natu-

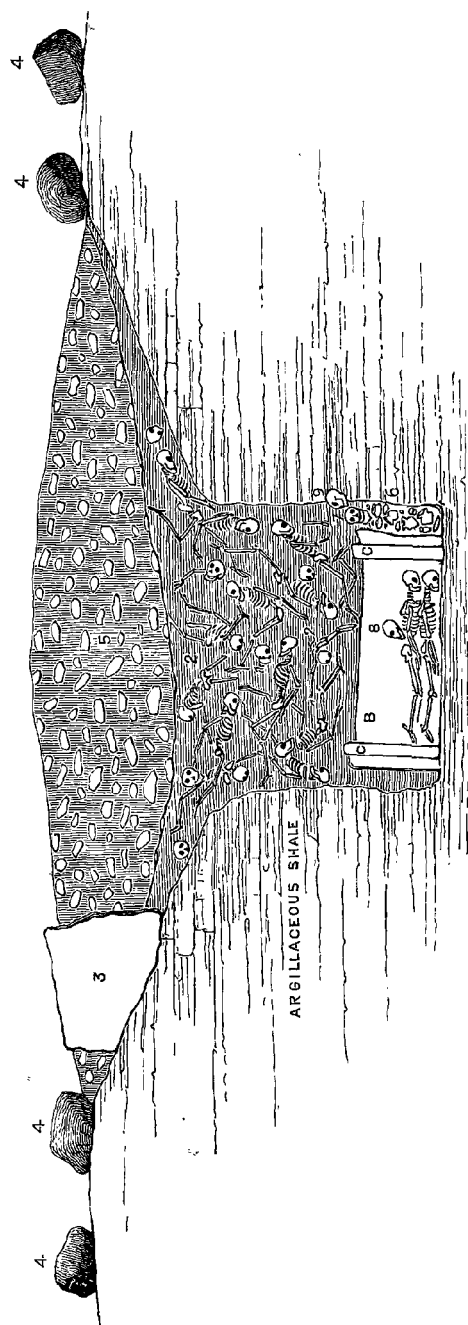


Cairn B,
Jewurgi.

Sickle, $\frac{1}{4}$ size.

Billhook, $\frac{1}{4}$ size.

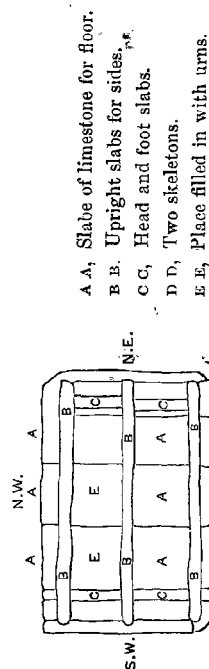
PLATE II.



SECTION OF CAIRN D.

REFERENCES.

- 1, Longitudinal section of cist, with two skeletons, faces downward.
- 2 2 2, Space filled with grey earth, and skeletons irregularly thrown in.
- 3, Entrance stones, limestone slabs, 2 feet apart.
- 4 4 4, Outside circle stones.
- 5, Loose stones and earth.
- 6, Space filled with small urns.
- 7, Single skull on top of urns.
- 8, Single skull on top of skeletons.
- 9, Single skull on ledge of shale over urns.



Cairn D. Ground Plan of Cist.

- A A, Slab of limestone for floor.
- B B, Upright slabs for sides.
- C C, Head and foot slabs.
- D D, Two skeletons.
- E E, Place filled in with urns.

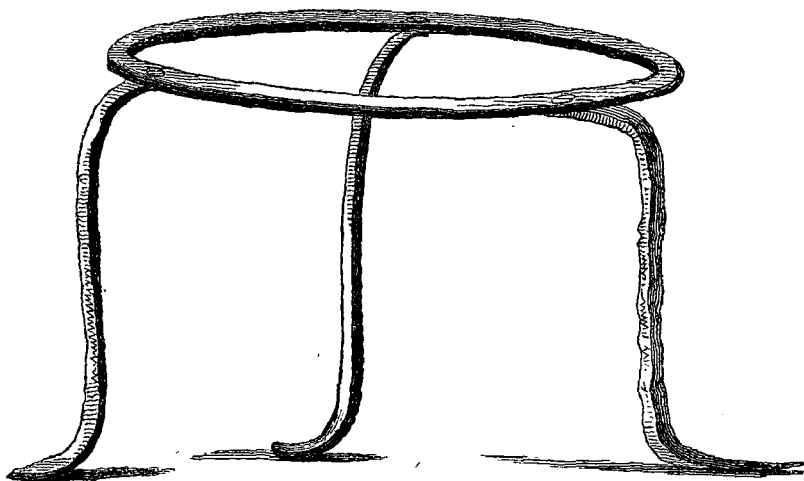
ral shale of the excavation, beaten down till it had become concrete—had been removed, the same greyish earth as in other places ("Pandr  Mutti") was met with; and gradually portions of skeletons, lying literally in all directions among this earth. How many there may have been could not be ascertained; but five skulls were taken out tolerably entire, though they soon crumbled away on exposure to the dry hot wind; and there were pieces of others, and also of children's skulls, observable. A section of the excavation is given in Plate II.

About 9 feet from the surface the lid of a cist was met with, and the excavation carried on on the N. W., S. W., and S. E. sides, till the cist was completely laid bare. It consisted of limestone slabs, varying from 2 to 4 inches in thickness, which may have been quarried from the bed of the small river which runs past Jewurgi, and bounds the south side of the cairn field. Five slabs, 4' — 6" to 4' — 8" long, were laid down as a floor (*vide* Fig. I., Cairn E).

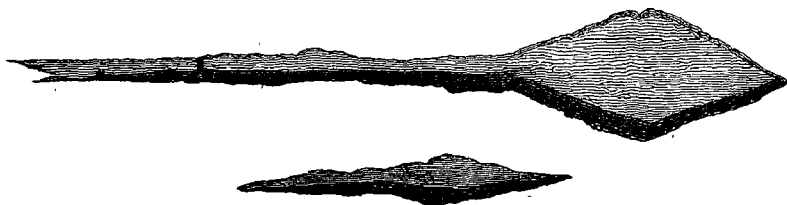
Upon these, three slabs, lengthwise, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, were set as up-rights; and four slabs, 20 inches and 1 foot, respectively, apart, were placed between at head and foot to form two divisions, 18 or 20 inches wide on the east, and 1 foot on the west. In the division on the west were small urns, many of them broken; but some were got out whole, together with two arrow-heads, a sickle, an iron tripod, a cornelian bead with a hole drilled

through it, and what may have been a sword, broken into two portions, and much decayed.

CAIRN D.



Iron Tripod.



Arrow Heads.

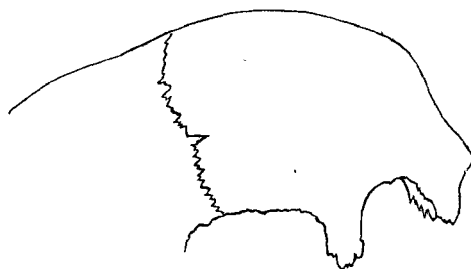
The division to the east contained two skeletons, laid on each other, both *face downwards*, the skulls of which were in their proper places; but, curious to observe as it indeed was, one skull was met with in the centre of the bodies placed upright, with the face to the south, which belonged to another skeleton—for the two in the cist were, as they lay, singularly perfect, male and female, the male below; nor could the skull have fallen from above, for the covers of the cist corresponding with the floor were quite entire.

At the head of the cist, in the space between the cist and the shale of the excavation, a great number of small vessels of pottery had been placed, the earth about which was removed very carefully. Now, in doing this, another single and separate skull was met with, which had been placed upright on a ledge, as it were, of the shale, looking to the foot of the grave, and just above the pots. It was so perfect when taken out, that I hoped to preserve it; but having been incautiously placed in the sun, it crumbled away almost to powder in a few hours. This skull could not possibly have belonged to any entire body placed in the cist, for it was separated by several feet from all others, and its position, as also that of the extra skull in the cist, was too remarkable to be mistaken. A tracing of part of it, when first taken out, is given below.

CAIRN D.



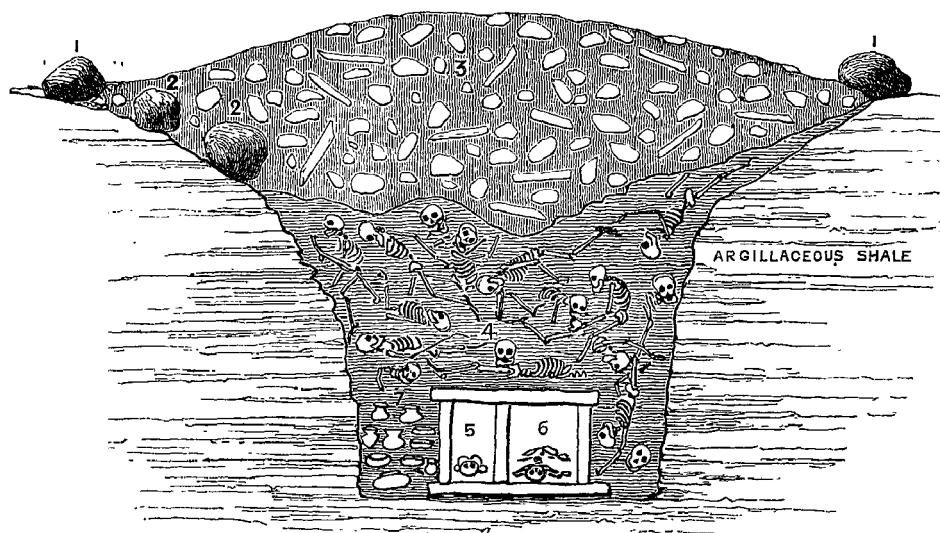
Front of Skull.



Top of Skull.

Here, then, appeared unmistakeable traces, and proofs indeed, of human sacrifice; and another cairn, E, was then opened, and, if possible, more carefully examined. As the excavation proceeded downwards, remains of

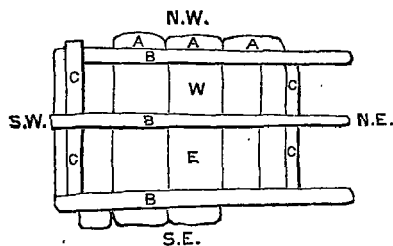
six skeletons, in the most irregular positions conceivable, were found; and skulls, of which three were tolerably perfect, and were separate from the bodies. I had directed the excavation to be carried down first to the foot of the cist, should there be one; and at the usual depth of 9 feet a cist was found,



SECTION OF CAIRN E, JEWURGI, FIG. I.

REFERENCES.

- 1 1, Circle stones.
- 2 2, Stones leading to cist.
- 3, Stones, shale, and earth.
- 4 4, Space filled with grey earth and confused skeletons.
- 5, Interior of cist; one skeleton complete.
- 6, Interior of cist; two skeletons, with one skull.
- 7, Jars and urns, whole and broken.

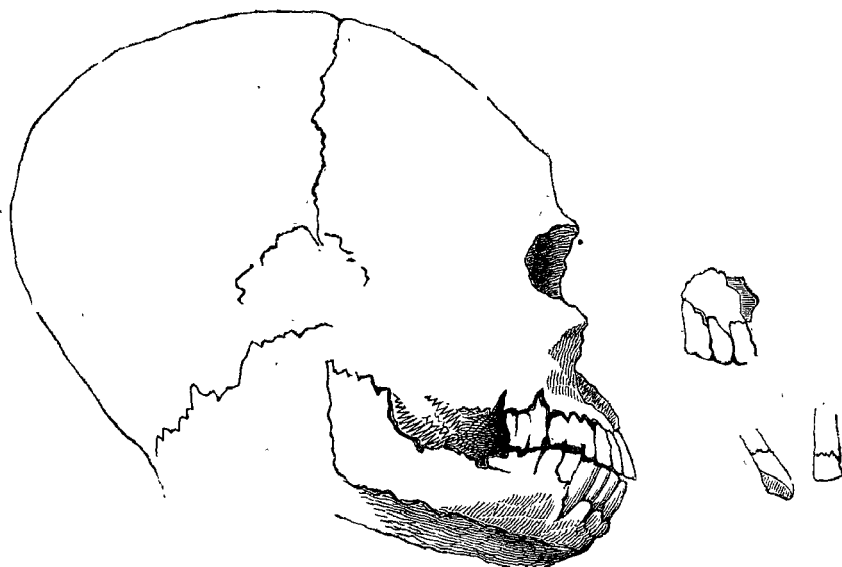


- A A, Floor slabs.
- B B, Upright do.
- C C, Head and foot pieces.

very perfect, the covering slabs of which were removed as the work proceeded; and the earth about the cist which remained was carefully picked out, so as to leave nothing unexamined. Near the head of the cist, and resting upon some earth above the end covering slab, some bones were met with, and, on the earth above them being carefully picked away, a perfect skeleton was shown in profile, without a head, and with the skull placed in the centre of the body, with the face to the south. It had really so ghastly an aspect, that it took some persuasion to get the workmen into the grave to go on with the work.

This skull proved to be very perfect, and the bone had not changed into lime, so that I was enabled to make a tracing of it, which I now show below. The cist was 4' - 10" long inside, by 3' - 4" broad, including the dividing slab, leaving one to the east 2 feet, the other 1 foot broad. In the eastern division were two skeletons, both shorter than the cist, the upper *with the face downwards*, the lower one on its left side. In the division to the west was one skeleton, that of a wo-

CAIRN E. FIG. II.



Skull on centre of Skeleton.

man, as my apothecary declared, which appeared perfect as it lay; but no portions of these skeletons could be preserved, owing to their crumbling directly they were exposed to the air. The iron lamp, of which there is a representation (page 345), was found hooked into the shale at the head or north end of the grave. The earth in which the remains were found, and which filled the cists, was "Pandr  Mutti," of the same quality found in the cists of Rajunkolloor.

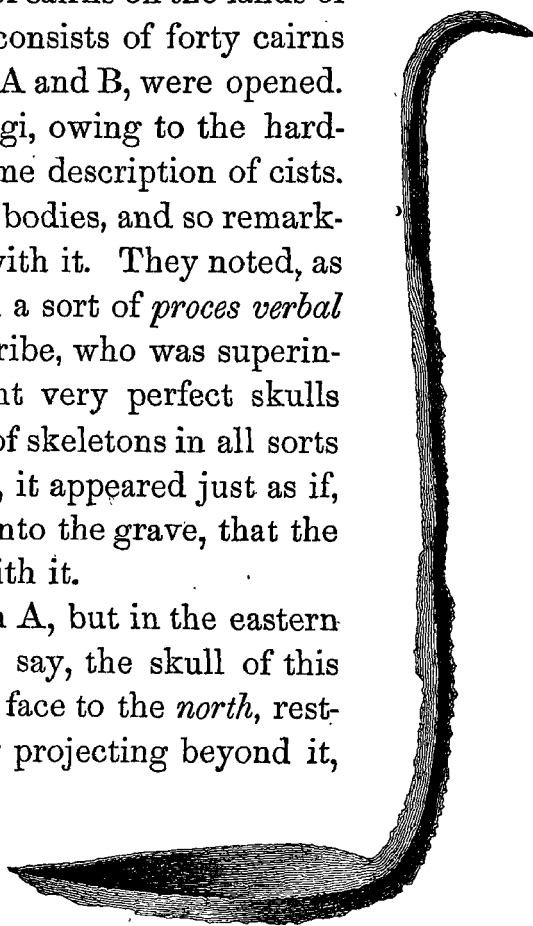
These discoveries, which were afterwards confirmed by examinations of cairns at And la, Narkailpulle, Hyderabad, and other places, seemed to me conclusive as to the establishment of the fact of human sacrifices, else why the number of separate skulls found in such curious positions? Also that the grave had been the burial-place of one chief person, with whom the others were put to death. It would have been as easy to dig a new grave, as to open one of these large chambers, nay, easier; nor could I see, indeed, how a cist could have been opened to put in a new body without removing the whole of the upper earth and stones, and replacing them. I regret I have none of the skulls,

or portions of them, to present to the Museum of the Academy. Several were, however, sent to the Museum of the Royal Asiatic Society at Bombay. They were all remarkable for the great thickness of the cranium, and large size of the teeth, of which, in many instances, the bright enamel was still perfect.

Plan No. VI. (p. 346) is of another field of cairns on the lands of Andôla, five miles S. E. of Jewurgi, which consists of forty cairns and cists, irregularly disposed, of which two, A and B, were opened. They were not so deep as those at Jewurgi, owing to the hardness of the shale; but they contained the same description of cists. In both, skulls were found separate from the bodies, and so remarkably, that the native workmen were struck with it. They noted, as they called them, the proofs of murder; and a sort of *proces verbal* was drawn up by the Putwari, or village scribe, who was superintending the workmen. From Cairn A eight very perfect skulls were taken out, and the number of portions of skeletons in all sorts of positions was very remarkable. In short, it appeared just as if, while the white earth was being shovelled into the grave, that the bodies above the cist had been thrown in with it.

In Cairn B the cist was similar to that in A, but in the eastern division was one skeleton only. Strange to say, the skull of this was separate from the body, and lay with its face to the *north*, resting upon the shoulder and left arm, the jaw projecting beyond it, and the top of the cranium being just over the breast-bone—an impossible position for the head, had it not been separately placed there.

I do not think there is further necessity for multiplying examples, though my notes contain many others. The positions of skeletons without skulls lying in all directions; of skulls without skeletons; the very remarkable instances in the Jewurgi cairns of a skull being found, inside a perfect cist, placed upright between two skeletons; and of a skeleton being found lying transversely across the cover of a cist, without a skull, which had been placed upon its middle,—all served to impress me with the conviction that the bodies so found were those of human victims; but whether of men or women, I could not determine.



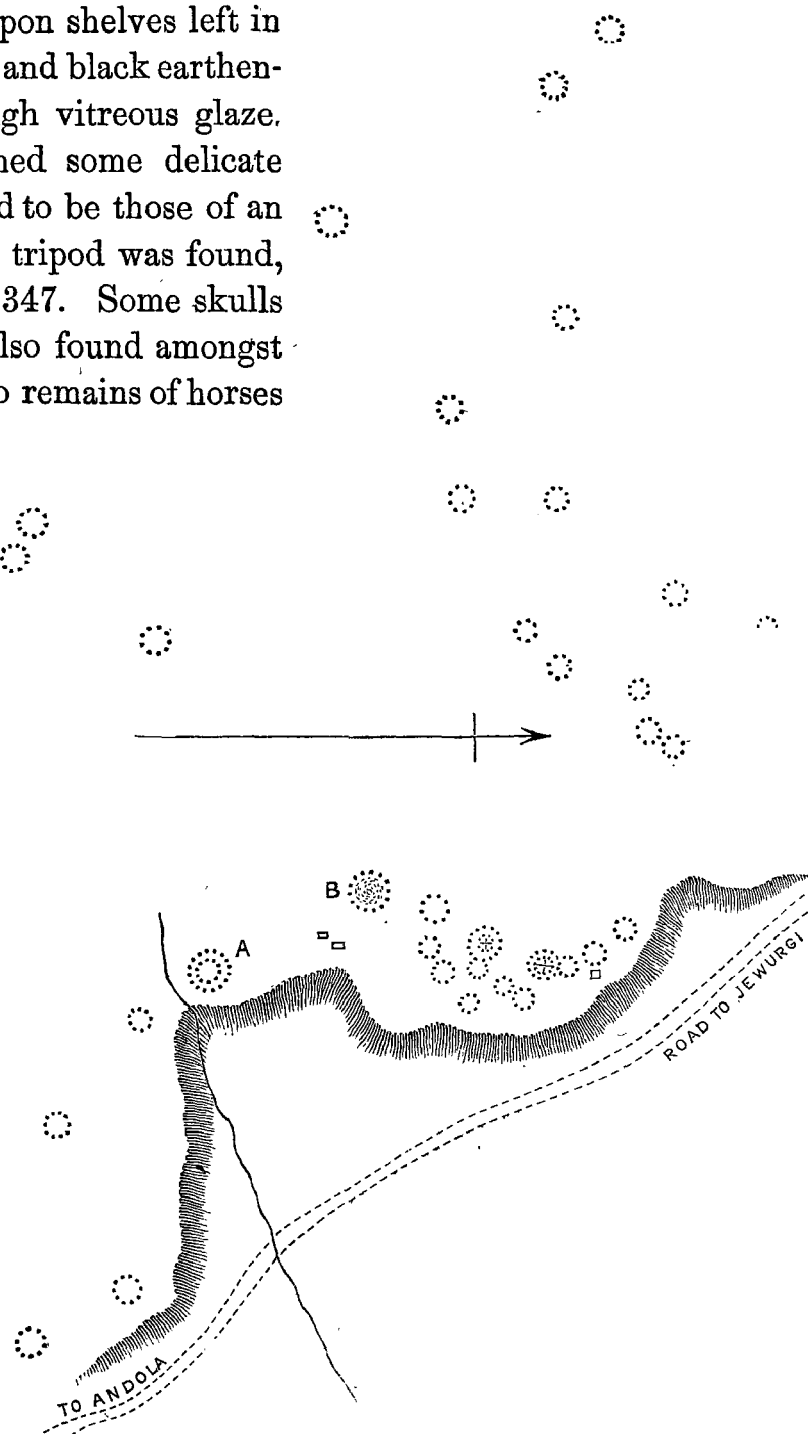
Cairn E, Jewurgi. Iron Lamp, $\frac{1}{2}$ size.

The vases or pots found in these cairns, and also at Jewurgi (examples of which are given in p. 347), had been placed, some at the head of the bodies behind the cists, others upon shelves left in the shale. They were red and black earthenware, covered with a rough vitreous glaze. One in Cairn A contained some delicate white bones, which proved to be those of an iguana ; and another iron tripod was found, which is also figured in p. 347. Some skulls and bones of dogs were also found amongst the human remains, but no remains of horses or cattle.

Do not these discoveries go far to confirm the description of HERODOTUS, quoted by ROLLIN, of Scythian funereal ceremonies and sacrifices ?

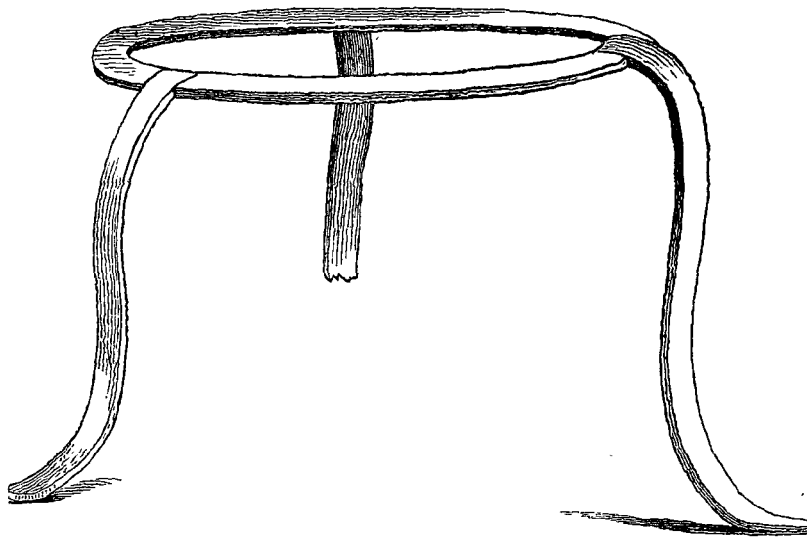
“After the body has been transported through various provinces, it is placed on a couch, set round by spears ; his concubines are then sacrificed, and a mound of earth is raised over the king and his women.”

And again:—“They then interred the king with one of his wives ; his chamberlain, his master of the horse, chancellor, and secretary, were all put to death, as also

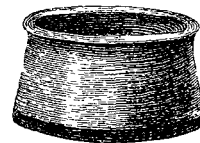
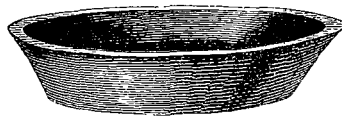
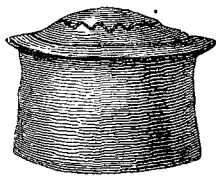


PLAN No. VI.
Cairns at Andôla, Shorapoor.

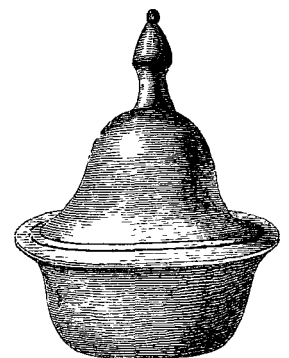
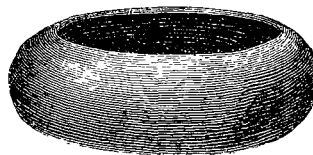
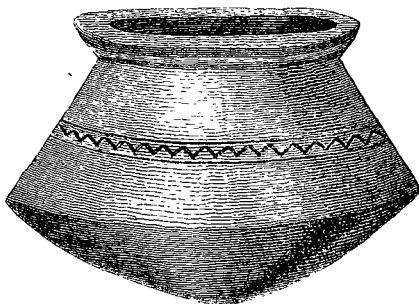
several horses; a number of drinking vessels were also buried." And these urns, many of which were of small size, may have been drinking vessels.



Iron Tripod, Cairn A, Andôla, $\frac{1}{2}$ size.



Earthen Vessels, Andôla Cairns, $\frac{1}{4}$ size.



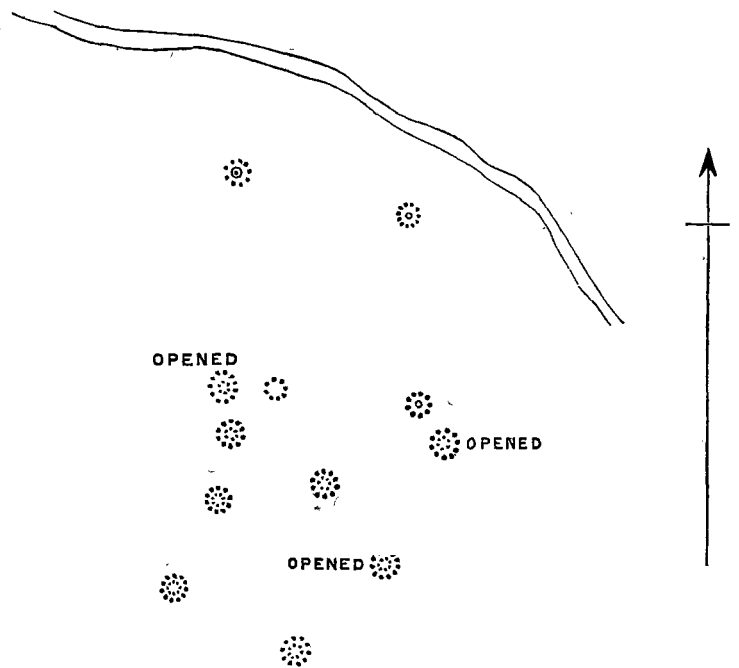
Earthen Vessels, Jewurgi Cairns, $\frac{1}{4}$ size.

The deeds of violence of which these graves and their strange remains were witnesses, after so many centuries, probably not less than 3000 years, perhaps

indeed more, agreed, to my perception, with the exception of the sacrifice of horses, with the traditional funereal rites of Scythian tribes—probably Aryans.

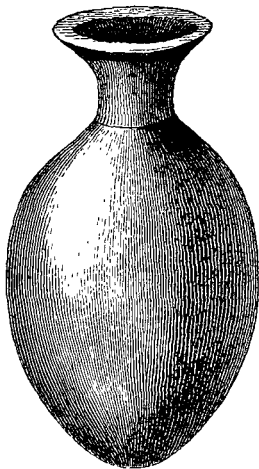
But other divisions of the same people had evidently other rites; and the examination of cairns at Chickunhulli, eight miles S. W. of Shorapoor, which, to all outward appearance, were identical with those at Jewurgi and Andôla (*vide* Plan No. VII.), resulted in the discovery of large urns, containing partly burned bones, ashes, and charcoal, which had been buried underneath. There were no cists in these cairns. The largest of those urns was 3'–9" high, and 2'–3" in diameter, but

it was impossible to get it out whole. Several smaller ones, in excellent preservation, were sent to the Bombay Museum.

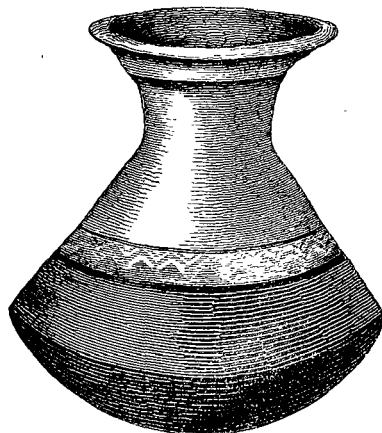


PLAN No. VII.

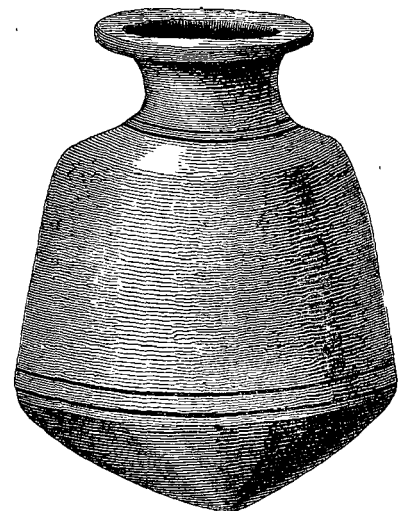
Cairns at Chickunhulli, Shorapoor.



3'–6" high.
1'–9" diameter.



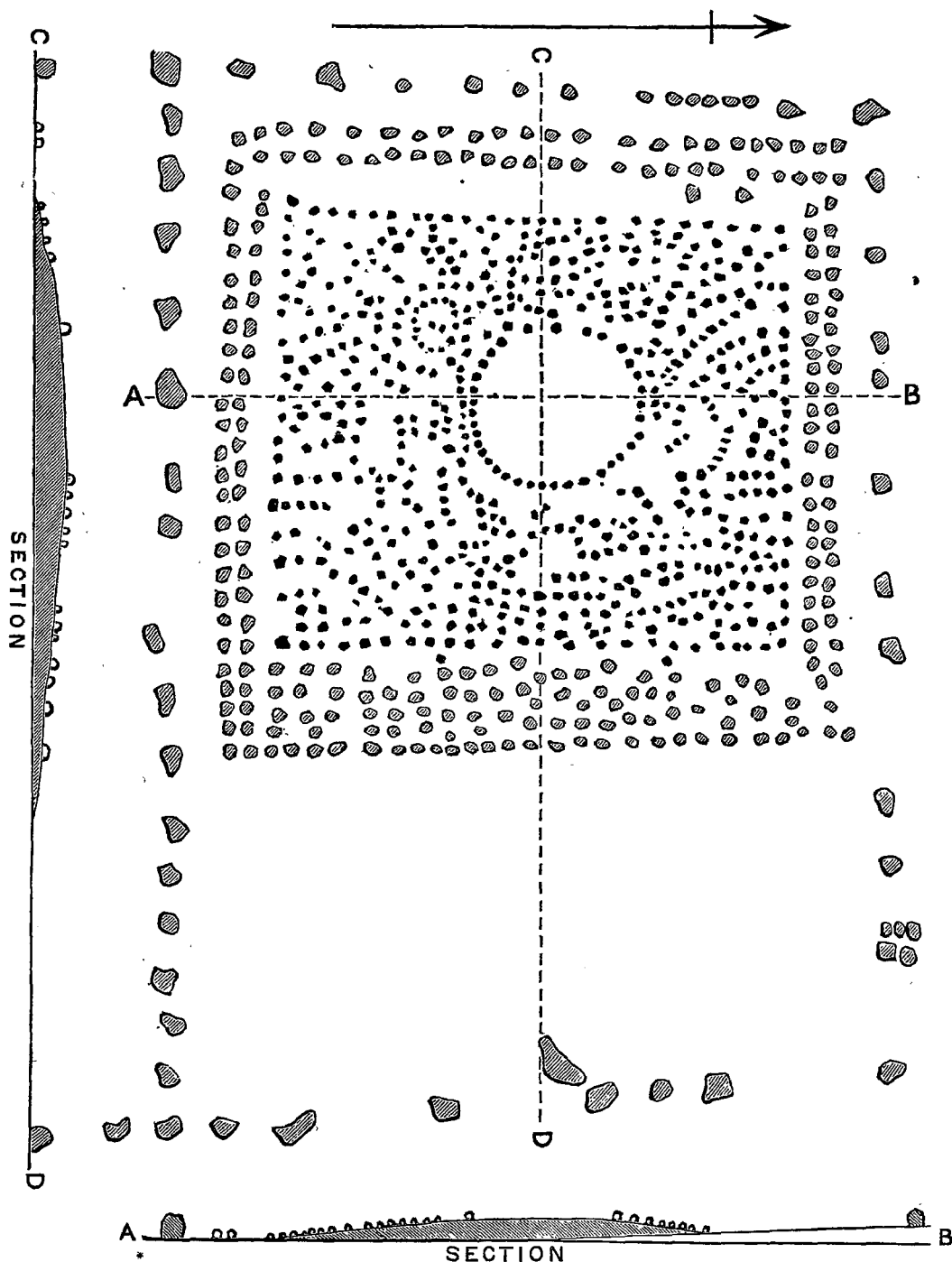
3'–2" high.
2'–3" diameter.



3'–9" high.
2'–3" diameter.

Chickunhulli Cairns. Large Urns, containing human ashes and charcoal.

Afterwards, near Shahpoor, about 13 miles north of Shorapoor, I found an extraordinary parallelogram laid out with rocks (Plan No. VIII., with sections A, B,



PLAN No. VIII.

Shahpoor Tumulus. Scale 80 feet = 1 inch.

and C, D), which may possibly have been the place of cremation for the whole district. The space enclosed is 400 feet by 260. The natural ground slopes slightly to the south from the north side; and a tumulus had been formed by raising the earth on three sides to a centre, around which, in a diameter of 60 feet, large greenstone boulders had been regularly placed, and a great number irregularly, all over the sides of the tumulus. Outside these were rows of granite rocks, six deep on the east, two deep north and south, and two on the west; but this part is evidently incomplete, and six rows were apparently intended. Some of the rocks which form the outer boundary are very large, and I give a few dimensions:—

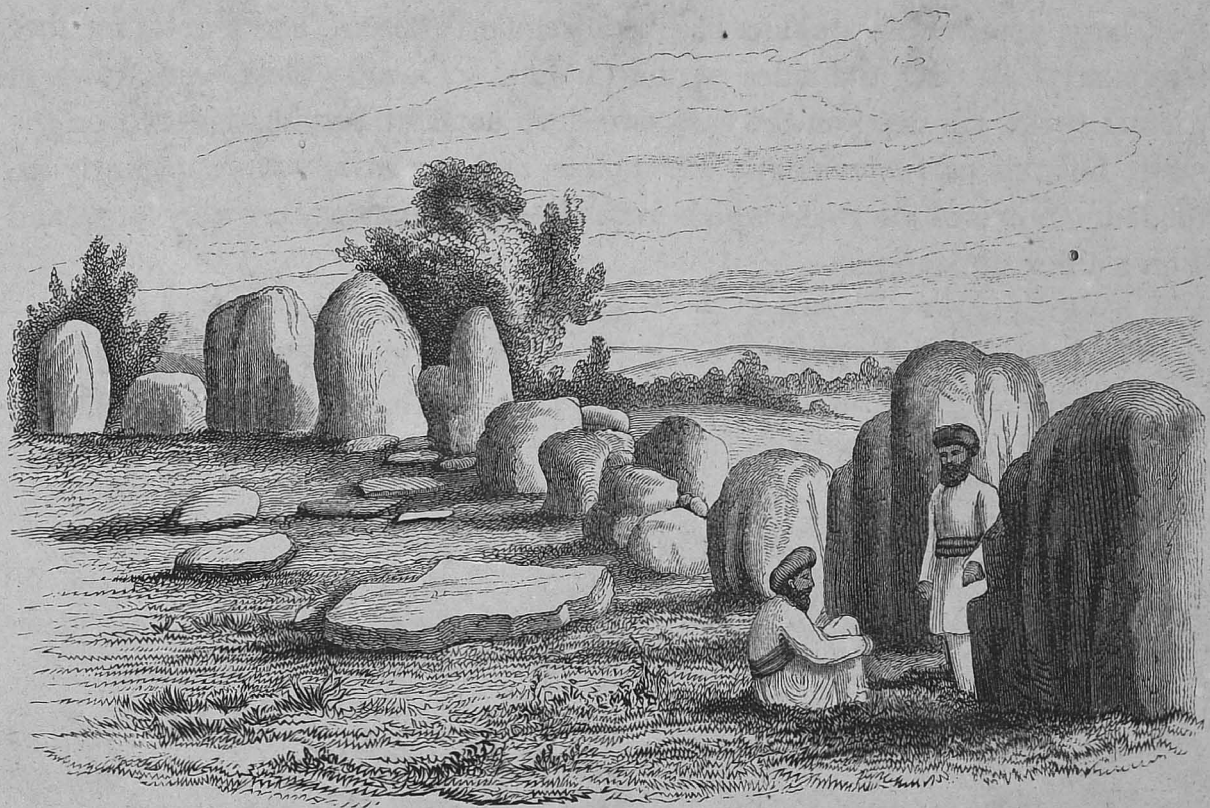
	Long.	High.	Girth.	At 200 lbs. the Cubic Foot.
1st.	10' — 5"	6' — 7"	36' — 9"	About 190 Tons weight.
2nd.	10' — 1"	6' — 2"	27' — 3"	About 140 Tons weight.
3rd.	9' — 0"	8' — 9"	23' — 0"	About 200 Tons weight.
4th.	9' — 5"	5' — 8"	27' — 2"	



SKETCH No. XII.

East Side of the Shahpoor Tumulus, showing the Granite Boundary Rocks, and some of the Greenstone Boulders.

There are 56 of these rocks, varying from the above dimensions, to 6 feet long, and $5\frac{1}{2}$ broad, 3' – 9" high, 6' – 2" in girth, which is the smallest of any, or about four tons weight. Sketches Nos. XII. and XIII., which were taken on the spot, give the appearance of the east and south sides.



SKETCH No. XIII.

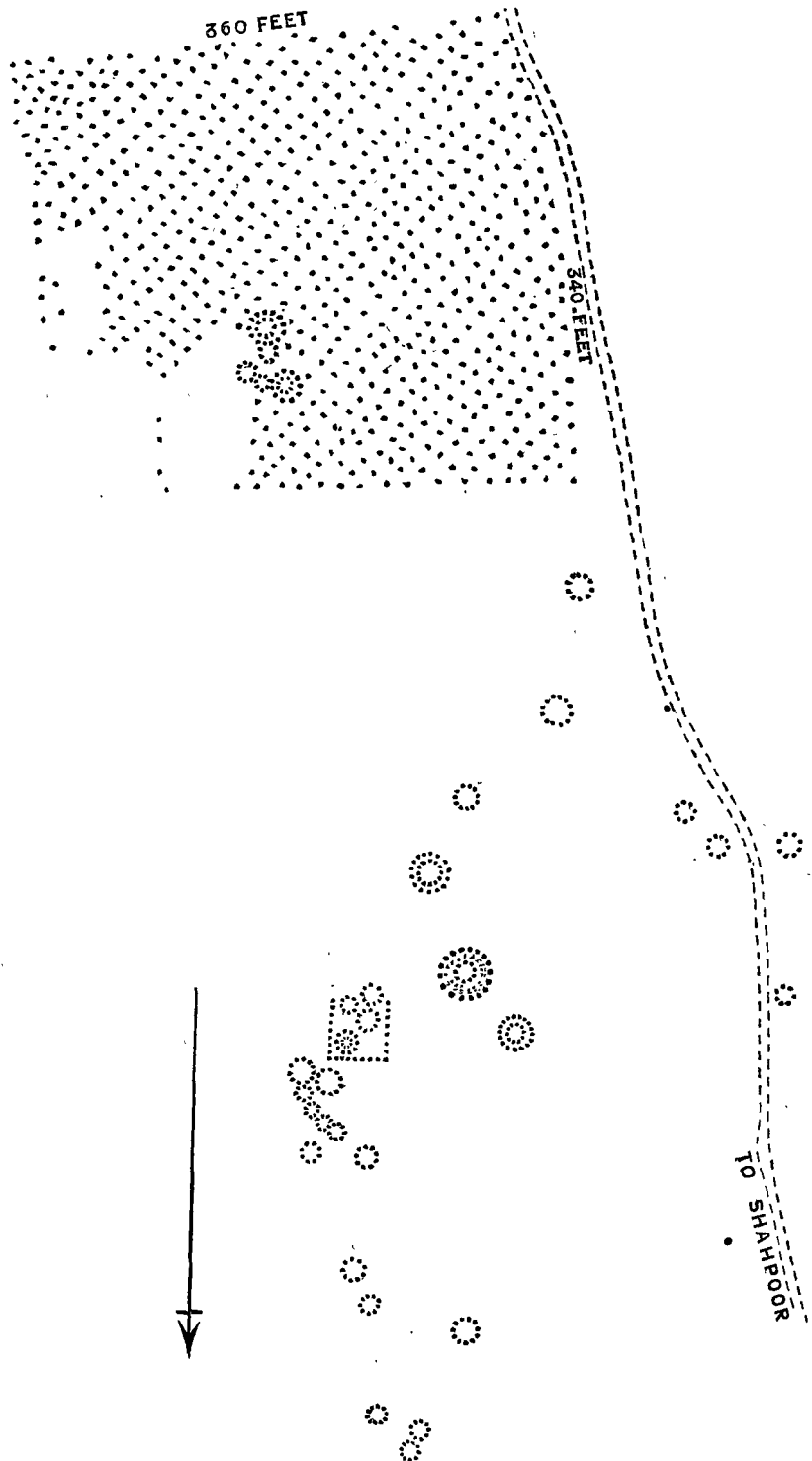
East Side of Shahpoor Tumulus; Boundary Granite Rocks.

These rocks, which are granite, were evidently brought from the Shahpoor hills, a distance of three miles. There is no granite nearer—the geological formation changing to gneiss and laminar limestone nearly from the foot of those hills; and there are two deep nullas or rivulets, with scarped banks, between, which must have proved a great obstacle in rolling these masses, which is the only means by which I can conceive that they were moved.

Two trenches, six feet wide, were carried through this tumulus at right angles, sections A, B, C, D (*vide* Plan No. VIII., *ante*), down to the natural floor, which had not been disturbed. The sides of these trenches, which were eight feet deep in the centre, disclosed layers of human ashes, partly burned

bones, charcoal, potsherds, and white earth ; and it appeared to me that the tumulus had been raised by successive cremations (for it is impossible to suppose that the whole had been raised on one occasion), because of the layers of ashes which, by the sand having run into coarse slag, and the white earth laid over all, separated as it were, each cremation from the one beneath ; and that, as each cremation was completed, the place seemed to have been covered with white earth.

The Shahpoor hills, affording pasture and water, were probably a favourite place of resort of these tribes ; for the monumental remains about them are very numerous. Of these, Plans Nos. IX., X., XI., and XII. show some of the most remarkable groups ; and that in No. IX. is especially curious and interesting. It is situated



PLAN No. IX.

Cairn Cemetery at Vibat-Hullie, near Shahpoor. Scale 160 feet = 1 inch.

close to the village of Vibat-Hullie; and a field has been covered with rocks, generally about the size of the smallest of those of the large parallelogram at Shahpoor, disposed in diagonal lines, so as to leave square spaces between each four—enough, in fact, to hold a cairn. The south and west sides have 22 large rocks each, the square of which would be 484', but the north-east corner is not complete. The area was perhaps intended to be an exact square, but actually measures 360' \times 340' feet. Five cairns, surrounded by simple circles of smaller rocks, have been constructed within the lines, of which two are double size, that is, enclosing double spaces. At a little distance to the north-west, 28 cairns, some of large dimensions, are situated near each other, and irregularly disposed.

Plan No. XI. shows another space laid out for cairns by rows of rocks. This is near the east gate of the town of Shahpoor, about two miles north of Vibat-Hullie, and is less complete than the other.

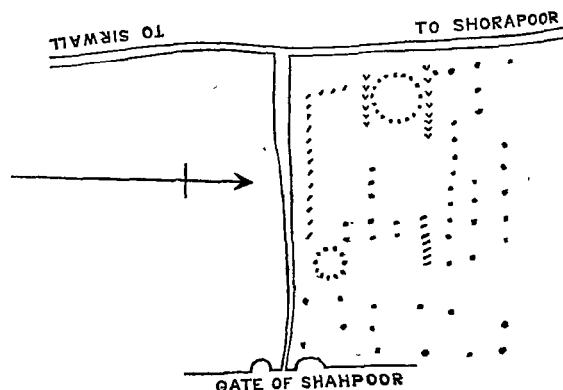
The next Plan, No. XII., is of a group of five cairns near Vibat-Hullie, on the way to Suggest, below the Tank.

In this Plan one large barrow, A, has a triple circle of stones, the outside circle being large rocks about the size of those at Vibat-Hullie, or the smallest of those of the great parallelogram at Shahpoor. This barrow was so hard that it resisted all attempts to break through the concrete of the upper part of it, and I was obliged to leave it unexplored.

An instance of discovery of a Druidical temple also occurred near the road through the valley leading from the town of Shahpoor to Suggest. It stands amongst the fields by itself, and consists of one large flat-topped granite rock, 22 feet high, with a circumference of 82 feet, and is surrounded by two circles of small rocks, the

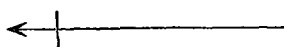


PLAN No. X.



PLAN No. XI.

Scale 160 feet = 1 inch.

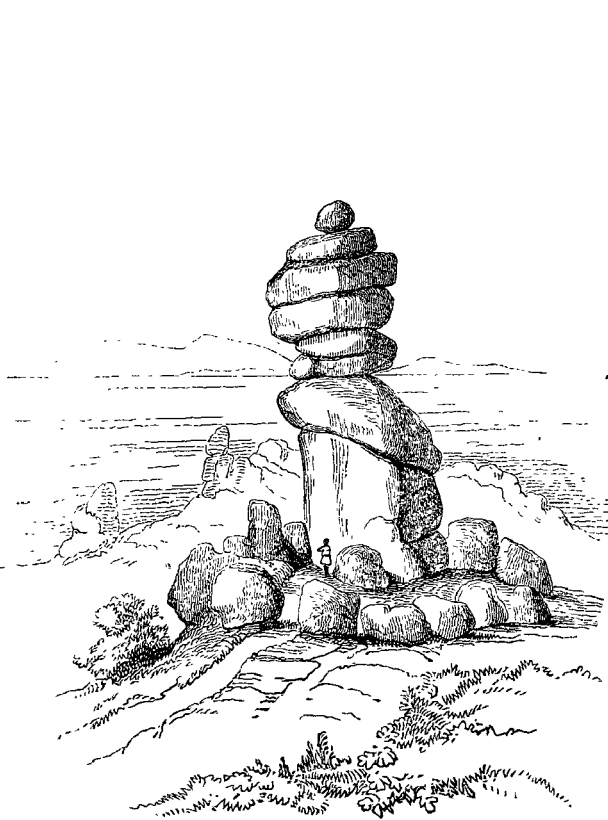


PLAN No. XII.

first 18 feet from the base of the rock, the other 4 feet beyond it. On the south side are two larger rocks placed as an entrance, as it were, on the line of circle stones.

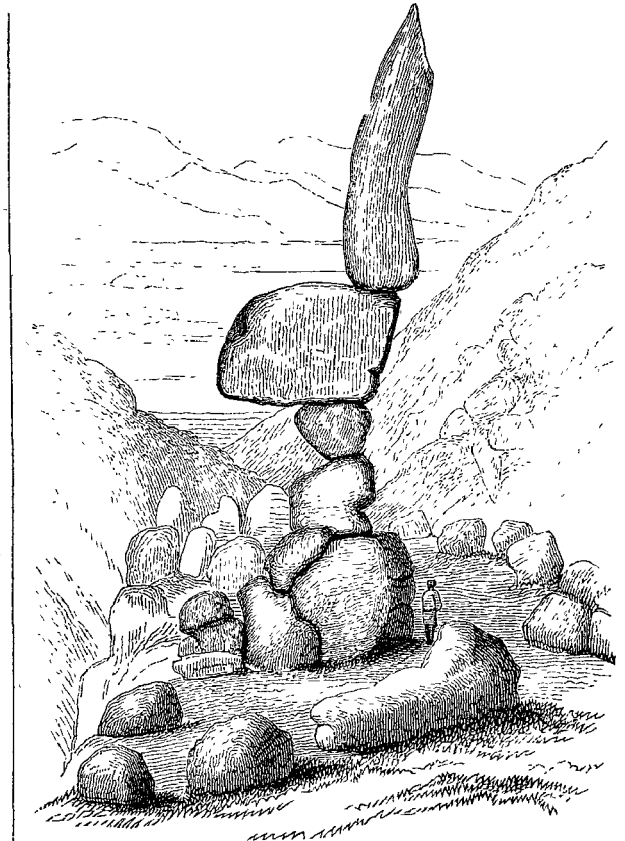
Another instance of rock temple that I have met with in the Deccan, was near the town of Toljapoor, 120 miles north of Shahpoor. This also has a double circle of stones, and near it are several groups of cairns, of which a few were opened, but nothing beyond broken urns and pieces of bone and charcoal were found. They were, however, in all respects, of the same character as other cairns in the Shorapoor district.

Two curious piles of natural rock, selected apparently for worship by this ancient people, from amongst the countless tors and loggan stones with which



No. I.

Druidical Rocks, Shorapoor Hills.



No. II.

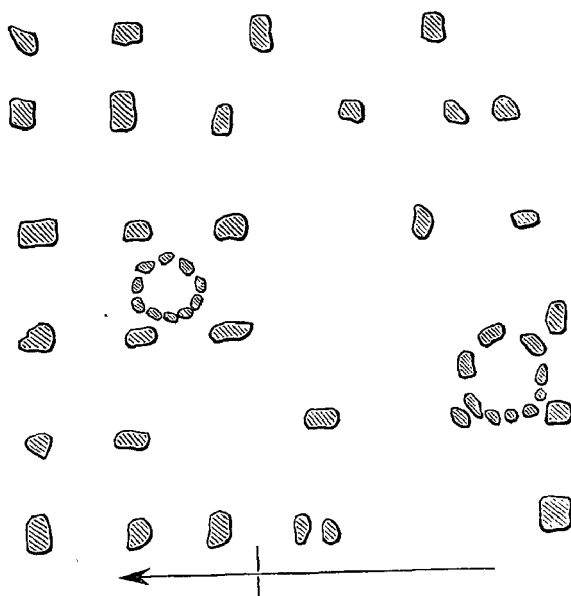
Druidical Rocks, Shorapoor Hills.

the Shorapoor hills abound, are given above. Of these No. I. is not, perhaps, unlike the Cheese Wring rocks, near Liskeard, in Cornwall, figured in Mr. God-

FREY HIGGINS' book, both being granite of probably the same character. No. II. is more peculiar in form, the upper and upright stone resting in a bed, on that underneath, and poised as it were on the exact centre of gravity. No. I. is 82 feet—No. II., 66 feet in height, and belong to the groups of denuded rocks incidental to the district. Both groups, being surrounded by circles of large stones, were, no doubt, used as temples or places of sacrifice. No. I., which has two large rocks placed to the S. W. as an entrance to the circle, is still used by the shepherds as a place of sacrifice—red powder, and offerings of flowers and milk, being made to the *Genius loci* in a natural recess formed by two rocks at its base, overlapping part of the larger one.

Plan XIII. shows another area near the village of Ijeyri, laid out with rocks, and two cairns in their allotted spaces.

Plan No. XIV. (p. 356) exhibits a variety in the construction of cairns, which occurs near the village of Munde-wallee, about 35 miles N. W. of Shorapoor. The circles of rocks—here boulders of basaltic trap—are triple; surrounded by diagonals of large basalt boulders and smaller stones, packed closely together. The sides of these diagonals are 180', 156', and 126 feet, respectively, the largest being partially incomplete, and, in connexion with the



PLAN No. XIII.

size of the cairns, present a very remarkable appearance. I was not able to examine them: the labour of removing the stones would have been very great.

All the foregoing plans and descriptions relate to remains in the district of Shorapoor only. Many others exist there, but I trust I have given sufficient detail to show the different variations of construction of these monuments, and of the separate uses to which they were applied in that province.

Having communicated my discoveries to several friends, and requested an examination of some fields of cairns near the city of Hyderabad, in the Dekhan, which to all outward appearance were of the same character as those of Sho-

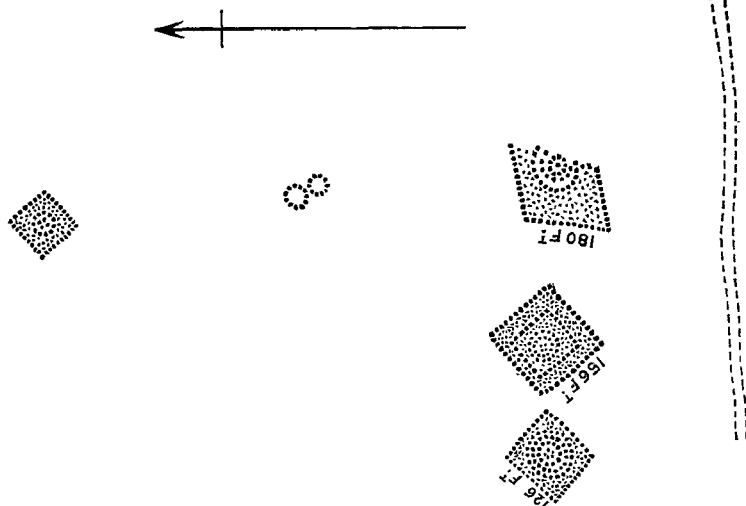
rapoor, a few were opened, and results, much the same in character, obtained. In some, cists were found underground, containing skeletons, some of these lying on their faces; others, as at Jewurgi, confusedly above the cists. In one cairn a bell, with a tongue attached to it (Fig. I., opposite page) was found—it had been cast, and was of good finish, the metal being still resonant—with a good many small urns, red and black—some iron links of a chain, spear and arrow heads much decayed, and another bell of wrought copper (Fig. II., opposite page).

On the road from Hyderabad to Masulipatam, near the village of Haitépamla, there are some large fields of cairns. Again, near Narkailpullee, wrote my correspondent:—"They are literally in thousands, in groups two and three miles asunder."

Several cairns in one of these groups were opened; and here again results similar to

those in the Jewurgi cairns, indicative of human sacrifices, were obtained in the bodies interred in cists below the surface being on their bellies, and in the great confusion of skeletons and bones at top above the cists.

In two instances here, also, bells were found, which form another peculiarly corroborative link between the remains in India and in Europe. Three of those found were sent by me to the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bombay, where they now are. Of these the most perfect is figured at the foot of opposite page. It is of wrought copper, and was evidently used as a cattle neck bell. Some of the iron articles found in these cairns are also shown.



PLAN No. XIV.

Cairns near Mundewallee, Shorapoor. Scale 160 yards = 1 inch.

Near the town of Dewarconda, in the province of Golconda, S. E. from Hyderabad, a large field of cairns was discovered by a friend employed upon topo-

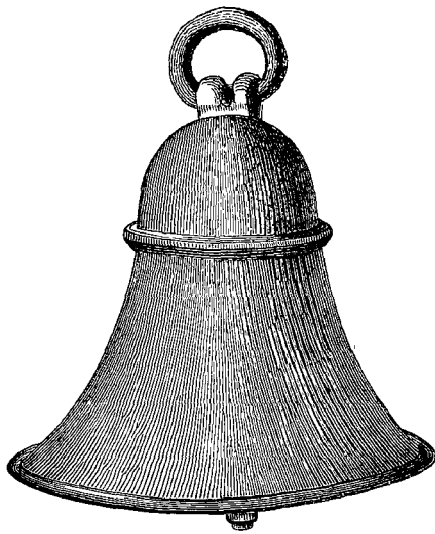


Fig. I. Hyderabad Cairns. Cast Bronze Bell, $\frac{1}{2}$ size.

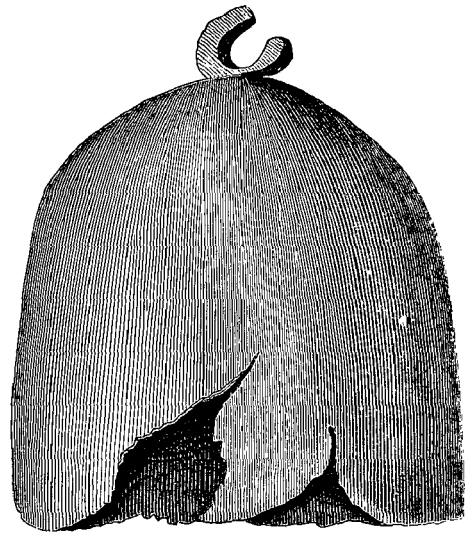
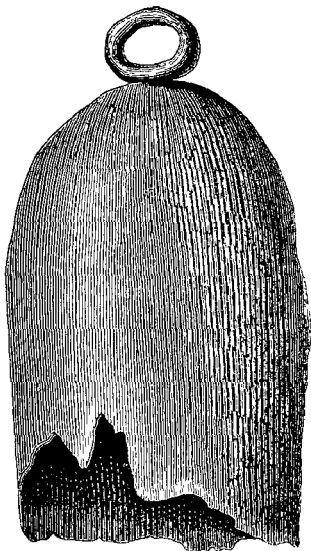
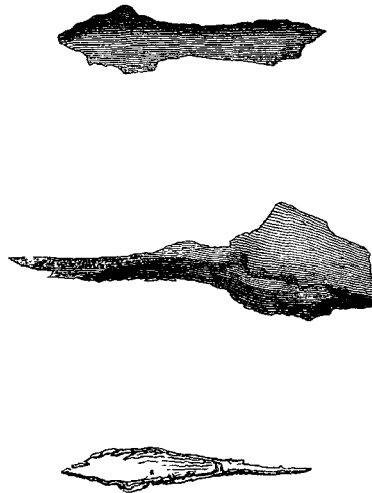


Fig. II. Hyderabad Cairns. Wrought Copper Bell, $\frac{1}{2}$ size.

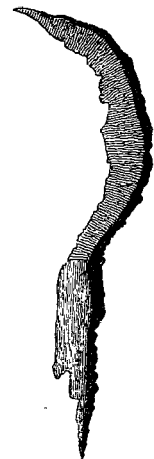
graphical duty. Several were opened, and cists composed of irregular granite slabs were found below the surface, generally in two divisions, the dividing slab



Copper Bell, $\frac{1}{2}$ size.



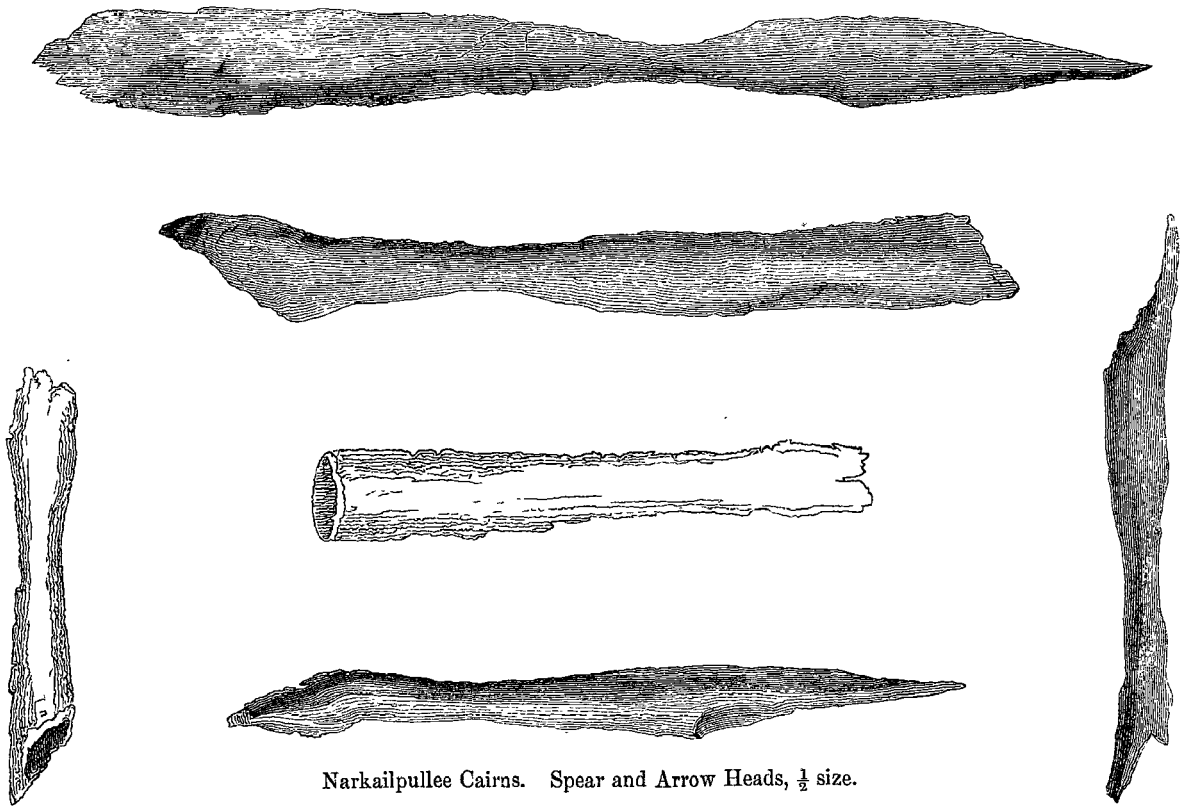
Arrow Heads, $\frac{1}{2}$ size.



Knife, or Sickle, $\frac{1}{2}$ size.

being two feet high. The depth of these graves from the surface of the ground to the floor of the cist was ten feet, and the skeletons in the cists lay "nearly north and south, *all upon their faces.*"

From the district of Bellary, a collectorate of large size, perhaps 10,000 square miles in extent, lying south and south-east from Shorapoor, I obtained,



Narkailpullee Cairns. Spear and Arrow Heads, $\frac{1}{2}$ size.

by the kindness of the magistrate, Mr. Pelly, reports from all villages within his jurisdiction, of the existence or otherwise of cromlechs and kistvaens. There proved to be 2129 in all, which were classed as follows:—

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 1. Having a slab of stone on each of three sides, and one side open (cromlechs) (?) | 104 |
| 2. Having slabs on four sides, roof slab, and one side slab perforated by a circular hole (kistvaens) (?) | 583 |
| 3. Of the above, surrounded by circles of stones, | 73 |
| 4. With slabs of stone on three sides, open at top, | 458 |
| 5. With slabs of stone on four sides, open at top, | 384 |
| 6. With four sides, no top, and one side pierced with circular aperture, | 527 |

Cairns were not reported upon, but I have no doubt they would have been found in great numbers.

Two other very extensive districts were under my charge in succession from 1853 to 1858, each upwards of 8000 square miles in area; but in neither Daraseo nor Berar could I find any of these remains, except the rock temple and a few cairns already mentioned near Toljapoor in Daraseo. I have heard that many have been found by the officers of the revenue survey in the Belgaum and Dharwar collectorates; but I believe them to be most numerous south of a line drawn between Belgaum, on the west, and Vizigapatam, on the eastern coast of the Peninsula.

My own investigations and discoveries in Shorapoor and elsewhere may be classed as follows:—

1st. Cromlechs, or open monuments, with and without circles of stones, containing no remains.

2nd. Kistvaens, with and without circular perforations in a side slab, and with and without covering slabs, containing human ashes, bones, and broken pottery.

3rd. Cairns and barrows, with single, double, and treble circles of rocks and stones, containing cists and skeletons, with traces of human sacrifice, pottery, arms, &c.; others, with cinerary urns interred in them without cists.

4th. Rock temples, with circles of stones round them, as near Shahpoor, Toljapoor, and Shorapoor.

5th. Lines of rocks, placed to mark boundaries for cairns.

6th. Square and diagonal platforms of rocks inclosing cairns.

7th. The great parallelogram and place of cremation at Shahpoor.

These, I believe, embrace all forms of Druidical or Scythian remains known, except barrows with trenches round them, circular forts, and dolmen or holes bored in rocks.

It will be evident, also, from the foregoing details, that the ancient people to whom these remains belong were divided into two sects: one of which buried their dead, with attendant sacrifices, in cairns; the other burned their dead, without sacrifices, and interred their ashes, collected in urns, in kistvaens and cairns. Which of these may have been the elder family—or whether they were co-existent—who can say?

If this subject, as regards Celto-Druidic or Scythian remains in India, be interesting to the Academy, I would beg to bring to notice a very valuable

and interesting paper by Captain CONGREVE, of the Madras Artillery, which appeared in the "Madras Journal of Literature and Science," No. 32, of 1847, in regard to his discoveries of Scytho-Druidical remains on the Nilgherri Mountains. These consist of large barrows and cairns, with some kistvaens and cromlechs, but none of the latter have the dimensions of those found at Rajunkolloor and Yemmee Gooda. Captain CONGREVE advances an hypothesis, that the Todurs, the apparently aboriginal tribe which was found exercising seignorial rights over those beautiful mountains, and whose existence was not known until a comparatively late period, are the descendants of Aryans or Scythians, who once overran India; and he goes far to establish this, by the present similarity of their funeral rites and forms of graves with those of ancient Scythian tribes. It may indeed be so, and that their entirely isolated position preserved this remnant from absorption into the people of the country. Their fair ruddy complexion, and their language, do not appear to belong to India.

Two other papers will be found equally interesting in reference to another character of these remains, locally called Pandoo-coolies—one by the Rev. W. TAYLOR, in No. 33 of the "Madras Journal of Literature," and the other by Mr. J. BABINGTON, on the Kôdee, or Topee Kulls of Malabar, in vol. iii. of the "Literary Transactions of Bombay." I observe that Mr. HIGGINS gives engravings of those monuments in his work without knowing what they are. The appellation "Topee or Kôdee Kull" is derived from their appearance,—Topee in Hindee, as Kodee in Canarese, being a cap or covering, and Kull in the latter language, a stone, "covered stones"—being literally what they are.

What I have advanced as evidence of the existence of human sacrifice in Indo-Scythian tribes, and that these Dekhan cairns belonged to Scythian tribes, may possibly receive corroboration in this country by the examination of cairns and barrows for this purpose. If my memory serves me correctly, I have read in a Bath newspaper, possibly of 1858, in the proceedings of the Archæological Society, which held one of its annual meetings there, a paper describing the opening of a cairn or barrow in which similar evidences of human sacrifice were obtained; and it is very possible that there may be much other European data existing on this part of the subject with which I am unacquainted. I may mention also incidentally that last autumn, when shooting upon a moor

in Northumberland, I came upon a group of cairns among the heather, exactly similar to what I had seen in the Shorapoor districts. A large cairn of loose stones on the highest part of the moor had been once examined, and remains of weapons, pottery, and the like, found; but the cairns seen by me had never been noticed, though a high, single stone, not unlike that at Rudstone, in Yorkshire, and called locally the "lang stane," is famous in the neighbourhood, and its vicinity had been repeatedly examined by local antiquarians, by whom these cairns were overlooked.

I will not detain the time of this meeting longer, by tracing similarities between the remains I now bring to notice and those detailed in Mr. GODFREY HIGGINS' work on the "Celtic Druids," and others of similar character, though, for many reasons, I am strongly tempted to do so. It is impossible, however, to compare the views and diagrams given by Mr. HIGGINS in his beautiful work, with those which I now show, without the conviction that, however widely separated, geographically speaking, they must have had their origin in the same people, or people professing the same faith, and using the same rites of sepulture. Any one of the cromlechs or kistvaens shown by me might be Kits Coty House, in Kent; while the great array of stones of Carnac, in Brittany, the Druidical temple at Rowldrich, in Oxfordshire, or that of Abury, in Wiltshire, have their analogy with the rocks of Vibat-Hullie, or those around the great tumulus of cremations at Shahpoor. The largest rock of Carnac, as given by Mr. HIGGINS, measures 22 feet high, 12' broad, and 6' thick, exclusive of what is concealed by the sand, and the weight as estimated by him is 256,800 lbs. The dimensions I give, if none so high, are greater in girth, and on the same data for calculation of weight, 200 lbs. per cubic foot of granite, would be 465,800 lbs., 432,000 and 324,000 lbs., respectively. In relation to the fields of cairns, also, the plan of Stonehenge, with the cairns irregularly disposed about it, agrees with the great group at Jewurgi, where they are only more numerous; while the great fields of Narkailpullée, Dewarkonda, Haiteepamela, and Goormutcâl would, if surveyed and planned, cast the fields of Mr. HIGGINS' diagrams and my own altogether into the shade.*

* The plans of Celtic or Druidic remains on Dartmoor, given by Sir GARDINER WILKINSON, in the numbers of the "Archæological Journal" of March and June, 1862, appear also to tally with those given in this paper.

Again, the very traditions agree most strangely. Mr. HIGGINS, page 37, quotes CAMDEN in regard to the stones of the temple at Rowldrich, that "they were believed to be men turned into stones; they were the king and his soldiers." So, of the rocks of Shahpoor, those round the parallelogram are believed to be men—the largest being the chief—watching black and grey cattle (the black, greenstone; the grey, granite boulders), lying in the midst. The people of the country, especially the Beydurs, who are no doubt descendants of aborigines, not of Aryans, believe this perfectly; and also tell you, in regard to the rocks placed at Vibat-Hullie, that "they were men who, as they stood, marking out the places for the elephants of the king of *the dwarfs*, were turned into stone by him, because they would not keep quiet!"

About these "dwarfs," Mr. HIGGINS gives a translation of M. DE CAMBRY'S work, "Monuments Celtiques," in regard to Carnac, "that the rocks were an army turned into stone, or the work of the Croins—men or demons, two or three feet high—who carried these rocks in their hands, and placed them there?" Who can doubt the similarity between these and the "Mories" of Rajunkolloor, Yemmee Gooda, and the Bellary districts—dwarfs who built cromlechs and kistvaens, and, as is believed, lived in them, and were buried in the cairns of Jewurgi and other places?

We have proof in the remains figured, that this ancient people were acquainted with the arts of pottery, and of working iron, copper, and bronze; and in the shape of the sickles, arrow and spear heads, I find the closest analogy between the remains of the province of Shorapoor, in the Dekhan, and those I see in the Museum of the Academy which have been discovered in Ireland. Of gold or silver I have found no trace; nor of any article—earring, ring, or brooch—which could have been used for personal adornment.

On all these grounds, I submit respectfully for the consideration of the Academy, that the remains I have now detailed, with those on the Nilgherries and the Topee Kulls, of Malabar and Canara, in all their varieties, agree in establishing the identity of the great Aryan Nomadic tribes of the East Celts or Scythians being Druids, with those of the West; and to show, as I have already remarked, that however widely divergent their wanderings have been, they may be traced by their monuments of worship and sepulture, the almost perfect similarity of which is too remarkable to be doubted.

VI.—*Results of Examination of a Group of Ancient Cairns on Twizell Moor, in Northumberland, exhibiting Similarity in Construction and Contents with Cairns in the Dekhan.* By CAPTAIN MEADOWS TAYLOR.

Read January 9, 1865.

IN continuation of my paper upon cairns and cromlechs in India,* I trusted to have been able before this to have laid before the Academy the actual results of the examination of cairns near Hyderabad, in the Dekhan, and others in the Shorapoor district; and to this end I had written to Mr. Yule, the Resident at the Court of His Highness the Nizam, pointing out to him the various localities in the neighbourhood of that city where I knew that groups of cairns existed, and requesting him to be so good as to communicate the results of his examination for the information of the Academy. In reply, in a recent letter, Mr. Yule informs me, that previous to the receipt of my communication he had opened several cairns, to which his attention had been directed, and that he had found large cists, or cromlechs, buried at a depth of from twelve to eighteen feet, containing human remains, confirmatory of human sacrifices; and of bones of horses, cattle, and dogs, mixed with human skeletons, pottery, &c.; but that he had, unfortunately, given all these articles to local and other museums, or would have forwarded them. He purposed, however, making some fresh investigations, the result of which, and any remains found, would be forwarded to me. He adds, that the great labour attending the opening of any of these cairns, and the impossibility of his being present at the operation, would in any case render his account of these ancient remains

* Read before the Academy on the 12th of May, 1862.

comparatively valueless ; but I am convinced that the Academy will receive thankfully any thing Mr. Yule may hereafter send, whether actual remains or descriptions ; while to myself, any corroborations of my own experience will be grateful facts.

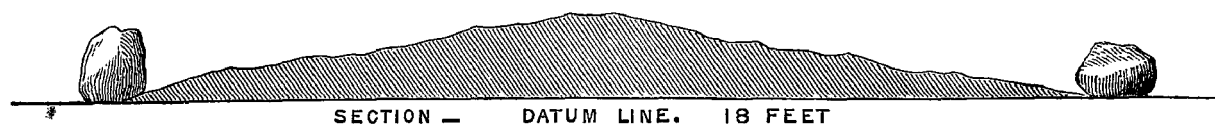
In regard to cairns at Shorapoor, I hoped to have received a reply from Mr. Rustomjee Vicajee, a Parsee gentleman, in civil charge of that province on the part of His Highness the Nizam's Government ; but I have not yet heard from him. I trust, however, that he may be induced to respond to my desire of having some of the pottery, human remains, or weapons found in cairns of the localities described in my former paper, to present to the Museum of the Academy ; and, in an ethnological point of view, specimens of the crania of this evidently very ancient race would be most interesting.

The next point which I now wish to bring to the notice of the Academy, is the result of the examination of a group of cairns upon a moor in Northumberland, to the existence of which I adverted in my former communication, and which I consider to have afforded especial features of corroboration of their presumed identity with Dekhan cairns.

The moor in question lies to the west of the small hamlet of Warenford, which is on the highroad between Alnwick and Belford, and is the property of my uncle, Mr. P. J. Selby of Twizell House, whose name will be well known to the Academy as that of an eminent naturalist. The moor lies at the back and to the south-west of Twizell House ; and the high point of it, on which the group of cairns is situated, may be about a mile and a half south-west of Warenford. It is the highest part of the moor, and is remarkable for an upright monolith of large dimensions called the " Langstane," which is similar in appearance to other monoliths on the Border, and in Yorkshire, &c. ; but on this there are no Runic letters or other inscription. About a quarter of a mile south-west from the Langstane, are three very large cairns of loose stones, which have been opened and examined at different periods, and found to contain stone cists, remains of skeletons, and pottery. These cairns are, I am of opinion, of a comparatively much more modern period ; and have no affinity with the other and more ancient ones in their vicinity. Of the exis-

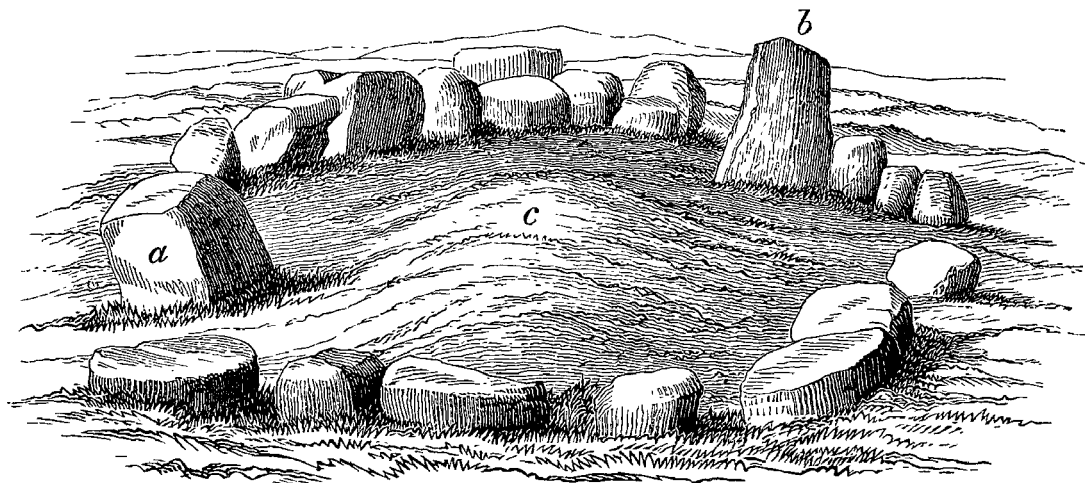
tence of the latter, until my casual discovery of some of them near the Langstane, three years ago, no one in the locality had had any conception, nor had they been ever noticed. The circles of stones, once perfect, had been overgrown by long heather, and were almost untraceable as circles at first sight ; but, the heather having been recently burned, the circle figures of the cairns had become much more evident, and appeared to me to be identical with those which I had been accustomed to find in the Dekhan. On revisiting the spot, therefore, last autumn, I devoted a day to the examination of the group, in company with Major Luard, a well-known member of the Archæological Institute of England, then on a visit at Twizell.

I found many more cairns than I had expected, which were perfectly traceable: some, indeed, of which the double and single circles were quite complete. I regret that we did not count them all ; but my impression is, that the aggregate of various detached groups is forty or fifty; or perhaps more ; and they are situated irregularly upon the plateau which slopes gently to the south and south-west, between the Langstane and the large cairns. It was evident, on careful inspection, that there had been double circles to some ; and in two instances there were appearances of rough pavement, or filling up of stones, between the outer and inner circles, as I had found frequently in Shorapoor cairns ; but by far the greater number had single circles of large stones, now firmly bedded in the tough, peaty soil, and overgrown with strong heather roots. The centres of all were slightly elevated, that is, a foot to a foot and a half above a *datum* line drawn from the foot of the circle stones on each side, thus—



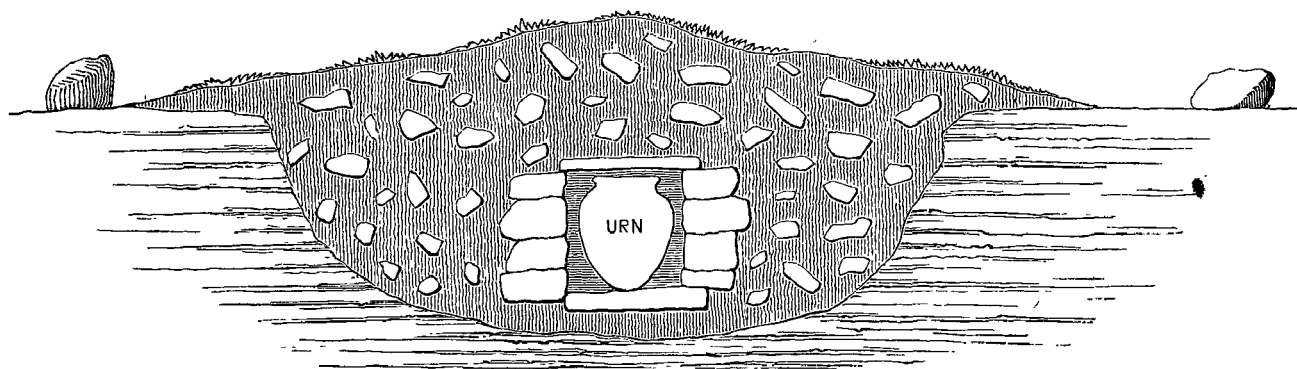
which is exactly in accordance with the most common form in the Dekhan. The most curious coincidence was, however, observed in the diameters of these cairns. We found the diameter of the smallest invariably 12 feet, and of the largest as certainly 18 within the stone circles. I have measured diameters of 24 and even 36 feet in India, but by far the most common dimensions there are from 12 to 24 feet, and other multiples of 6.

For examination, a very complete cairn, 12 feet in diameter, was first selected, and I follow Major Luard's description of its contents. • In appearance the cairn was thus —



The elevation in the centre, *c*, was about 9 inches; and the stones, *a* and *b*, projected about 15 inches out of the ground, N. E. and S. W. In a direct line between *a* and *b*, rather nearer to *a* than to *b*, a flat pentagonal stone was met with, about 14 inches below the natural surface, of which the dimensions of the sides of the pentagon being from 12 to 18 inches.

Underneath this, a red cinerary urn, about 20 inches deep, and 18 inches diameter at the top, with a plain lip, had been deposited. It was filled up to 10 or 12 inches with a mass of broken bones, above which was a fine loamy mould

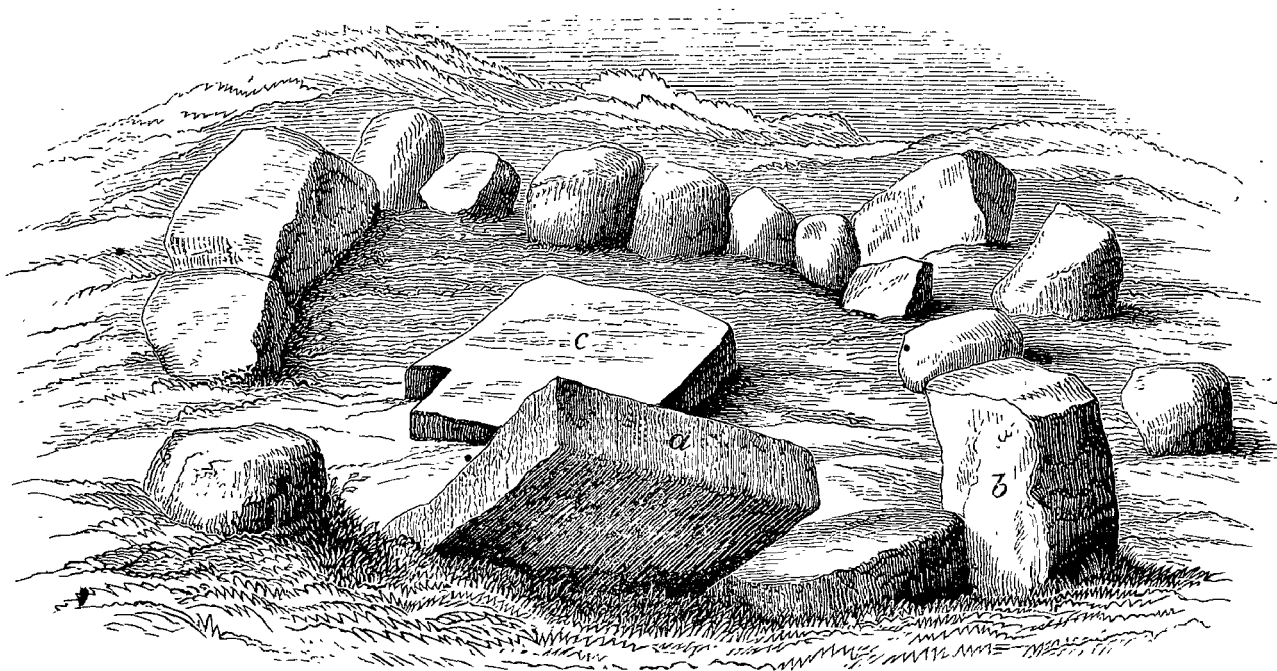


not belonging to the locality. The urn was so much decayed, that in parts it could only be traced by the red appearance of the surrounding earth; it seemed to have been wedged in by clay; and the stones over it, and all the lower

courses of stones, were arranged in dry masonry. There were particles of charcoal within and without the urn.

The situation of the urn was, as it were, in a rough cist made of dry stones, covered over with the slab, and then with fine earth, as shown in the preceding figure ; and the urn is of the usual kind of coarse red pottery, one side of which is blackened by fire, most likely in the baking. There was little room to doubt, from the broken character of the bones, that they were the remains of a burned body, and had been placed in the urn with the pieces of charcoal gathered up with them.

The next cairn examined was near the first, but of a larger diameter, 18 feet. The outside circle of stones was more perfect, and the stones themselves were of a larger size, and showed appearances of a double circle in some places, but the rest had been removed.



The large stones, *a* and *b*, were quite hidden by the surface of the cairn. After laying bare all the centre on the *south* side, *a* and *b* were found; and afterwards *c*, being about 2 feet square. On raising this stone, no fine mould was found under it, as had been the case in the first cairn ; but after digging about 18 inches through the peaty soil of the moor, some decayed fragments of bones were met with, lying *in fine mould similar to that in and over the urn of the first*

cairn; fragments of decayed pottery were also found, intermingled with pieces of charcoal: but no distinct urn, as in the first instance.

From these results there can be no reasonable doubt that these remains—which had entirely escaped the previous notice of many keen and zealous antiquarians, who from time to time have examined that locality, and by whom the three huge cairns of loose stones had been thoroughly searched—are the graves of some race, which I suppose to be anterior to the Celts, and that they were the cemetery of a sparsely populated district. As such, the moor may have been held sacred, and used for the larger cairns subsequently constructed. The groups of cairns are certainly unmistakeable, even in their present condition, after the disturbance of centuries, and the points of similarity between these monuments and those of the Dekhan may be briefly stated:—

1st. Their aspect and slope to the west and south-west, which is a distinctive feature of all groups of cairns that I have ever met with in India. In this respect there is no difference between the cairns on Twizell moor and those at Jewurgi, Rajunkolloor, Secunderabad, or any other locality of the Dekhan.

2ndly. Their shape, diameter, elevation in the centre, and single and double circles of stones, with, in some instances, the filling up or paving the interval between the outer and inner rings, are identical with Indian cairns.

3rdly. In regard to the contents, the fact was established, that in one of the two examined a cinerary vessel or urn had been deposited, though not at the depth experienced in Dekhan cairns, which contained calcined bones and pieces of charcoal: while in the other there were remains of bones and charcoal, where the urn, originally perhaps of unbaked clay, had altogether disappeared.

4thly. The cinerary urns in Dekhan cairns, as well as the cists in others, were invariably found covered and surrounded by a fine earth *foreign to that of the locality*. So in the case of the Twizell cairns,—in one the earth which covered the urn found was fine, and so dissimilar to that which surrounded it, as to be at once observable, while in the other there were the earth and bones without the urn.

5thly. In every Dekhan cairn, a large stone within the circle, sometimes two, were found projecting above the surface; by following the direction

indicated by these as described in my previous paper, north-east and south-west, access to the remains was obtained more readily than by any other means. The direction of these stones was invariably north-east and south-west. In the cairn on Twizell moor, first opened, the two stones which are marked in the sketch *a* and *b* were precisely similar in position, as well as the stone *b* in the second cairn; and in all the most perfect cairns, one or more of these directing stones remained intact, lying north-east and south-west.

I stated in my former paper that in the Dekhan there were evidently two sections of people, possibly of the same nation, or in any case of cairn constructors, one of whom burned their dead, and deposited the ashes and burnt bones in urns below the surface of the ground, or in kistvaens above it, while the other buried their dead in cists made of flat stones or flags, or in large cromlechs, constructed at considerable depths below the surface. Now, we have found both types existent on Twizell moor. The smaller and apparently older cairns contain the buried urns, and the larger the cists, in which were skeletons, surrounded by vessels of pottery and urns—the only difference in the latter being, that whereas in the Dekhan the cists were buried below the surface, at depths varying from 10 to 18 feet, formed with stones and earth, those on Twizell moor were upon the natural surface of the ground, and were covered with loose stones and earth to a height of from 10 to 12 feet above it.

P. S.—I observe that very recently several groups of Cairns in Northumberland, hitherto overlooked, and similar to those on Twizell moor, have been examined, with results similar to what I have experienced. It will be interesting to follow up this section of research, as well to determine the antiquity of the race of which these Cairns are the burial places, as to establish their identity or otherwise with Dekhan Cairns.

MEADOWS TAYLOR.

11th October, 1865.

VII. *On an Unpublished Essay on Ireland, by Sir W. Petty, A.D. 1687.*

By W. H. HARDINGE, Esq.

Read 8th May, 1865.

IN a former paper I introduced to the notice of the Academy some interesting and valuable manuscripts relating to this country, left behind by the celebrated Sir WILLIAM PETTY, and preserved among the Lansdowne Collection.

It now again becomes my privilege, out of the same collections, to submit to your consideration an interesting unpublished Essay of that famous individual, intended deeply to affect, if not vitally to compromise, this unhappy land of expedients and experiments.

The document is invested with a character peculiarly its own, and is very illustrative of the uncommon genius of the Author. It opens ambiguously, develops its subject cautiously, and concludes by an attempt, when the subject is at last announced, mathematically to demonstrate the practical advantages the application of the alarming experiment proposed would have upon Ireland and the Empire.

The Essay commences with a brief heading, a Latin metrical address, and a dedication. This triple combination may be regarded as a superscription upon an envelope, which conceals within it "lettres cachet," whose nature is only revealed when the mystic seal is broken.

The heading is unpretending, and is thus expressed, "The Elements of Ireland, and of its Religion and Policy, by Sir WILLIAM PETTY, Fellow of y^e Royal Society, 1687." The metrical lines are selected from various parts of VIRGIL. The theft, however, may readily be forgiven in consideration of the ingenuity displayed in their adaptation to PETTY's design of but faintly foreshadowing the nature of the subject to be propounded and proved. These lines are forced and inelegant, if not ungrammatical; but, as their number

is only seven, they may be permitted to speak for themselves ; they are as follows :—

“ Ut parère greges, armenta, atq’ arva colono ;
 Ut variæ gentes uniri fœdere certo
 Possint, edoceo, poniq’ horrentia martis
 Arma : favete precor, Dii qui posuistis et illa ;
 Surgite jam superi ! vastisq’ incumbite cœptis ;
 Ut populi coeant, quingentos qui, supra et, annos
 Discrepuere, unum et fiant tua Regna, Jacobe.”

I have ventured, by a free translation, to turn them into English verse, thus :—

I teach the husbandman to tend
 Flocks, herds and fields, with sure increase ;
 And how, when diff’ring races blend
 In faithful league, war’s woes will cease.
 Grant, ye high gods, who laid aside
 In distant times contentious arms,
 My mighty plan be not denied
 Propitious rest from like alarms :
 Cast centuries of direful hate
 Into oblivion’s mystic flames,
 And from the ashes raise ONE state,
 Blest ’neath thy fost’ring sway, O James !

The next move of the Author—his Dedication—does not enlighten the reader further in reference to what is coming ; it is so brief, that it seems best to cite it in full also, as follows :—

“ To the King’s most excellent Majesty :

“ When I find out puzzling and perplexed matters that may be brought to terms of number, weight, and measure, and consequently may be made demonstrable ; and when I find things of vast and general concernment, which may be discussed in a few words, I willingly engage upon such undertakings, especially when they tend to your Majesty’s glory and greatness and the happiness of your people, being one of them myself, and

“ Your Majesty’s most humble,

“ Faithful, and obed^t Servant,

“ WM. PETTY.”

From the foregoing introductory specimens of the Essay manuscript, no one could imagine what the Author was about to communicate. He admits that he delighted, "in political pastimes and paradoxes;" and this Essay verifies that description of himself. Imperceptibly he leads his followers by the hand through circuitous routes, until suddenly they find themselves placed on the summit of an eminence, from whence to view nature's landscape in mute, it may be in magnificent subjection at their feet.

At this very point of PERRY's Essay we have now arrived—the seal of the mysterious envelope is broken, and we are presented with "les lettres cachet," in a preface, which solves all that before was enigmatical, and without disguise communicates the secret to his readers, in the following language :—

"Some have imagined, there being about 1,300,000 people in Ireland, that to bring 1,000,000 of them into England, and to leave the other 300,000 for herds-men and dairy-women behind, and to quitt all other trades in Ireland but that of cattle only, would effect the settlement, improvement, and union above propounded; but against this method there lies this gross and obvious objection, viz. that the transporting of a million of people will cost a million of pounds; that the housing and other goods in Ireland which will be lost thereby are worth two millions more; nor is it safe to estimate other damages and expenses consequent on this undertaking, at less than one million more, in all at £4,000,000 of expense and damage.

"To which objection there is a gross answer, which is, that by bringing 1,000,000 people into England, where are 7 already, the King's Revenue of Customs, Excise, and Hearths, will rise from 7 to 8, that is, to two hundred thousand pounds per annum, which increase, at 20 years' purchase, is above £4,000,000, and more than the loss above mentioned. Now, when the King's Revenue shall naturally and spontaneously increase, it is rationally to be supposed that the people's wealth may increase 20 times as much, the Public Revenue being, almost by a law of nature, $\frac{1}{20}$ part of the people's expense.

"Wherefore, suspending any further answer to the said gross objection, we proceed to say, That the transplantation, and new cattle trade above propounded, will produce the effects hereafter mentioned, viz."

PETTY then subdivides his subject, for examination, into the following thirteen heads or sections, viz.:—

- “ 1st. The political anatomy of Ireland.
- “ 2nd. The commotions and bruilleries which happened there from anno 1641 to anno 1666.
- “ 3rd. The foreign trade of that nation anno 1685.
- “ 4th. The proportion between the English and Irish both in number and weight.
- “ 5th. Several decays in Ireland between the years 1683 and 1687.
- “ 6th. The waxing and waning of the King's revenue there in the said five years, with the causes thereof.
- “ 7th. That estates in Ireland may be improved from 2 to 3 with a perpetual settlement of the same, and rooting up all the causes of discords which have infested that country for above 500 years.
- “ 8th. That therewith the revenue of the Church of England, and of particular landlords there, may increase from 3 to 4.
- “ 9th. And the King's revenue from 4 to 5 without being a senciabie burden to the people, and so as the King may have £6,000,000 for every 4th year, supposed to be war.
- “ 10th. How fears and jealousies concerning religion, even the Test, may vanish of themselves.
- “ 11th. How the King's subjects may be doubled in 20 years, and also united.
- “ 12th. That the King of England's territories and people may in weight and substance be little inferior to those of France, by a safe and sufficient liberty of conscience perpetuated.
- “ 13th. That there may be a real *Mare Clausum* begun in Ireland; and that the King hath a more natural right to sovereignty within the same than any of his circumjacent neighbours.”

The Essay continues with a separate treatise on each of the above heads to the 10th, inclusive. Treatises on the remaining three heads are wanting; in consequence, I am persuaded, of the illness and death of the Author. Sir WILLIAM PETTY died either within the year 1687, expressed at the opening preface to the manuscript, or early in the next following year, as probate of his last will and testament was issued out of the Consistorial Court of Ireland to his widow, Lady ELIZABETH PETTY, on the 2nd April, 1688.

In the treatment of his subject, PETTY adopts an ingenious modification of the Socratic method, and supposes a stranger propounding views against which he contends; and, allowing himself to be convinced of the unsoundness of his own views, he becomes a convert to the impracticable scheme of a wholesale transplantation of inhabitants from Ireland into England, and the conversion of its entire surface area to pasturage for flocks and herds.

It is probable that PETTY borrowed his idea from the extensive and compulsory transplantation made by the orders of CROMWELL, in the year 1654, from the provinces of Leinster, Ulster, and Munster, of all suspected persons, their families, dependents, and stock, into Connaught. CROMWELL's measure, however, had the excuse of the then almost complete depopulation of that province, and the imminent danger of its being overrun by wild animals, upon whose heads there were offered and paid large money premiums; whereas our Author had no such apology, as he admits that the population of England in the year 1687 was 7,000,000—a number that needed for its increase no foreign assistance; and, had the case been otherwise, Ireland should not have been selected to supply the deficiency out of her scanty population, which PETTY candidly confesses to have been but 1,300,000 in the same year. It is only justice to PETTY to acknowledge, that his transplantation project was not confined solely to Ireland; he proposed a limited extension of it to the inhabitants of the Highlands of Scotland also, who he suggested would be more agreeably located in the Lowlands on the borders of both kingdoms, and their alpine fastnesses be more profitably devoted to the feeding of flocks and herds.

It is a remarkable feature in the Essay, that its Author seems to have convinced himself there would be no need of compulsory means to carry out his proposed exodus. He says; on this point, he forbore insisting upon the fact, "That conquerors of ancient times, and even *then* in Oriental countries, executed their conquest by bringing away captives into their own countries, and not by maintaining great armies in the conquered countries to keep the conquered party in subjection;" nor "did he insist upon an Act of Parliament in Ireland to force 1,000,000 people to remove out of their native country, nor an Act of Parliament in England to force them thither, which might be interpreted, in a case between Catholics and others, to be a breach of the liberty of conscience then recently granted by King JAMES." But the Author pro-

fessed to show, "*that it would be the profit, pleasure, and security of both nations and religions to agree on the proposed transplantation.*" And, in order thereto, he undertook to "consider the inhabitants of Ireland, not as old Irish, or such as lived there about 516 years before (A. D. 1171), when the English first meddled in the country; nor as those that were since added, and who went into Ireland between the first invasion and the change of religion; nor as the English that went thither between said change and 1641, or between 1645 and 1660; much less into Protestants and Papists, and such who speak English and such as despise it; but, rather to consider them in the four points of view, namely, c

- " 1st. As those who live upon the King's pay ;
- " 2nd. As those who are owners of lands and freeholds ;
- " 3rd. As those who are tenants and lessees to others ;
- " 4th. As workmen and labourers."

In fact, PERRY arrived at the conclusion, that his arguments proved such an amount of material advantage to all who would voluntarily suffer themselves to be transplanted into England, that he deceived himself into a belief in their ready adoption, and the certain success of his scheme.

As has been stated, PERRY limits his number of herdsmen and dairy women to 300,000, for the effective management of the flocks and herds of all Ireland ; yet he does not, if he meant this number to be an unvarying standard, suggest any method for disposing of their increase ; possibly he may have supposed that Platonic friendships alone would exist in the happy clime of his pastoral Arcadia. Admitting that such would be the result, he should have proposed from whence, and in what manner, diminutions by death, as well as disabilities by age and infirmity, were to be supplied ; but, taking another view of the case, and supposing our Author intended marriages, births, and deaths to proceed in the established order of Providence, I cannot see any other result of the transplantation proposal than a return, in process of time, to a graduated population of high and low, rich and poor, class and class, creed and creed—which most natural and desirable social condition his system would extinguish for a doubtful temporary advantage to another portion of the empire ; but a certain, immediately heavy, and possibly permanent loss and disadvantage, nationally, morally, socially, and religiously, to the people and land of Ireland.

In this very remarkable Essay, Sir WILLIAM PETTY admits that in 1687 the population of this country was 1,300,000. This statement, I consider and submit, proves the accuracy of the result of the census of 1659, in reference to which I recently had the honour of reading a paper before this Academy. That census, in round numbers, returns the population at 900,000, which in a period of 28 years, to 1687, is by PETTY admittedly augmented by only 50 per cent. This rate of percentage is sustained by our modern census returns from 1820 to 1840, which show an increase of 33 per cent in 20 years, or a close approximation to 50 per cent. in 28 years. It cannot be truly said that the period from 1659 to 1687 was less favourable to the increase of the human family in Ireland than the period from 1820 to 1840—it was infinitely more so. Within the latter years there were two cholera visitations, as well as other disturbing causes; while from 1650 to 1683 there were unvarying healthful and abundant seasons; and superadded to these blessings there remains the undeniable fact, that in 1659 the country had just emerged from deadly strife and desolation to a condition of peace and prosperity. The Restoration of King CHARLES THE SECOND, and the effects of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, continued this happy state of things, while the ordinary population increase was made extraordinary by the return of numerous families who had been voluntarily and involuntarily exiled from their native land, and by the rush of adventurers and soldiers, their families and dependents, to take possession of their then recently acquired landed, and other possessions.

The Essay of Sir WILLIAM PETTY, from which the information communicated to the Academy was taken, only extends to twenty-nine pages; and, considering the famous character of its Author, and the novel and interesting nature of the subject introduced and discussed, I would suggest, should the Academy determine on publishing it, that it should be published *in extenso* as an Appendix to this paper; should, however, the expense such a course would involve be considered too much for the limited amount of national funds placed by Government at the disposal of the Academy, then I would suggest that an accurate transcript, which would only involve paper and scrivenery charges, should be made, and placed for preservation and public use amongst the collections of manuscripts now in the Academy's Library.

VIII. *On Circumstances attending the outbreak of the Civil War in Ireland on 23rd October, 1641, and its continuance to the 12th May, 1652; the numerical extent and manner of the Transplantation of Irish into Connaught and Clare; the extent, value, and distribution of the Forfeited Lands; their insufficiency to satisfy the Debts and Arrears due to Adventurers and Soldiers; the solution of that difficulty under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation; and the results of these operations.* By W. H. HARDINGE, M.R.I.A., Barrister-at-Law.

Read December 11, 1865.

IN the rise and progress of Empires, as naturally as in the lives of men, there are events concerning which the biographer and historian would willingly remain silent, did not the salutary lessons to be derived from them demand publication.

The unhappy outbreak in this country at the close of the year 1641 is one of such events; its conception and birth have been considered to have somewhat blemished Celtic sincerity and discretion, while the justice and wisdom of England were deeply compromised by the measures adopted for its repression.

The rising of a people in rebellion has ever an origin in a grievance, real or assumed, that excites their prejudices and passions. The rebellions of Desmond and O'Neill were more local than general, and therefore the Plantation of Queen Elizabeth in Munster, or that of King James I. in Ulster, upon lands forfeited by these chieftains and their followers, were not, separately or combined, the cause, as many too hastily conclude, of the greater and more calamitous rising of 1641.

There is, indeed, no necessity to look so far back as 1575, or 1609, for a

provocation that at the time was fresh in the minds of the people, and that was universally felt to be insulting and alarming.

STRAFFORD, who in many respects proved himself a zealous and able Minister of Charles I. in this country, had recourse to a measure, involving an unprecedented application of the law affecting real property, which was odious and offensive to all landowners and occupiers, and which eventually added one to the catalogue of charges that led to his own attainder and execution.

Upon a stale assumption of a title in the Crown to Connaught, large tracts in Munster and also in Leinster, he caused commissions to be issued out of Chancery into the several Counties in which the coveted possessions lay; and by a compulsory process with juries, which the Lord Lieutenant of that day had the power to apply, Inquisition findings were obtained, exactly suited to STRAFFORD's inconsiderate political programme.

It was no secret that this nobleman proposed founding, in the name and for the increase of the revenues of his royal master, a plantation as Protestant, but more extensive in numbers and area, than either of those antecedently established in Ulster and Munster.

It is remarkable and instructive to observe in how many instances Providence overrules the devices of Statesmen, and diverts all their speculations and toils into a current entirely adverse to that proposed by them. In the present scheme, what was in 1635 designed by a King of strong Roman Catholic tendencies to be a Protestant element, was in 1654 converted into a thoroughly Catholic transplantation by a super-Protestant administration.

The feeling of insecurity to all real property engendered by the Inquisitions adverted to was natural, and the subsequent attainder and execution of STRAFFORD did not mitigate it, as the title of the Crown to the devoted possessions was suffered to remain recorded in the Court of Chancery; and *that* title, although by circumstances suspended, might, at the earliest convenient opportunity, be called into action. Had the English Parliament, upon STRAFFORD's conviction, pronounced these Inquisitions illegal and ineffective, as was afterwards done in the preamble to the Act of Explanation in 1665,* it would in

* Act of Explanation, 17 & 18 Car. II. c. 2, I. Statutes, vol. iii., p. 5.

all probability have produced reaction, and created a confidence in the public mind that would have disarmed the spirit of disaffection and revolt, which the proceedings of STRAFFORD, and the unconciliating and bitter tone of the Irish Parliament towards their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, had excited to desperation.

Such appear to me to have been the true reasons leading to the lamentable and fatal outbreak in this country on the 23rd October, 1641.

At this period England was not without her domestic troubles; and, besides this, her treasury was reduced to so low a condition, that she was powerless to raise and equip an army immediately to grapple with and put down the Rebellion, which, under more favouring circumstances, might have been done before November, 1642, with comparative facility.

The adhesion, first, of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and next of the lay Confederate Irish leaders, and the establishment of their Directory at Kilkenny, changed the opening character of the outbreak from rebellion to civil war—a war pursued with determination and skill, and with alternating successes, for a devastating period of ten successive years.

Some writers, offended at the crime of massacre being imputed to the Irish, have resented it in warm, and even recriminating language. Without going the length of others on this point, I may remind my hearers that the Roman Catholic bishops attributed the crime to the Irish, and condemned it under the penalty of severe ecclesiastical censure, in a manifesto issued in 1642. I may also state, that in each of the many Articles of the Surrender of Armies and Fortresses,* entered into between 1647 and 1653, and which were signed by the representatives of England on the one part, and the Irish Confederate civil and military leaders on the other, provisoes are introduced, excluding from the benefit of the articles all persons guilty of murders or massacres; and a remarkably clear and concise exposition of what was considered murder and massacre will be found appended to the Articles of the Surrender of Ross and the Islands, and the Munster Confederate Army under Lord Muskerry, dated 22nd June, 1652.† Again, the charge is repeated in the Ordinances of the Cromwellian Parliament, hereafter more particularly recited, in the years 1652 and

* Appendix A.

† Appendix B.

1653; and Commissions were issued under these very Ordinances into the several counties of Ireland in the latter year, to try all persons against whom the charge might be brought. Although we do not possess the judgments pronounced in these cases, there are yet extant thirty-one volumes of "Depositions,"* which may be sufficient to establish the fact of the perpetration of some massacres; and Charles II., who at and after his accession to the throne evinced his good disposition towards, and care of his Irish subjects of all classes and creeds, re-echoed the accusation in the Acts of Settlement and Explanation.†

The fact is unquestionable, and the important point is to fix the guilt upon the right party, and the acts to the right period of time. After carefully considering the evidence, it appears to me, that to the fiery O'Neill, who headed the outbreak in Ulster, and to his wild and brave though merciless Nomads, or Creaghts, the imputed massacres are almost solely attributable; and that the limits of the duration of their perpetration lie between that outbreak and the time of the issue, in 1642, of the Christian manifesto of the Roman Catholic Bishops, before noticed.

Influenced by financial difficulty, and, I fear, also actuated by a spirit of retaliation and revenge, the King and his English Parliament passed the famous but fatal Act of 17 Car. I. This Act in a gambling and reckless spirit, at the dawn of the Rebellion, and when innocence and guilt were yet undistinguishable, sold all Ireland—for there was no limit declared to the amount of subscriptions—to any speculating adventurers who would pay into the Treasury in ready money £600 for a thousand acres in Leinster, £450 for a thousand acres in Munster, £300 for a thousand acres in Connaught, and £200 for a thousand acres in Ulster.

A more impolitic, not to say unjust measure, was never resorted to by any nation, as the purchase money once paid into the Exchequer, and unhappily it was extensively so paid, deprived the English rulers of the opportunity or power of proposing, should the occasion for so doing arise, acceptable conditions of accommodation to their confederate and implacable foe.

* Manuscript Room, Library, Trin. Col. Dub.

† 14 & 15 Car. II. c. 2, and 17 & 18 Car. II. c. 2, I. Statutes, vol. ii., p. 239; vol. iii., p. 5.



AUTOTYPE

GOLD MEDALLION OF JUSTINIAN I.

FORMERLY IN THE FRENCH COLLECTION.

The result was a ten years' struggle,—first, between Ormond, the Lord Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Army, and the Confederate Irish party, from the 23rd October, 1641, to the surrender of Dublin,* and resignation of his government and insignia of office into the hands of Commissioners deputed by the English Parliament to receive them, on the 18th June, 1647; and next, between the representatives and forces of that Parliament and the same Confederate party to the surrender of the provincial armies of the Irish, made to General Ludlow by Lord Muskerry and other leaders, on 12th May, 1652.

The supremacy of England was then established and complete, the Confederate armies were beaten, and their cause lost; and the liberties, lives, and estates of all who supported or connived at that cause were left altogether in the power and at the mercy of the English Parliament, as no clause protective of civilian person or property was introduced into any one of the several surrenders made upon the Articles of capitulation referred to above. The military leaders, and other parties to these Articles, took care of themselves and the soldiers under their command, and left the landowners and occupiers, whose estates and industry maintained them during the protracted struggle, to endure alone the entire consequences of the war.

Had England in this her hour of triumph repented of having passed the Act of 17 Car. I., and become really desirous of restricting the penalty of forfeiture to the possessions of the fomentors and powerful leaders of the Rebellion, she could not have done so; her hands were bound, her will restrained, by the mortgaging Act quoted; and were it even possible to have satisfied the Adventurers otherwise than by specific performance of the terms of that Act, the heavier debts due to the soldiers for pay arrears would have interposed an insuperable obstacle to any exercise of the prerogative of mercy in favour of the unfortunate people who were the cause of the difficulties and debts. The arrears due to the army far exceeded the debt due to the Adventurers; and, as there was no money in the English Treasury, there remained but one fund out of which these respective interests could be satisfied, and that fund was the *forfeited lands*.

The Government, thus straitened, accepted the unavoidable responsibility

cast upon it, determined that the forfeited lands should discharge the entire debts, and measures were forthwith organized to give the resolution effect.

There were, however, two points necessary of attainment preliminary to a distribution of the forfeited lands : first, the persons forfeiting, as well as the lands forfeited, their areas and exact situations, must be ascertained and defined; and, further, they must be distinguished from lands that were unforfeited, and also from Crown, ecclesiastical, and lay corporate possessions, which the Commonwealth proposed to appropriate to other and special uses. Secondly, for the peace of society, and the quiet and secure possession of the forfeited lands to be distributed to Adventurers and Soldiers and others, the Confederate Irish owners and occupiers must be ejected from them, and settled elsewhere.

The first point, so far as Leinster, Ulster, and Munster were concerned, was effectually attained through the instrumentality of Commissions of Survey, issued to discover and find out by means of Courts of Survey and juries empanelled, the particulars described respecting forfeiting and unforfeiting persons, and forfeited and unforfeited lands: these particulars were described in County, Barony, and Parish arrangement, and, as completed, were in duplicate sent up to Dublin,—and this record is called the “ Civil Survey.”*

This survey, as to the contents of each townland, which were returned upon estimate, was inexact and unsatisfactory; and it became necessary to remedy the defect, which was done by actual admeasurement and laying down of the townlands upon maps, in Parochial and Baronial divisions. Unforfeited lands were omitted from the Survey, as maps of them would be attended with a large additional cost, from which the proprietors alone, and not the public interest, would reap the benefit. This mapped Survey is called the “ Down Survey.”†

In reference to the forfeited and unforfeited lands *in Connaught*, the STRAFORD Inquisitions and mapped admeasurements already adverted to combined all the information embraced in the Civil and Down Surveys, with the immaterial difference, that the one describes the state of possessions as it was in 1635, 1636, and 1637, and the other as it was in 1641.

* Hardinge “ On MS., Mapped, and other Townland Surveys, 1640 and 1688.”—Trans. R. I. A., vol. xxiv.,—Antiquities.

† Ibid.

This triple survey of all Ireland, exhibiting the townland possessions of forfeiting and unforfeiting persons and corporations, was not complete and in the hands of the Surveyor-General, in Dublin, earlier than 1657; but, as the Surveys and maps were, as respects their completion, in a transition state, and successively arriving during the five years from 1653 to 1657, the disbandment of the army was proceeded with in an equal ratio, and frequent successive distributions of lands commensurate with ascertained arrear demands were made; and, the same rule of distribution being also extended to the Adventurers, the result was, that the national debt as well as the military establishment annual votes were diminishing, to the relief alike of the Commonwealth and of the several interests concerned. Before, however, proceeding further and more minutely with the distribution made of the forfeited lands in Leinster, Ulster, and Munster to Adventurers and Soldiers, it was essential that they should be cleared of their Irish Confederate forfeiting owners and occupiers; and this involves, as a preliminary consideration, the second point alluded to above, relating to the famous "Cromwellian Transplantation."

THE TRANSPLANTATION.

The notion of a Protestant plantation in Connaught, entertained by STAFFORD, in all probability suggested to the Council of State in England, the English Parliament, and their Commissioners for the affairs of Ireland, the idea of removing out of Leinster, Ulster, and Munster (except Clare) into Connaught and Clare, the owners and occupying tenants of the forfeited lands, their respective families, and followers. This retired, and then very desolate and depopulated portion of the island was peculiarly adapted for the purpose; it is belted in and nearly separated from the other provinces by the waters of the Shannon, and the Atlantic Ocean washes its western shore; such a district could easily and effectually be guarded against assistance from without and escape from within.

The scheme was one of great magnitude, as, in order to secure the really comparatively few proposed for transplantation, it should include the power of dealing with and removing all the Confederate Irish.

Accordingly we find that the English Parliament passed exactly such a

comprehensive measure on the 12th August, 1652, entitled "An Act for Settling of Ireland."* This ordinance excludes three classes of persons from pardon, namely:—

- 1st. Such as at any time before 10th November, 1642, being the time of the sitting of the first General Assembly at Kilkenny, advised, counselled, promoted, or acted rebellion, murders, or massacres done or committed in Ireland.
- 2nd. The Earls of Ormond, Castlehaven, Clanrickard, Fingal, Roscommon, and Westmeath; the Baron of Inchiquin, and others.
- 3rd. Principals and accessories of murder since 1st October, 1641.

The ordinance next proceeds to admit to pardon, upon *conditions of qualification*, four other classes of persons, namely,—

- 1st. Such as, not falling within the unpardonable groups, bore arms against the Commonwealth of England, should suffer banishment for such time as Parliament might prescribe, and lose two-third parts of their estates.
- 2nd. Such as, not falling within the same groups, aided in the Rebellion, should be pardoned as to their lives, but should forfeit two-third parts of their estates, and should receive the value of the residue in such place in Ireland as Parliament might appoint.
- 3rd. All Roman Catholics who resided in Ireland any time between 1st October, 1641, and 1st March, 1650, and did not manifest constant good affection, should forfeit one-third part of their Irish estates, and receive the value of the residue in such place in Ireland as the Parliament might appoint; and such as did manifest constant good affection should forfeit one-fifth part of their estates.
- 4th. All other persons not possessed of real or personal property to the value of £10, who should lay down their arms; and subscribe a declaration to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, should be pardoned.

With respect to the three classes *incapable of pardon*, they were to be sought out, and, when found, dealt with by the Courts of High Commission before referred to.†

With respect to the four classes *admissible to pardon*, the first relates to

* Scobell's Ordinances, cap. 13, p. 197.

† Appendix B.

the Irish Confederate army; the second, to landowners and occupiers of whatever creed, who favoured the Confederate army; the third is special to Roman Catholics, who, even if innocent, were doomed to the loss of one-fifth part of their estates; and the fourth swept into the qualification proof toils all such as had real or personal property above the value of £10.

Thus, all civilians and soldiers who were not protected by the Articles of surrender of Towns, &c.,* already referred to, and who favoured the cause of the Confederates, as well as all Roman Catholics, whether they did or did not favour that cause, were either to suffer transplantation, with loss of more or less of their estates, or to part with a portion of the latter, without transplantation: a more absorbing piece of legislation never emanated from a Parliament.

I have been thus particular in my analysis, as it is necessary to understand well the powers conferred upon the Executive Authorities by the Ordinances, to comprehend the nature and extent of the duties to be executed by the Judges and Commissioners appointed to carry the transplantation into execution, and how far those powers were mercifully or otherwise used.

The Ordinance was allowed to lie in abeyance for nearly a year, awaiting the compilation and return of some portion of the surveys. On the 26th September, 1653, the English Parliament passed another† Ordinance, explaining what the earlier one had, perhaps designedly, omitted to do; it appointed Connaught, and Clare in Munster, excepting a belt of land four miles wide along the sea shore, as the place of transplantation for such of the Irish nation as might be comprehended within the *qualifications* mentioned in the Ordinance of 1652. It empowered Charles Fleetwood, Lieutenant-General of the Army in Ireland; Edmond Ludlow, Lieutenant-General of the Horse; Miles Corbet and John Jones, the Commissioners of the Parliament of England for the affairs of Ireland, who were also its Privy Council there, to direct the transplantation of the Irish, although their Claims might be undetermined and their qualifications undecided upon; and it also empowered them, notwithstanding the non-determination of the claims, to set out to the Irish lands in Connaught and Clare, proportionate to the estates claimed, *and competent to such*

* Appendix A.

† Scobell's Ordinances, cap. 12, p. 204.

stock as each of such persons should possess ; and that afterwards the claims and qualifications might be determined, and lands granted accordingly. The Ordinance then directs the Privy Council to cause proclamation to be made—“ That for the better security of such parts of Ireland as were intended to be planted with English and Protestants, and to the end that all persons in Ireland who had a right to articles,* or the favour held forth by the qualifications provided in the former Act (1652), it was necessary that they should, before 1st May, 1654, remove and transplant themselves into the province of Connaught and county Clare, or into one of them ; and that there they and each of them should be allotted such proportions of land as should be answerable in value unto so much of his and their estates, as by such articles or qualifications they were respectively to enjoy, in such place and manner as the Privy Council might appoint and direct ; and that after the date so limited, any such persons found inhabiting or remaining in any part of the province of Leinster, Ulster, or Munster, except the county Clare, without a pass authorizing them so to do, should be reputed as spies and enemies, and should, as such, *suffer death* ; and all persons so removing themselves quietly into Connaught and Clare aforesaid should be pardoned.”

In consequence of the very brief limitation (a few months) of time for transplanting, and the extreme penalty attachable to disobedience, great activity and completeness were necessary to be observed in all preliminary arrangements made to that end by the Privy Council, as well as by all subordinates acting under their directions. This haste was enhanced by the clamour of the Adventurers to gain possession of their stipulated equivalents of forfeited lands, and the Soldiers to obtain satisfaction out of the same fund for the arrears of pay due to them ; besides, the Government itself was influenced in the same direction by a natural anxiety to reduce the army, and so lessen the amount to be provided in the annual estimates, which at that time was an alarmingly heavy item of national expenditure.

The preparations made were fully equal to the occasion. A Commission†

* Meaning provisions of favour in the surrenders of towns, &c., Appendix A.

† Receiver-General's Accounts, 1653, 4, and 5, Landed Estates Record Office, press 69, letter D. ; and Appendix C.

was immediately issued to Justice Cook, John Sankey, William Gibbons, and Edward Leich, to sit as a Court of Claims at Athlone (the key to Connaught and Clare), and adjudicate upon the qualifications of the several persons presenting themselves in conformity with the pre-recited ordinances, and issue certificates of such qualifications, and of the value of the lands each was entitled to in reference to his former and relinquished estate, and also in reference to the amount of stock and tillage brought with him into Connaught.

Another contemporaneous Commission* was issued to William Edwards, Edward Doyley, James Shean, and Henry Greenaway, to whom afterwards were added Charles Halcroft and Captain Stephen Squibb, James Cuffe, and Henry Waddington, for the purpose of receiving from transplanted persons the certificates granted to them by the Revenue Precinct Commissioners, upon removing from the places of their respective forfeited and ancient habitations, as well as those afterwards passed to them by the Athlone Commissioners, expressive of their qualifications, and the value of the lands, stock, and tillage; upon which certificates said Commissioners, whose place of official administration was at Loughreagh, granted equivalent distributions of lands in such places in Connaught or Clare as might have been determined.

The Privy Council, at the same time, and to set those Commissioners in motion, issued instructions† of 14th October, 1653, to the Commissioners of the Revenue of the several precincts into which Leinster, Ulster, and Munster excepting Clare, were divided, namely, Athlone, Athy, Belfast, Belturbet, Clonmel, Cork, Dublin, Kerry, Kilkenny, Trim and Drogheda, Waterford and Wexford; informing them of the appointments and duties of the Commissioners to sit in Athlone and Loughreagh, and directing them to grant certificates to all the Confederate Irish who might demand them, descriptive of the persons transplanting, their numbers, *and the several kinds and amount of their stock and tillage.*

The Privy Council, and nearly at the same time, appointed committees, as indicated by the Ordinance of 1653, in each of the counties into which Leinster, Ulster, and Munster except Clare, were divided,‡ with power to dispense with transplantation from their respective counties for limited periods; and a si-

* Appendix C. and Appendix F. † Appendix C. and Appendix D. ‡ Appendix E.

milar power was conferred upon Connaught and Clare authorities to grant upon urgent occasions passes of leave to persons actually transplanted, to revisit the places of their ancient habitation.

These several arrangements being made, the Privy Council issued a proclamation* in the terms prescribed by the Ordinance of 26th September, 1653, calling upon all persons who had right to articles or favour held forth by the qualifications to remove and transplant themselves into Connaught or Clare before the 1st May, 1654, *under penalty of death*, if afterwards discovered without pass-leave within the other provinces, excepting the county Clare, which was itself a part of the penal territory. This proclamation being duly posted, the Commissioners of the Revenue, acting upon their orders of 14th October, 1653, issued notices in their respective precincts, that certificates in a prescribed form would be supplied to such as might apply for them.

A more complete and effective organization could not have been devised for the immediate and certain exodus of the Confederate Irish landowners and occupiers from the places of their respective residences into Connaught and Clare than these several ordinances and orders established. Those who obeyed them received pardon, with some land as compensation for the loss of their estates, *and a liberal allowance of land as an equivalent for their stock and tillage*; while the disobedient not only lost everything, but risked life itself.

It has been observed that there was great cruelty in selecting the winter for the transplantation. The adoption of that season, however, prevented farm operations in anticipation of the harvest of 1654 in the respective places from whence the transplanters were to remove, and so avoided innumerable after applications for dispensation certificates and pass-leaves, and the consequent separation of families; while to the Adventurers and Soldiers who were clamorous for their lands, the season for the commencement of such operations was the most appropriate for taking possession: in these respects, as well as in the more desirable one of keeping opposing population elements completely apart from one another, the appointed time for the transplantation was judiciously chosen.

Transplantation and its attendant hardships were not confined exclusively

to the Confederate Irish. The forfeited lands, which more or less occupied every county in Ireland, presented one moving mass of English, Scotch, and Irish itinerants in quest of houses and lands; the weather equally affected all; and the real difference between them was not so much in the degree of comfort or discomfort endured, as of inclination or disinclination to submit to it.

The proclamation, and Revenue Commissioners' notifications, as before observed, having been promulgated early in the winter of 1653, the demand of the people for certificates of transplantation was immediate, continuous, and extensive. The earliest certificate* granted was to Thomas Purcell, of Ballysallagh, in the county of Kilkenny, on 26th September, 1653; and the latest† was to Captain Howard Oxburgh, of Crea, in the King's County, on the 21st July, 1654. And the earliest delivery of such certificates, together with the Athlone qualification certificates at Loughreagh, was a certificate of William Cheevers,‡ of Muncktowne, county Dublin, on 2nd February, 1654; and the latest§ was the before-mentioned certificate of Captain Oxburgh, on the 27th July, 1654. There are no good grounds for the supposition that the transplantation was not substantially concluded on the 27th July, 1654. No doubt there were exceptional cases of some who endeavoured to evade it altogether, and who by special grace were afterwards permitted to transplant themselves, even with benefit of the qualification indulgences under the articles and ordinances of Parliament: such persons of necessity should submit their cases to the Privy Council, who alone, after the limit of time for transplantation had expired, and as a consequence the penalty of loss of life and estate was incurred, could relieve the applicants. Such cases are sprinkled over the Privy Council Books of the period; but exceptional instances of the kind are not evidence of the law that governed the transplantation.

Fortunately for the interests of exact history, there are existing amongst the Landed Estates Record Office collections of muniments, the Registers kept by the Loughreagh Commissioners of all the effective Revenue Commissioners' original certificates, issued to persons transplanted from the provinces of Leinster and Munster. Had the Ulster and Connaught Registers survived the accidents

* Hardinge's "Epitome," MS. in Royal Irish Academy, pages 56 and 96.

† *Ibid.*, pages 71 and 96.

‡ *Ibid.*, pages 56 and 96.

§ *Ibid.*, pages 71 and 96.

|| Landed Estates Record Office, press 13, shelf E., lib. 8-9.

of time, the evidence would on this part of the subject be complete and conclusive ; but these Registers are, I regret to say, not forthcoming.

The surviving Registers in some instances exhibit complete copies of the certificates, and in the others copies so far complete as the description of the principal persons transplanted, and their immediate families, but only indicate the gross number of their followers. Each of the certificates contains the following important information, viz. :—

The authority under which the Revenue Commissioners acted, and their respective names ;

The names of the precincts of which they were Commissioners ;

The names of many, and numbers of all of the transplanted persons ;

The county and townland from whence the principal transplanter had removed ;

The exact particulars of the entire stock and tillage brought with them.

The date of the issue of the certificate.

The Commissioners at Loughreagh attached to each such registered certificate a consecutive number, and the date, which is consecutive also, of its presentation by the holder at Loughreagh.

The exact nature of these certificates will be best appreciated by the following copy of the material part of one of them,* viz. :—

“ By the Comm^{rs} of the Revenue within the precinct of Clonmell.

“ We, the said Comm^{rs}, doe hereby certifie that Garrett Prendergast, of Clonenasse, proprietor, in the county Waterford, hath upon the 8 January, 1653(4), in pursuance of a Declarac^on of the Comm^{rs} of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England for the Affaires of Ireland, bearing date the 14th October, 1653, delivered unto us in writing a particular, containing therein the names of himself and such other persons as are to remove with him, with the quantitie and qualitie of their respective stockes and tillage, the contents whereof are as followeth, viz. :—Garrett Prendergast aforesaid, proprietor, aged 35 years ; of tall stature ; red hair ; his substance is 86 sheep, 20 garrons, 15 cows, 12 acres of corn, and 20 swine. 2. Juan his wife, of the same, aged 30 yeares ; middle stature ; brownish cullored haire. 3. Ellice Prendergast, of the same, servant, aged 25

* Landed Estates Record Office, press 14, shelf E., vol. viii.

yeares ; middle stature ; flaxen hair ; her stocke is 20 sheep.” And in this manner the certificate proceeds, describing nine other followers ; and it concludes thus :—“ The substance whereof we conceive to be true. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals, the 15th day of January, 1653(4).

“ D. ABBOTT,

“ SOL. RICHARDS,

“ CHAR. BLOUNTE.”

I have compiled a very elaborate “ Epitome ” of these Leinster and Munster Registers, to which I frequently refer in this paper, and which fills ninety-six closely written pages of an Appendix more valuable than this paper ; and which, as the publication of it *in extenso* would fall too heavily on the limited funds at the disposal of the Academy, I present in MS. for preservation in the Library of this institution, where it may be referred to and examined. This “ Epitome ” is in county arrangement, and its classification is in detail under the following heads, viz. :—1st. The date of each certificate ; 2nd. The name of the principal persons transplanted, and the numbers of their followers ; 3rd. The townlands from whence transplanted ; 4th. The detailed amount of stock and tillage ; 5th. The register number and date affixed to each effective certificate at Loughreagh. The results of each county are summed up at its close, and the provincial results are afterwards exhibited.

I am driven, in the absence of the Ulster register, to make an approximate statement of the result of the transplantation out of that province ; and, to avoid all cavil, have selected as its representative the Munster result, as being most numerous of people and animals, although not of tillage. For Connaught and Clare, the circumstances of which were peculiar, I cannot venture any approximation ; but the numbers affected by the Parliamentary Ordinances in that province and county must have been, from the scantiness of their then population, inconsiderable, and would, as an ingredient, make little difference in the general conclusions arrived at.

The entire transplantation* into Connaught and Clare stands thus :—

* Appendix C.

Provinces.	No. of Certificates.	No. of Persons.	No. of Acres of Corn.	No. of Animals of all kinds.	No. of Geese.
Leinster,	523	8,438	12,036 $\frac{1}{2}$	31,639	—
Munster,	550	17,886	7,373 $\frac{1}{2}$	151,358	65
Ulster,	550	17,886	7,373 $\frac{1}{2}$	151,358	65
Totals,	1,623	44,210	26,783 $\frac{1}{2}$	334,355	130

In another Table,* to be found in the "Epitome," it is demonstrated that 43,308 of the persons transplanted arrived in Loughreagh before the 1st May, 1654; and that the residue, numbering only 902 persons, arrived there also, by Privy Council permission no doubt, between that date and the 11th of the following July. The machinery must have been effective indeed that in the short space of nine months passed so many people and such quantities of corn and other tillage products, cattle, and poultry, across the narrow bridge at Athlone to the town of Loughreagh. Had there not existed the most cordial communication between the three sets of Commissioners and the civil and military organized authorities in each of the provinces, numbers of people, stock, and tillage must have perished by the way; and further, if, as they arrived at Loughreagh, immediate locations were not assigned them, to which they as immediately pushed forward, it would have been impossible to have fed them, or avoided pestilence. History imputes no failure in this particular; and we are therefore constrained to conclude that the unhappy exodus was prosecuted with considerable caution, provision, and undoubted success.

It would be erroneous to suppose that the transplantation included the entire native Irish population; no such movement was intended, and any attempt of the kind would have been impolitic and impossible. The Adventurers and Soldiers who replaced the transplanted persons in the forfeited lands in the three principal provinces would themselves be wholly unfit to cultivate them. Habituated for the most part to trades and military occupations, they should learn the art of agriculture before effectively employing their own labour in that direction. They must, therefore, have had farm

* Appendix H.

servants to do the work, and who so well as the Irish labourer would perform it?

I can, however, readily show that the numbers transplanted into Connaught and Clare not only were not coextensive with the Irish population, but that they could not have been very great; and in all probability the transplantation is well and fairly represented by the 44,210 persons exhibited in the calculations and Tables already referred to.

• It is not long since I read a paper before the Academy, upon a recently discovered Census of Ireland for the year 1659, and one of the many interesting facts established by that Census* is the proportion then existing between the races of the inhabitants:—In Connaught and Munster the proportion of Irish to English and Scotch was 10 to 1; in Leinster it was $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 1; and in Ulster, $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. No one can believe that, if anything like the removal of all the Irish into Connaught took place in the year 1654, their numbers in the other provinces could have been what the Census returns demonstrate them to have been in 1659.

It would be a mistake to conclude, that in the year 1658 numbers of persons were condemned to death for not transplanting. A Council Order of 26th October in that year is assumed as evidence of the fact; the Order, however, only goes the length of saying, “that divers persons were *condemned to banishment* for that crime.”

That no misconception should be allowed to remain touching the period of time within which a sentence of death for not transplanting could legally be pronounced, I have examined the proper authorities for deciding the point, and find that the Ordinance of Parliament of 26th September, 1653, so often quoted, originated that punishment, and decreed its commencement to be 1st May, 1654, upon all such as should not by that day have transplanted themselves into Connaught or Clare. I also find an Ordinance of Parliament passed in 1656,† entitled, “Acts and Ordinances made since 3rd April, 1653, and before 3rd September, 1654, and other Acts, how far they shall be in force.” This Act confirms certain specified Ordinances passed within the period, but not the Ordinance of 26th September, 1653; and it then declares, “That all other Acts

* Appendix L.

† Scobell's Acts and Ordinances, cap. 27, p. 389.

and Ordinances not confirmed by it, and passed between 20th April, 1653, and 17th September, 1656, including that of 26th September, 1653, should after 1st July, 1657, be absolutely null and void." Another Ordinance passed afterwards, in the same year 1656,* entitled "An Act for the Attainder of the Rebels in Ireland," states, that persons who had not transplanted themselves might do so within three months after publication thereof; and that all those liable to transplantation who did not, within the time prescribed, so transplant themselves, should for ever forfeit the benefit intended for them by *the Declaration and Act of State dated 2nd July, 1653*, and should suffer the penalties imposed by the Act, but should not suffer *the pains of death*.

Thus we have two Acts of the Parliament of England, one of which abolishes absolutely the penalty of death for not transplanting after the 1st July, 1657; and the other, more lenient, declares that persons not transplanting themselves within three months after publication of the Act, whatever other penalties they might suffer for their disobedience, should not be subjected to the penalty of death; and this Act was passed in September, 1656, so that from that time it was out of the power of the Council of State in Ireland, or the Judges of the land, legally to pass the extreme sentence of death against any subject for the crime of non-transplantation. In fact, two and a half years was the utmost limit within which such a punishment could be pronounced, namely, from May, 1654, to September, 1656. It is quite clear that no person could have been condemned to death for this offence after the latter date.

Having exhibited my evidences on the transplantation, and thus cleared the forfeited lands in Leinster, Ulster, and Munster, of the element most objectionable to the Adventurers and Soldiers, I will now proceed, so far as the Records allow, to treat of the disposition of the forfeited lands in the four provinces amongst all the interests concerned in them.

* Scobell's Acts and Ordinances, cap. 27, p. 501.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FORFEITED LANDS.

It has been asserted that Ireland, at a particular Commonwealth period, was divided between the Adventurers, the English army, and the Government; but, if the territorial property of the country was then alone possessed by the interests indicated, a subsequent title, derived from the Parliament of England, would be common to *all present possessors and occupiers*, and there would be no necessity to look behind the forfeitures of 1641, and the *grants of these lands* made by or on behalf of the Crown. Against such a theory there arise in the mind the well-known and time-honoured titles of Kildare, Ormond, Clanrickard, Kinsale, Howth, Talbot de Malahide, and a multitude of others of our most ancient nobility and gentry; and also the many issues from time to time sent for trial out of our courts of law and equity to decide rights to advowsons, fisheries, and other hereditaments, the evidence to sustain which I have myself known to commence with Henry II. and Prince John, and be carried satisfactorily through rebellions and revolutions, including that of 1641, to the moment when the juries returned their verdict in each particular Record.

A simple narrative, however, of the condition of the landed property in this kingdom from 1652 to 1660—a period of time that marks the active operations with the forfeited lands by the Cromwellian Government—would convince any person that there was no such unrestricted forfeiture. It would also exhibit the small advantage the Commonwealth leaders themselves could have derived out of the forfeited estates, if these leaders were honestly minded, as they appear to have been, to satisfy the money advances made by the Adventurers, the arrears of pay due to the Soldiery, and the debts incurred for Commissariat and other military purposes. As these debts must in justice be borne in mind, to test the accuracy of my conclusions in passing along, I will here set them down in the figures which they are admitted to have reached, although I believe their real amount to have been considerably in excess of these sums.

Advances of money by Adventurers, . . . £ 360,000	} Total, £3,660,000
Arrears of pay to Officers and Soldiers, . . . 1,550,000	
For supplies of Commissariat, &c., . . . 1,750,000	

To provide for these debts, and also for the persons transplantable under the Ordinances of 1652 and 1653, *into* Connaught and Clare, as well as for the guilty indwellers of these penal localities, there were available the forfeited lands of all Ireland.

The Civil, Down, and Strafford Survey Records which remain enabled me to compile, if not with perfect, at least with sufficient accuracy, a statement* read on a former occasion before the Academy, showing in geographical arrangement of Province, County, and Barony, the number of acres of land *unforfeited*, and also the number of acres of lands, profitable as well as unprofitable, *forfeited* in consequence of the Rebellion of 1641.

From this compilation I have taken a concise County digest† of results. The extent of unforfeited land in the kingdom ascertained by the Civil Survey of 1653 was 9,170,117A. 0R. 17P., or nearly half its surface. The area of the forfeited land was 11,008,460A. 3R. 23P.; but, as the *unprofitable* portion of this area was valueless for payment of debt demands, it was carefully distinguished from the profitable in the Surveys; and, further, it was thrown in as a gift to the Adventurers and Soldiers, and others whose portion of profitable lands might abut upon the borders.

This gift was not of liberality, but of necessity, and in order to fix a right of property to the profitless tracts in the possessors considered to be most trustworthy, who would exercise the right accorded to them in preventing dangerous occupants from taking up their quarters in the waste lands; in fact, the donation was one to quiet possessions, and for the security and peace of the settlement.

The unprofitable area thus disposed of as a gift amounted to 3,306,488A. 2R. 2P., leaving a *surplus profitable forfeited land fund*, applicable for all the purposes, political and otherwise, of the Cromwellian Government, of 7,701,972A. 1R. 21P., English statute measure—an available area far short of even one-half the surface of all Ireland.

Before a single acre of these disposable profitable lands could with advan-

* Hardinge's "MS. Mapped Townland Surveys, Ireland, 1640 and 1688"—"Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. xxiv., Antiquities.

† Appendix I.

tage or security be settled upon Adventurers and Soldiers, it was necessary to transplant the forfeiting owners and occupiers out of the other and adjoining provinces into Connaught and Clare.

The manner in which this transplantation was carried out, the number of persons and amount of stock and tillage affected by it, have been described ; and it only now remains to show as accurately as the public records will permit the extent of lands distributed to the persons transplanted, as well as to others not strictly transplanter, out of the aforesaid consolidated land fund. This is requisite to determine the fact, and to fix with precision the extent of the residue of that fund that remained in the hands of the Cromwellian Government for the satisfaction of Adventurers and Soldiers, and for all other State purposes and demands.

There is not known to be in existence any record evidence from which a detail of the distribution of forfeited lands amongst all or any one of the interests protected by and having claims upon the Commonwealth could be compiled. The reforean accurate statement cannot be expected from me of the extent of lands distributed to the persons transplanted from the adjacent provinces into Connaught and Clare. These persons obtained from the Athlone Commissioners certificates of qualification under the Ordinances of 1652 and 1653, expressive of the value of the land equivalents each was entitled to receive in reference to their ancient and forfeited estates, and also in reference to the value of their stock and tillage, under an order of the Privy Council, which declared that for every acre of corn three acres of land should be allotted ; for every cow and bullock, a like quantity ; for every horse, mare, or garron, four acres ; for every yearling, one acre ; for every three sheep, one acre, and a proportionate measure of land for other live stock. Upon the presentation of these qualification and value certificates to the Loughreagh Commissioners, the proper equivalent of lands was allocated to each transplanted or other person, but in such places in Connaught and Clare as the Privy Council or the Commissioners might appoint.

The guilty denizens of the transplanted territory, although subject to the like rules and conditions under the Ordinances and Privy Council order above referred to as those removed from the other provinces, were not, except in a constructive sense, transplanter ; they were proprietors who forfeited

their ancient estates within the transplanted territory of Connaught and Clare.

The Loughreagh Commissioners, whether of their own mere motion or by directions from the Privy Council does not appear, extended no small favour to these denizens. In allocating land equivalents to them upon their qualification and stock and tillage value certificates, the selection was usually out of their own ancient estates. The well-known Survey and distribution records, explaining the possessory condition and extent of all the forfeited lands in Connaught and Clare in 1635, and their final adjudication and appropriation under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation from 1660 to 1678, abundantly testify to the fact; and as these, as well as the really transplanted, were fixed in their respective titles and possessions before the residue of Connaught and Clare forfeited lands became even disposable to Adventurers and Soldiers, it follows that the commencement of their titles, although the differential space of time may seem minute, antedates the titles of the latter classes to their respective allotments.

It may be said that the adjudications made under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation to the transplanters bear date, in every instance, many years after the certificates granted to the Adventurers and Soldiers under the same Acts. This is no doubt true, yet it does not affect priority of title, as the transplanters were never disturbed in their possession, except from the retrenchment portion, from the moment it first was granted to them in 1654. The last adjudications of title were in their case, as well as in that of the Adventurers and Soldiers, but confirmatory of former title and possession *minus* the retrenchment quotas.

As I cannot exhibit a certain account of the extent of the forfeited lands in Connaught and Clare disposed of to transplanters and non-transplanters under the Ordinances of 1652 and 1653, I will endeavour in a less certain, yet not unsatisfactory way, to do so. Dealing first with ancient estate equivalents, it seems reasonable to assume that each qualification certificate, which, as before explained, represented many persons, also included amongst them one such proprietor; and, as there were 1623 certificates,* so there were 1623 ancient proprietors.

Again, assuming that each proprietor was entitled to one hundred acres of

* Appendix G.

land, the gross distribution under the estate qualification and equivalent value would amount to 162,300 acres Irish plantation measure of profitable land.

In reference to stock and tillage, a calculation* based upon the “*Epitome*” before referred to of their quantity, numbers, and kinds, measured by the land equivalents allowed under the Council Order, produces the following results, viz.:—

				Acres of Land.	} Total, 336,572 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres, Irish Plantation measure.
Equivalent of	26,783 $\frac{1}{2}$	acres of corn	× 3	80,351 $\frac{3}{4}$	
„ „	22,262	horses, &c.,	× 4	89,048	
„ „	23,681	oxen, cows, &c.	× 3	71,043	
„ „	1,998	yearlings	× 1	1,998	
„ „	270,342	sheep	÷ 3	90,114	
„ „	16,072	other animals	÷ 4	4,018	

It will be interesting here to observe upon the first remarkable feature of the transplantation. The value of the ancient estate equivalents and extent of land grants made thereupon was but one-third the amount of the value and extent of land grants made to the owners of stock and tillage. A portion of this stock and tillage no doubt belonged to the ancient estate proprietors, but that portion must have been small, from the little intermeddling in agricultural operations on their own account by land owners of that day. By far the larger portion belonged to the tenant farmers of these proprietors; and this, in addition to the value equivalents of lands contributed to them under the Council Order, at once raised their property *status* to an equality with, if it did not place many of them above, their former patrons and masters. The great change in the condition of the farming class thus brought about may not have been intended, although, from the course pursued, such a result was inevitable: nor did the beneficial effects end here—they extended themselves to the humbler classes, by the increase made to the number and wealth of their employers, and the consequent extra demand for and price of labour.

Combining the acreage equivalents for ancient estates with the equivalents of stock and tillage, it is found that 808,172 English statute acres must have been distributed in Connaught and the County Clare in Munster to transplanted, &c., persons.

Modifying the “Epitome”* according to the circumstances produced by this distribution, the forfeited *consolidated land fund account and its value* will stand as follows, viz.:—

			Profitable Land.	Value under Act.
			A. R. P.	£
Total of all Ireland,			7,701,972 1 21	3,390,130
Transplanters' Deduction.	Profitable Land.	Value under Act.		
All Clare, . .	265,830A. 2R. 17P.	£119,610 0 0		
Connaught, . .	542,341 1 23	162,699 0 0		
			808,172 0 0	282,300
Residue of Land and Value to satisfy Adventurers and Soldiers, }			6,893,800 1 21	3,107,830

It is manifest that the lands remaining in the hands of the Commonwealth, and which could not be rated at a higher value than £3,107,830, were less by the sum of £552,170 than the amount of debts admitted to have been due to the Adventurers, and to and on account of the army.

It is not surprising, therefore, that such discontent prevailed amongst these respective interests in the Commonwealth period, or that complaints and recriminations were so frequently brought before the Council Board and into the Parliament upon the interminable land distribution question. The settlement of the debts and the distribution of the lands were not adjusted, but incomplete, at the expiration of the Commonwealth rule. Upon the Restoration of King Charles II., and the passing of the famous Acts of Settlement and Explanation, the entire proceedings underwent review, and the distribution, so far as it had been made, underwent considerable modifications and changes.

These Acts reversed the proscription decreed by the Ordinance of 1652 against the Earls of Ormond and Clanrickard, and others of our ancient nobility. They restored ecclesiastical, collegiate, and other corporate lands to their possessors in 1641; they admitted to their ancient estates a multitude of transplanted and other proprietors, who showed reasonable proofs of innocence, and

* Appendix I. and Appendix K.

they reconciled conflicting interests. To accomplish this result a sacrifice was demanded from, and cheerfully acceded to by all the creditors of the State who had received or were then to receive payment in lands. They consented to a reduction of 7s. 6d. in the pound on their several claims ; those who had been paid off in lands retrenched or surrendered the difference of value—those who were to be paid received that value by so much less. The effect on the original land fund value of £3,390,130 was to reduce the debts against it from £3,660,000 to under £2,400,000. Thus the Government of the King was enabled to meet all demands, and pacify and “settle” the Kingdom of Ireland.

Unless, in the proposed concentration and arrangement of our public archives, some new and unexpected evidences of the Cromwellian period turn up, I am convinced that a full and completely satisfactory account cannot be authentically given of those stirring times. The case is different as respects the after settlement of the kingdom by Charles II. A perfect and unnering narrative of that settlement may be written, even to the distribution of every perch of the forfeited land ; where situated ; to whom and by what instruments granted ; the rents payable to the Crown ; and, if released, reduced, or purchased, at what times, by what authorities, and in whose favour the release, reduction, or purchase was made. But, as there exists no digest of these results from the records, and as such a digest should, in the interest of truth, be collected from each separate survey, decree, certificate, grant, and many other kindred and contemporaneous documents, the task could scarcely be executed with any degree of reliability in the lifetime of an individual, even assuming he had free access to the evidences referred to. Such an extensive work should have, as it would deserve, the sanction and material support of Her Majesty's Government.

We may now consider the effects of the circumstances here noticed upon the population and peace of the kingdom.

It might naturally be supposed that the removal of so many of the Irish landowners, occupiers, and others, from Leinster, Ulster, and Munster, and their concentration in a single province, would produce turbulence and disaffection ; and that the plantation of so many English, Scotch, and other settlers in their

room would have an exactly opposite tendency. Yet, strange as it may appear, such has not been the experience of the past two centuries. Within that period such unbroken tranquillity has not prevailed in the other parts of this Kingdom as in Connaught and Clare. No doubt the restoration of Charles II., and the ample measure of justice which he extended to the transplanted landowners who could show reasonable grounds of innocence of the rebellion, produced salutary effects ; and the lessons learned from personal exposure to the horrors of a civil war had their influence also ; but, in my mind, these reasons alone would not suffice to account for the long-continued peaceful state of the population of that Province and County. It would be well that others who have considered the question would turn their attention to the nature of the land perpetuity tenures granted to all transplanted persons great and small, and say whether this change in the tenures of the numerically preponderating section of the tillers of the ground had not much to do with their own loyalty and that of their descendants. My conviction is, that it formed the real substratum of the tranquillity that has since so happily prevailed.

Much, however, as we must admire the effect thus attributable to the transplantation, there is another less apparent though not less important result, of a more general character, that has been silently doing a work which, if not altogether, is almost accomplished, and that should have the effect of uniting all the inhabitants of this kingdom in friendly relationship with each other. The copious immigration of English, Scotch, and others into Ireland during the Commonwealth period, and through the long-continued reign of Charles II., introduced and cemented matrimonial alliances amongst every class and creed, which tend to merge rival races into one common and kindred stock. In this natural process of absorption, man but imitates nature's happiest illustration, immortalized by Ireland's sweetest poet. Is there an Academician who does not remember Avoca's charming vale, where, from opposing sources, many waters meet, and, lulled by softer influences, flow on in one commingling and harmonious stream to a boundless ocean—their common origin and common end ?

If this notion of the obliteration of race distinction be just, surely the interests of all are the interests of each. Instead of endeavouring to discover how far we may with impunity press upon our neighbours' possessions or consciences,

we should zealously try to find where any inconvenience rests, and attempt its removal.

Should the future realize these thoughts and aspirations, the brief sketch which I have drawn of the Commonwealth period will not prove profitless, or have been written in vain.

APPENDIX (A).

Surrenders, Agreements, Orders, &c.*

Page of Vol.	Persons and Places.	Particulars.	Dates.
1	Dublin Castle,	And all other places of strength in Ireland within the power and government of James, Lord Marquis of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief, appointed by King Charles I., surrendered by him, together with the Sword of State, to the Commissioners of the Parliament of England,	18 June, 1647.
10	Rosse,	Town of, surrender to Oliver Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief,	19 Oct. 1649.
12	Cork,	Corporation of, their proposals to Oliver Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief,	Nov. 1649.
135	Bandon,	Town, proposition to deliver it up to Lord Broghill,	15 Nov. 1649.
23	Cahir,	Castle, Tipperary, surrender to Oliver Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief,	24 Feb., 1649.
24	Kilkenny,	City and Castle, surrendered to Oliver Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief,	27 Mar., 1650.
26	Protestant Delinquents,	Under Marquis of Ormond; Articles of Protection from Oliver Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief,	26 Apl., 1650.
34	Clonmel,	Town and Garrison, Tipperary; Articles of Agreement with Oliver Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief,	18 May, 1650.
35	Fethard,	Town and Garrison, Tipperary; Articles of Agreement with Oliver Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief,	No date.
44	Athlone,	Castle of, surrendered to Sir Charles Coote, Lord President of Connaught,	18 June, 1651.

* Lib. 4, Press 14, Shelf E, L. E. R. Office.

Page of Vol.	Persons and Places.	Particulars.	Dates.
163-4	Lambert, Major-General,	Ordered by the Parliament of England to be made Deputy under the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Cromwell),	30 Jan ^y . 1651.
37	Fitzpatrick, Col., .	Articles in his favour from Commissary-General Reynolds,	7 Mar., 1651.
53	O'Connor Roe, Teige	Surrender to Commissary-Gen. Reynolds, . .	2 Apl., 1652.
119	Galway,	Town, surrender of,	5 Apl., 1652.
55	Jamestowne, . .	Articles of Surrender,	7 Apl., 1652.
56	Drumruske, . .	Articles of Surrender,	8 Apl., 1652.
56	Clare,	Brigade, surrender of,	21 Apl., 1652.
59	Reily, Capt. Hugh,	His submission	22 Apl., 1652.
72	Dromagh, . . .	Surrender of,	23 May, 1652.
73	Ballyshannon . .	Surrender of,	26 May, 1652.
82	Newtowne, . . .	Fort of, in Leitrim, surrender of	3 June, 1652.
169	Cromwell, Oliver,	Created Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Armies in Ireland, with power to grant Commissions,	15 June, 1652.
75	Ross and Islands, .	Surrender of, to Lieutenant-General Sir Edmund Ludlow, Commander-in-Chief,	22 June, 1652.
86	Ballymote, . . .	Conditions of surrender of,	24 June, 1652.
88	Mullagh,	And the Islands,	28 June, 1652.
90	Clanrickard, . .	Lord Deputy of Ireland for his King, with Commissioners representing the Lord President of Connaught; agreement granting said Earl certain conditions on leaving Ireland, .	28 June, 1652.
96	Connaught, . .	Irish Forces of, with Lord President of Connaught; Articles of Agreement on laying down their arms,	14 July, 1652.
47	Inchilagher, . .	Surrender of, to Colonel Hierome Sankey, . .	14 Aug., 1652.
79	} Murders, . {	During year of War excepted from surrender, and definition thereof,	1652 and 1653.
104			
109			
119			
6, 15, 16	} Kilkenny, . {	Surrender of Irish Armies of Leinster, Ulster, Munster, and Connaught, to Lieutenant-General Edmund Ludlow, Commander-in-Chief of the Parliament Forces, &c., . .	12 May, 1652.
17, 18, 19			21 Sept., 1652.
20, 21, 22			29 Apl., 1653.
104, 110			
83	Arkyn,	Fort of, in Arran Isles; surrender of, . . .	15 Jan ^y , 1652.
100	Innisbuffyn, . .	Island surrendered on conditions,	14 Feb., 1652.
51	Ballyleague, . .	Fort, surrendered to Commissary-Gen. Reynolds,	24 Feb., 1652.

APPENDIX (B).

Explanations of the Articles for Rendition of Ross and the Islands, and for the Submission of all the Forces under the Command of Lord Muskerry, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's (Charles II.) Forces in Munster, entered into by that Nobleman with Lieutenant-General Edmund Ludlow, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of the English Parliament in Ireland, on the 22nd June, 1562.—Articles of Capitulation, &c., vol. iv., page 79, press 14, shelf E.

“ Explanación on y^e Articles made wth y^e L^d of Muskery.

“ We esteeme such persons only guilty of murther who *during the first year of the warr* have contrived, ayded, assisted, acted, or abetted any murther or massacre upon any person or persons of the English not in arms, but following their own occupations in their farms of freeholds :—By aiding, assisting, and abetting, we understand such as have, by acts of their will, either precedently advised or commanded such murthers or massacres, or subsequently approved thereof, in sheltering such murthers, and keeping them from justice.

“ *Since the first year of the war*, we esteem those only guilty of murther, who have killed any of our party after quarter given : Provided always the person or persons who did so kill did know, before or at the said killing, the said person and persons had quarter ; Provided, likewise, the person or persons so killed did not, by act of hostility against the Irish or otherwise, legally forfeit his said quarter before the said killing.

“ We further esteem such to be guilty of murther as are guilty of breach of quarter, or violation of safe conduct, in the first year of the warr to y^e killing of any person.

“ We further esteem such to be guilty of murther who killed, or commanded to be killed, and were so killed, any of our protected who were protected by the Commanders-in-Chief of the Irish party, or by any authorised to give protection on the behalf of the Irish party, if the party so killing, at the time of the said killing, knew of the said protection : Provided the party so killed did not legally forfeit his said protection at y^e time he was killed.

“ We further esteeme that if any person formerly under our protection, which shall, during that time, have killed or caused to have killed any person under our protection, and afterward shall run to the enemy, this, with any case of the like kind, shall bee judged murther.

“That any countryman not in arms, nor under our protection, who have by any slight, or promise of safety, drawne or caused to be drawne in any person under our protection to the taking away of his life, this, with any case of the like kind, shall be deemed murther.

“*As to Religion.*

“Wee doe declare it is not our intention, nor, as we conceive, the intention of those whom we serve, to force any to their Worship and Service contrary to their consciences.

“*As to Personal Estates.*

“We declare that no Officer or Soldier, comprehended in y^e said Articles, shall be impleaded or sue at law for any horses, cattle, money, or other provision, or free quarter taken by them by order of the superior officers, from any the inhabitants of this nation, nor for any matter or thing committed or done by them as soldiers in the orderly and usual course of war ; Provided this extend not to free any of them being impleaded for due debts according to due course of law.

“HAR. WALLER.

“WILLIAM ALLEN.

“THOMAS SADLEIR.

“JOHN NELSON.

“Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presence of us,

“HUGH ROGERS.

“FRAN. GOOLDE.

“ANDREW ELLIOTT.

“FREED. MULLINS.

“AULY LEYNE.

“JOHN USTEED.

“I hereby ratify and confirm these explanations and declarations made by my Commissioners.

“EDMUND LUDLOWE.

“This is a true copy of y^e Articles, explanacōns, thereupon concluded betwixt L^d Gen^l Ludlowe and myself. Witness my hand, this 3^d Aug^t., 1654.

“MUSKRY.”

APPENDIX (C),

Exhibiting, in geographical arrangement, the Revenue Precinct Divisions of the Kingdom from whence the Irish subjected to Transplantation into Connaught and Clare were removed; the names of the Qualification Commissioners at Athlone, and number of Effective Revenue Commissioners' Certificates, and of Persons passed on by said Athlone Commissioners to the Commissioners at Loughreagh, and also the Names of said Loughreagh Commissioners whose duty was to distribute Lands in the Province and County aforesaid to the persons Transplanted in the Years 1653-4, viz.:—

Revenue Precinct Divisions of Ireland, and Counties into which they ran.			Commissioners of Qualifications at Athlone.			Names of the Commissioners appointed to Distribute the Lands at Loughreagh.
Precincts.	Provinces and Counties.	Names of Precinct Revenue Commissioners.	Their Names.	No. of Effective Certificates.	No. of Persons Transplanted.	
	LEINSTER.			LEINSTER.		
ATHLONE, . .	{ KING'S COUNTY, part of, . . { LONGFORD, { MEATH, WEST, part of, . .	James Shane, Henry Waddington, Edward Braefield, and George Southcote.				William Edwards, James Shaen,
ATHY,	{ CARLOW, { KILDARE, { MEATH, WEST, part of, . .	Henry Prettie, John Bennett, Edward Davis, James Paisley, John Hewston.				Henry Greenway, Charles Holcroft,
CLONMEL, . .	KING'S COUNTY,	Solomon Richards, Fran. Vaughan, Charles Blount, S. Richards, Henry Paris, Daniel Abbott.	Justice Cook,	523	8,438	Stephen Squibb, James Cuffe,
DROGHEDA and TRIM,	{ LOUTH, { MEATH, EAST, part of, . .	Cadwalader Wynne, Simon Crane, Patrick Carey, Thomas Fouke.	John Sankey, William Gibbons,			Henry Waddington, for
DUBLIN,	{ DUBLIN, { MEATH, EAST, part of, . . { QUEEN'S COUNTY, part of, { WICKLOW,	Henry Markham, Thomas Hooker, Robert Doyley, Isaac Dobson.	Appointed for All Precincts.			Connaught and Clare.
KILKENNY, . .	{ KILKENNY, part of, { QUEEN'S COUNTY, part of . .	Thomas Evans, Thomas Adams, Thomas Wyckham.				
WATERFORD, . .	KILKENNY, part of,	Robert Fancet, William Leigh, Thomas Watts, Thomas Bolton, William Halsey.				
WEXFORD, . .	WEXFORD,	B. Hussey, Ambrose Andrews, W. Douse, Thomas Sadleir.				

A P P E N D I X (C)—*continued.*

Revenue Precinct Divisions of Ireland, and Counties into which they ran.		Commissioners of Qualifications at Athlone.			Names of the Commissioners appointed to distribute the Lands at Loughreagh.
Precincts.	Provinces and Counties.	Names of Precinct Revenue Commissioners.	Their Names.	No. of Effective Certificates.	
	MUNSTER.			MUNSTER.	
CLONMEL, . .	{ TIPPERARY, part of, . . . }	See names in Leinster.			
	{ WATERFORD, part of, . . . }				
CORK, . . .	{ CORK, }	Robert Phaire, Essay Thomas. Thomas Woodroffe.			
	{ WATERFORD, part of, . . . }				
KERRY, . .	KERRY,	Rd. Ousley, Rd. Hall, Whital Browne.	550	17,886
LIMERICK, .	{ LIMERICK, }	Simon Clarke, W. Ramsay. Nathaniel Wylmer, R. Cox. Henry Ingoldsbey.			
	{ TIPPERARY, part of, . . . }				
	{ WATERFORD, part of, . . . }				
WATERFORD, .	WATERFORD, part of, . . .	See names in Leinster.			
	ULSTER.			ULSTER.	
BELFAST, . .	{ The Record of the Trans- plantation of Ulster, which was divided into these three Districts, is not now forthcoming. }	The names cannot be supplied, and the number of Transplanted are assumed to equal Munster.	Same as before.	550	17,886
BELTUBBET, .					
LONDONDERRY,					
		Total Transplantation result between 14 October, 1653, and 27 July, 1654.		1,623	44,210

NOTE.—The distribution of the lands amongst these 44,210 Transplanters was not completed until some time in 1655. The salaries of the Commissioners and of their staff of assistants ceased to be a charge against the public revenue towards the close of that year.

APPENDIX (D).

Copy (Circular) Letter* from the Commissioners of the Parliament of England for the Affairs of Ireland, to the Commissioners of the Revenue of the several Precincts from whence Irish were to be transplanted, dated at Dublin, 9th January, 1653-4.

“GENTLEMEN,

“We have lately nominated W^m Edwards, Edward Doyly, Charles Welcroft, James Shane, and Henry Grenway, Esquires, Commissioners for the receiving in of Certificates and setting out Lands in Connaught and Clare to the persons that are to remove thither according to the declaration bearing date the fourteenth day of October last, and appointed Lough-Rea for their place of sitting which we thought fitt to make knowne to you, *that you may communicate the same to your people who shall repaire to you for Certificatts in order to their s^d removall, whereby they may the better understand where to PRESENT their said Certificatts*, In which we desire you to distinguish between Proprietors and Tenants, that the said Comm^{rs} may the better dispose of them *according to y^e directions and instructions given them in that behalf*. We remaine

Y^r very loveing friends,

“CHAR. FLEETWOOD,

“EDM. LUDLOWE,

“MILES CORBETT,

“JO. JONES.”

* Order Book of Council, lib. 7, press 14, shelf E.—L. E. R. O.

APPENDIX (E).

The following Extracts are taken from Reports made by the Standing Committee at Cork House for References from the Commissioners of the Parliament of England for the Affairs of Ireland, viz.:—

Vol. 11. folio 12 d. } “To the fifth (article referred) about persons coming out of
21 June, 1654. } Conaught that are transplanted thither to look after goods in other
provinces.

“We being unacquainted with the debates upon which your Honors declaration for Transplantation are issued cannot possibly offer our opinion on the same, but do humbly conceive *that they have liberty afforded by the said declarations to leave behind them Servants to look after innning their Corn and securing their goods left behind them.*

“To the sixth (article referred) we humbly offer that upon any extraordinary occasion as appears to your Honors *or others* special occasions wherein the Governor shall have grounded satisfaction that the Inhabitants desiring leave to come out of Conaught to Munster, Leinster, or Ulster for such ends only, that in such cases the Governor have liberty to give passes not exceeding one month free, in his passes describing the persons, expressing the said limitation and the occasion of the travell, the Governor likewise receiving a caution from your Honors that not too many be licensed at one time.”

APPENDIX (F).

Copy Letter* from Commissioners for setting out lands to the Transplanters to the Commissioners of the Precinct in which Clare was situated, dated at Loughreagh, 1st February, 1653-4.

“GENTLEMEN,

“We being entrusted by the Comm^{rs} of the Commonwealth to lay out lands for the transplanted Irish, and also being empowered by *o^r Instructions* to send for such persons and papers as wee finde necessary for the better and more effectual carrying on of that worke, having entered into serious considera^on of the business, wee finde that wee cannot proceed therein wthout *a view of yo^r Books* of assessm^{ts} for y^e applotting of the last moneths contribu^on *in y^e County of Clare*; and likewise the Duplicats of those Surveyes of y^e said County w^{ch} were sent by you to y^e Commonwealth; Wee, therefore, earnestly desire you to send us wth all possible speed those Books of Assessm^{ts} & Duplicatts of Surveys before men^oned; And in case those Duplicatts be not in yo^r hands, to send us the names of those persons in each Barony from whom wee may require y^e same; Wee are likewise particularly instructed to advise wth you what persons are most fitt in y^e said County to be employed for y^e laying out propor^ons of land to y^e transplanted Irish according to such orders as they shall receive from us in that behalf; In pursuance whereof we desire you (as speedily as you may) to inform us the names of such persons of honestie and abilitie in y^e said County as you judge fitt to be by us imployed in y^e affaire. So expecting your care and compliance herein we remaine

“Your affectionate friends & Servants,

“CHAR. HOLCROFT,

“WM. EDWARDS,

“HEN. GRENWAY,

“JAMES SHAEN.”

* Order Book of Council, lib. 7, press 14, shelf E.—L. E. R. O.

APPENDIX (G).

Combined Analysis of Transplantation out of Leinster and Munster into Connaught and Clare, in the Years 1653 and 1654.

Pages of Reference.	Counties.	No. of Certificates issued by Private Commissioners.	No. of Transplanted Persons included in said Certificates.	Period of Time within which said Certificates were issued.	Period of Time within which said Certificates were delivered to the Lands Distribution Commissioners, sitting in the Town of Loughrea.	Number of Acres of Corn.				Number of Animals.							No. of Poultry—Geese.					
						Bare and Barley.	Peas.	Spring Corn.	Summer Corn.	Winter Corn.	Total Corn.	Horses, Mares, Geldings.	Oxen.	Cows.	Yearlings.	Holsteins.		Sheep.	Goats.	Swine.	Total Animals.	
						LEINSTER.																
68	CARLOW.	20	311	8 and 28 Jan. 1654.	17 Feb. & 9 March, 1654.	—	—	—	30	42	72	94	—	191	27	—	258	10	63	643	—	
52	DUBLIN.	10	138	19 Dec. 1653, & 31 Jan. 1654.	2 Feb. & 11 July, 1654.	—	—	—	15	94½	109½	77	—	133	4	—	347	50	104	715	—	
73	KILDARE.	12	133	7 & 28 Jan. 1654.	20 Feb. & 16 June, 1654.	—	—	—	13	79	103	77	—	58	54	—	92	160	84	525	—	
66	KILKENNY.	190	3390	26 Sep., 1653, & 29 Jan. 1654.	17 Feb. & 15 June, 1654.	—	—	—	498½	3135½	4288½	2228	—	2511	398	47	6670	753	1448	14,055	—	
74	KING'S CO.	37	531	3 Dec. 1653, & 21 July, 1654.	17 Feb. & 27 July, 1654.	—	—	—	44	15½	365½	424½	—	608	13	—	860	162	259	2201	—	
54	LONGFORD.	24	529	19 Dec. 1653, & 31 Jan. 1654.	16 Feb. & 16 June, 1654.	86½	—	—	12	27½	226½	138	—	380	—	—	265	112	72	947	—	
94	LOUTH.	19	221	7 Jan. & 21 Feb. 1654.	27 & 28 Feb., 1654.	—	—	—	52	119	128½	138	—	162	3	—	483	34	134	954	—	
85	MEATH, E.	19	291	13 & 31 Jan. 1654.	13 & 31 Jan., 1654.	—	—	—	36½	214½	333	295	—	411	6	—	1521	14	355	2602	—	
82	MEATH, W.	82	1228	17 Dec. 1653, & 31 Jan. 1654.	24 Feb. & 13 April, 1654.	—	—	—	67	256	573	752	—	557	65	—	599	18	143	2134	—	
76	QUEEN'S CO.	32	388	26 Dec. 1653, & 28 Jan. 1654.	26 Feb. & 5 July, 1654.	—	—	—	230	36	193½	256	—	479	86	—	694	35	145	1695	—	
92	WEXFORD.	78	1278	31 Dec. 1653, & 20 Feb. 1654.	27 Feb. & 19 June, 1654.	—	—	—	132	327¼	1069	878	—	987	339	—	1903	311	750	5168	—	
		523	8438	Total of Leinster.		86½	—	1238½	4498½	6213½	12,036½	5332	—	6357	995	47	18,692	1659	3557	31,639	—	
						MUNSTER.																
45	CORK.	16	223	19 Dec. 1653, & 31 Jan. 1654.	17 Feb., & 14 July, 1654.	—	—	—	171	98	309	152	—	311	17	—	596	100	64	1240	—	
50	KERRY.	66	4981	13 & 20 Dec. 1653.	28 Feb. & 16 March, 1654.	—	—	—	25	943	50	689	—	1517	20	—	1786	3	7	4022	—	
43	LIMERICK.	168	2299	7 Dec. 1653, & 31 Jan. 1654.	10 Feb. & 5 July, 1654.	—	—	—	15	358	501	1337	—	1364	30	8	1352	272	828	5891	—	
31	TIPPERARY.	221	8635	14 Oct. 1653, & 31 Jan. 1654.	10 Feb. & 16 June, 1654.	—	—	—	139	3376	297	4231	—	3797	203	—	118,008	1835	1637	123,711	85	
14	WATERFORD.	79	1748	17 Dec. 1653, & 31 Jan. 1654.	1 & 28 Feb., 1654.	673	16	13	214½	444	1360½	1856	15	1658	170	30	6083	146	536	10,494	—	
		550	17,886	Totals of Munster.		673	16	232	5062½	1390	7378½	8465	15	8647	440	38	123,325	2556	3072	151,858	85	
		1073	26,324	Totals of Leinster and Munster.		759½	16	1470½	9661½	7608½	10,410½	18,797	15	15,004	1435	85	142,017	4015	6629	182,997	65	

NOTE.—There was no Transplantation out of Wicklow, in Leinster. There was none but from the County Clare, in Munster; and if there was any Transplantation from the Province of Ulster, the record of the parliament is not forthcoming.

APPENDIX (H).

Exhibiting the numbers of persons Transplanted out of the several Counties in Leinster and Munster before and after 1st May, 1654, and approximately out of Ulster in same period, taken from the antecedent details of the Transplantation, viz.:—

Pages of Reference.	PROVINCES AND COUNTIES.	Periods within which the Revenue Commissioners' Certificates were delivered to Lands' Distribution Commissioners at Loughreagh.	Number of Certificates so delivered.	NUMBERS WHO TRANSPLANTED.	
				Before 1st May, 1654.	After 1st May, 1654.
				And within the period of Column dates.	
LEINSTER.					
68	CARLOW,	From 17 Feb. to 9 Mar., 1654, . .	20	311	—
52	DUBLIN,	" 2 Feb. to 29 Mar., 1654, . .	5	96	—
73	KILDARE,	" 5 May to 11 July, 1654, . .	5	—	42
66	KILKENNY,	" 20 Feb. to 16 March, 1654, . .	11	119	—
71	KING'S COUNTY,	On 16 June, 1654,	1	—	14
54	LONGFORD,	From 17 Feb. to 20 April, 1654, . .	183	3242	—
94	LOUTH,	" 8 May to 15 June, 1654, . .	7	—	148
85	MEATH, EAST,	" 18 Feb. to 31 March, 1654, . .	36	517	—
82	MEATH, WEST,	On 27 July, 1654,	1	—	14
76	QUEEN'S COUNTY,	From 16 Feb. to 26 April, 1654, . .	18	454	—
92	WEXFORD,	" 12 May to 6 June, 1654, . .	6	—	75
		" 27 Feb. to 28 Feb., 1654, . .	19	221	—
		" Nil,	—	—	—
		" 25 Feb. to 28 Feb., 1654, . .	19	291	—
		" Nil,	—	—	—
		" 24 Feb. to 13 April, 1654, . .	82	1228	—
		" Nil,	—	—	—
		" 20 Feb. to 16 March, 1654, . .	31	374	—
		On 16 June, 1654,	1	—	14
		From 27 Feb. to 28 March, 1654, . .	71	923	—
		" 3 May to 19 June, 1654, . .	7	—	355
		Leinster Totals,	523	7776	662
MUNSTER.					
45	CORK,	From 17 Feb. to 27 Feb., 1654, . .	16	223	—
50	KERRY,	" Nil,	—	—	—
43	LIMERICK,	" 28 Feb. to 16 March, 1654, . .	66	4981	—
31	TIPPERARY,	" Nil,	—	—	—
14	WATERFORD,	" 10 Feb. to 15 April, 1654, . .	166	2283	—
		" 26 May to 5 July, 1654, . .	2	—	16
		" 10 Feb. to 16 March, 1654, . .	219	8531	—
		" 6 June to 16 June, 1654, . .	2	—	104
		" 1 Feb. to 28 Feb., 1654, . .	79	1748	—
		" Nil,	—	—	—
		Munster Totals,	550	17,766	120
ULSTER.					
	Calculated approximately from numbers transplanted from Munster, because the Ulster Record of particulars is not forthcoming.	From 1 Feb. to 15 April, 1654, . .	546	17,766	—
		" 26 May to 5 July, 1654, . .	4	—	120
		Ulster Totals,	550	17,766	120
		Gross Totals,	1623	43,308	902

PRECIS, VIZ. :

Numbers Transplanted before 1st May, 1654, . . .	43,308
" " subsequently to ditto, . . .	902
Gross Totals,	44,210

A P P E N D I X (I).

Exhibiting the contents, Unprofitable and Profitable, of the lands forfeited, and also the contents of the lands forfeited, which, combined, show the exact area of each County in Ireland, in Provincial and alphabetical arrangement, viz. :—

LEINSTER PROVINCE.												
COUNTIES.	LANDS FORFEITED IN THE YEAR 1641, ENGLISH STATUTE MEASURE.						LANDS UNFORFEITED.	COMBINED COUNTY CON- TENTS, ENGLISH STATUTE MEASURE, EXCLUSIVE OF WATER.				
	Profitable.			Unprofitable.								
	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	F.	A.	R. P.	
CARLOW,	110,267	3	18	48,371	2	12	158,639	1	30	62,198	0 39	220,837 2 29
DUBLIN,	102,489	1	8	2,689	0	19	105,178	1	27	120,953	3 20	226,132 1 7
KILDARE,	197,144	2	12	10,104	1	20	207,248	3	32	210,169	3 26	417,418 3 18
KILKENNY,	269,563	3	9	24,549	2	17	294,113	1	26	212,562	1 33	506,675 3 19
KING'S COUNTY,	158,296	3	0	66,944	2	6	225,241	1	6	267,010	2 5	492,251 3 11
LONGFORD,	111,524	1	36	44,116	0	19	155,640	2	15	106,093	2 35	255,734 1 10
LOUTH,	119,032	3	6	13,220	3	31	132,253	2	37	70,082	3 39	202,386 2 36
MEATH,	405,490	3	17	33,589	2	25	439,080	2	2	136,332	2 10	575,413 0 12
QUEEN'S COUNTY,	155,522	0	3	29,133	0	8	184,655	0	11	239,802	2 30	424,457 3 1
WESTMEATH,	252,752	3	24	72,115	0	26	324,868	0	10	100,172	3 34	431,041 0 4
WEXFORD,	331,524	3	0	11,207	1	8	342,732	0	8	230,187	3 31	572,919 3 39
WICKLOW,	146,508	0	17	28,282	1	11	174,790	1	28	324,298	0 39	499,088 2 27
Leinster Totals, . . .	2,360,118	0	80	384,323	3	2	2,744,441	3	32	2,079,866	0 21	4,824,308 0 13

ULSTER PROVINCE.												
COUNTIES.	LANDS FORFEITED IN THE YEAR 1641, ENGLISH STATUTE MEASURE.						LANDS UNFORFEITED.	COMBINED COUNTY CON- TENTS, ENGLISH STATUTE MEASURE, EXCLUSIVE OF WATER.				
	Profitable.			Unprofitable.								
	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	F.	A.	R. P.	
ANTRIM,	222,792	2	21	65,727	2	4	288,520	0	25	419,869	3 6	708,389 3 31
ARMAGH,	90,037	3	24	14,774	1	38	104,812	1	22	205,322	1 37	310,134 3 19
CAYAN,	144,941	3	33	48,790	2	14	188,732	2	7	266,486	1 21	455,218 3 28
DONEGAL,	104,342	2	36	19,810	0	6	124,152	3	2	1,046,182	3 29	1,170,335 2 31
DOWN,	115,208	0	0	44,718	0	17	159,926	0	17	448,489	1 38	608,415 2 15
FERMANAGH,	36,930	2	34	27,327	1	39	64,258	0	33	346,525	0 19	410,783 1 12
LONDONDERRY,	62,937	3	21	7,886	2	16	70,824	1	37	437,443	0 29	508,267 2 26
MONAGHAN,	99,417	0	9	19,327	2	5	118,744	2	14	194,937	1 35	313,682 0 9
TYRONE,	29,465	3	10	4,256	2	4	33,722	1	14	740,777	2 28	774,500 0 2
Ulster Totals, . . .	906,074	2	28	247,618	3	23	1,153,693	2	11	4,106,084	2 2	5,259,728 0 13

APPENDIX (I)—*continued.*

MUNSTER PROVINCE.												
COUNTIES.	LANDS FORFEITED IN THE YEAR 1641, ENGLISH STATUTE MEASURE.						LANDS UNFORFEITED.			COMBINED COUNTY CONTENTS, ENGLISH STATUTE MEASURE, EXCLUSIVE OF WATER.		
	Profitable.			Unprofitable.			Combined Total.					
	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	A.	R. P.	
CLARE,	265,830	2	17	339,491	3	14	605,322	1	31	154,751	2 12	
CORK,	1,079,589	1	38	113,509	0	22	1,193,098	2	20	642,218	0 29	
KERRY,	614,805	2	5	69,724	0	20	684,529	2	25	469,506	1 24	
LIMERICK,	318,956	1	18	63,069	0	28	382,025	2	6	280,342	2 26	
A TIPPERARY,	608,535	0	0	200,676	3	15	809,211	3	15	238,918	2 4	
A WATERFORD,	193,031	0	0	44,836	3	13	237,867	3	13	217,770	2 14	
Munster Totals,	3,080,747	3	38	831,307	3	32	3,912,055	3	30	2,003,507	3 29	
											5,915,563	3 19
CONNAUGHT PROVINCE.												
	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	A.	R. P.	
GALWAY,	578,971	3	0	772,521	3	35	1,351,493	2	35	124,629	3 36	
LETRIM,	97,278	1	5	45,914	1	8	143,192	2	13	225,422	1 12	
MAYO,	313,813	2	0	740,659	2	1	1,054,473	0	1	256,168	3 16	
ROSCOMMON,	203,450	3	0	186,329	0	39	389,779	3	39	184,804	3 22	
SLIGO,	161,517	1	0	97,812	3	22	259,330	0	22	189,682	1 39	
Connaught Totals, . . .	1,355,031	2	5	1,843,237	3	25	3,198,269	1	30	980,708	2 5	
											4,178,977	3 35
IRELAND.												
	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	A.	R.	P.	A.	R. P.	
LEINSTER,	2,360,118	0	30	384,323	3	2	2,744,441	3	32	2,079,866	0 21	
ULSTER,	906,074	2	28	247,618	3	23	1,153,693	2	11	4,106,034	2 2	
MUNSTER,	3,080,747	3	38	831,307	3	32	3,912,055	3	30	2,003,507	3 29	
CONNAUGHT,	1,355,031	2	5	1,843,237	3	25	3,198,269	1	30	980,708	2 5	
All Ireland Totals, . . .	7,701,972	1	21	3,306,488	2	2	11,008,460	3	23	9,170,117	0 17	
											20,178,578	0 0

A P P E N D I X (K),

Exhibiting the value in Money under Rates fixed by the Act of 17 Charles I., for any Adventuring purchasers thereof, and which Rates were afterwards extended to the Soldiers—whose Arrears of Pay were satisfied in Lands—of all the Lands profitable in each County and Province of Ireland, viz.:—

	COUNTIES	Number of proportions of 1000 acres each of profitable land.	Act Rate per 1000 acres.	Provincial Totals.	Total value of forfeited profitable land.	
A	LEINSTER.		600	1,416,100		
	CARLOW,	110 ² / ₁₀				
	DUBLIN,	102 ¹ / ₁₀				
	KILDARE,	197 ¹ / ₁₀				
	KILKENNY,	269 ¹ / ₁₀				
	KING'S COUNTY,	158 ⁵ / ₁₀				
	LONGFORD,	111 ¹ / ₁₀				
	LOUTH,	119				
	MEATH,	405 ⁵ / ₁₀				
	QUEEN'S COUNTY,	155 ¹ / ₁₀				
A	WESTMEATH,	252 ⁷ / ₁₀				
A	WEXFORD,	331 ¹ / ₁₀				
A	WICKLOW,	146 ⁵ / ₁₀				
		2360				
MUNSTER, EXCLUSIVE OF CLARE.						
A	CORK,	1079 ⁶ / ₁₀	450	1,266,660		
	KERRY,	614 ¹ / ₁₀				
	LIMERICK,	318 ² / ₁₀				
	TIPPERARY,	608 ⁵ / ₁₀				
	WATERFORD,	193				
		2814 ⁸ / ₁₀				
CONNAUGHT, INCLUSIVE OF CLARE.						
T	CLARE,	265 ⁸ / ₁₀	450	119,610	£3,390,130	
	GALWAY,	579				
	LEITRIM,	97 ² / ₁₀	300	406,500		
	MAYO,	313 ⁸ / ₁₀				
	ROSCOMMON,	203 ⁵ / ₁₀				
	SLIGO,	161 ⁵ / ₁₀				
		1620 ⁸ / ₁₀				
ULSTER.						
A	ANTRIM,	223	200	181,260		
	ARMAGH,	90				
	CAVAN,	145				
	DONEGAL,	104 ³ / ₁₀				
	DOWN,	115 ² / ₁₀				
	FERMANAGH,	37				
	LONDONDERRY,	63				
	MONAGHAN,	99 ⁴ / ₁₀				
	TYRONE,	29 ⁴ / ₁₀				
		906 ³ / ₁₀				

APPENDIX (L).

Comparative View of the Population of the Transplantation Counties of Ireland in the Years 1653 and 1659.

PROVINCES AND COUNTIES.	POPULATION IN 1653.		POPULATION IN 1659.	
	Details.	Totals.	Details.	Totals.
LEINSTER.				
CARLOW,	4,969	136,555	5,434	149,468
DUBLIN,	18,847		21,827	
KILDARE	11,983		13,825	
KILKENNY,	19,185		18,427	
KING'S COUNTY,	7,654		8,310	
LONGFORD,	5,151		5,392	
LOUTH,	8,527		9,690	
MEATH,	25,230		29,096	
QUEEN'S COUNTY,	9,915		11,115	
WESTMEATH,	12,090		12,672	
WEXFORD,	13,004	11,680		
MUNSTER.				
CORK,	54,250	134,773	63,031	136,368
KERRY,	12,172		8,390	
LIMERICK,	23,708		24,977	
TIPPERARY,	31,507		26,684	
WATERFORD,	13,136		13,286	
ULSTER.				
ANTRIM,	106,963	106,963	16,039	103,923
ARMAGH,			6,748	
CAVAN,			14,703	
DONEGAL,			12,001	
DOWN,			15,183	
FERMANAGH,			7,102	
LONDONDERRY,			9,734	
MONAGHAN,			4,083	
TYRONE,			18,330	
CLARE AND CONNAUGHT.				
CLARE,	30,663	30,663	16,914	104,266
GALWAY,			33,390	
LEITRIM,			4,275	
MAYO,			29,967	
ROSCOMMON,			12,843	
SLIGO,			6,877	

Counties Transplanted from.

Counties Transplanted to.

NOTE.—The population numbers of 1659 are taken from a paper upon the Census of that year, read by Mr. Hardinge before the Royal Irish Academy, on the 16th March, 1865.—*Vide* "Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy," vol. xxiv., Antiquities.

The population numbers of 1653 of the counties transplanted from are computed from the corresponding numbers of 1659, by deducting therefrom one-seventh as the probable population increase in the intermediate years, and adding the numbers withdrawn for Transplantation purposes in the years 1653 and 1654; and in reference to the counties transplanted to, the same principle of calculation was observed, excepting that the numbers taken from the other counties in 1653 and 1654 are here withdrawn.

IX.—*On a previously undescribed Class of Monuments. By the VERY REV. CHARLES GRAVES, D. D., President of the Academy.*

Read February 13, 1860.

THE class of ancient monuments of which I am about to give an account seems to have been left hitherto undescribed by Irish archæologists. Two or three such monuments have, indeed, been noticed and figured; but their great antiquity and interest do not appear to have been recognised; and no attempt, so far as I am aware, has been made to explain their meaning or use.

My attention was first directed to them by the late Mr. RICHARD HITCHCOCK, who made drawings for me of a few which he met with in the year 1848, when engaged, under my direction, in searching for Ogham inscriptions in the county of Kerry. It was not, however, until the year 1851 that I saw any of these monuments myself.

In that year, in company with the Earl of DUNRAVEN, I traversed a great part of Kerry, with the view of examining all the Ogham inscriptions of whose existence I had been informed, and in the hope of discovering others. I had then, in the course of a minute and leisurely survey, opportunities of observing the objects of antiquarian interest which abound in that picturesque and primitive region. After visiting the very remarkable structure named Staigue Fort, near Westcove on the Kenmare River, we were led by Mr. JERMYN, of Castle Cove House, to see an inscribed rock about a mile to the south of the fort, and close to Staigue bridge. He informed us that a large portion of the rock, having been stripped about forty years before of the turf by which it had been covered to a depth of three or four feet, was found to be inscribed with circles, single and concentric, shallow circular hollows, small dots, and lines. The information previously supplied by Mr. HITCHCOCK prepared us for what we were to see. Nevertheless, we were sur-

prised when the vast extent of surface covered by these strange markings was presented to our view ; and we could not help wondering that so curious an object should have excited so little attention.

Our first task was to make a heel-ball rubbing of the portion of the rock covered by the most remarkable group of circles. This is repre-

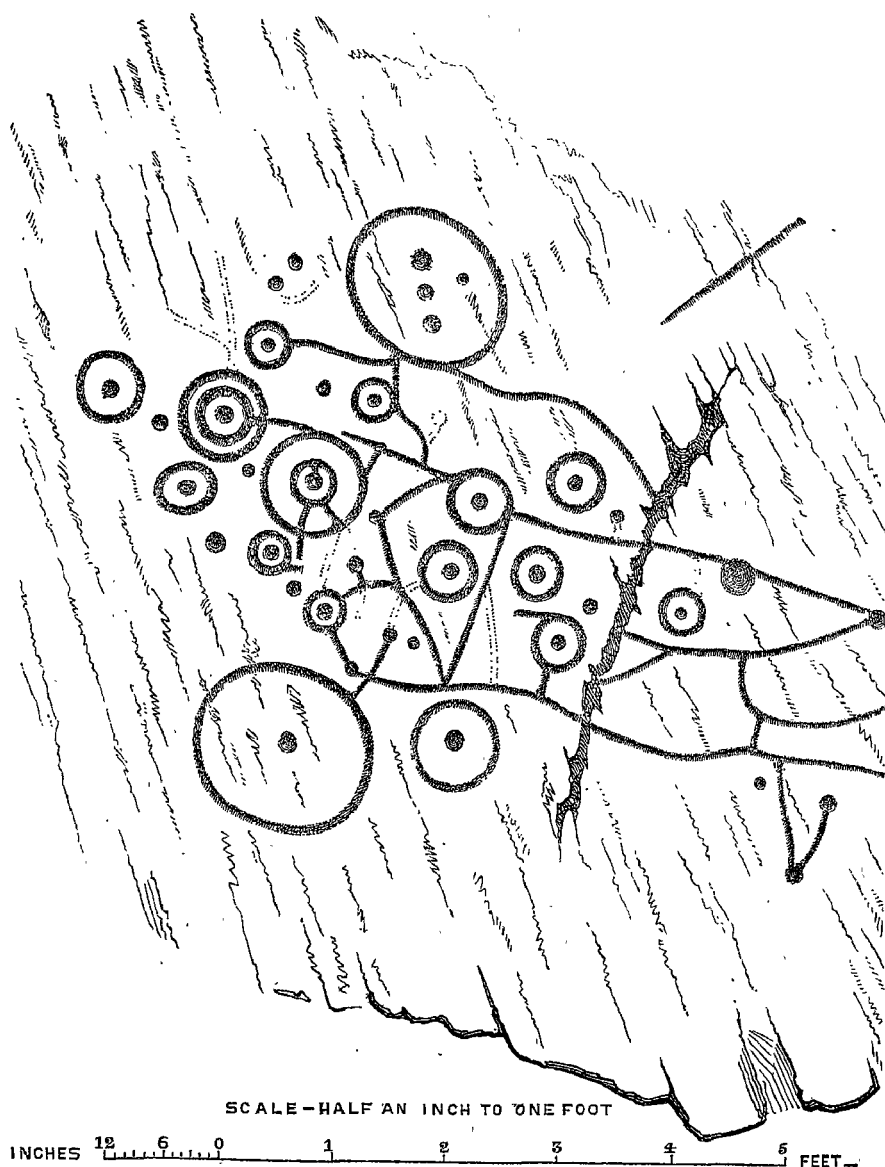


FIG. I.

sented in Fig. I. We then made a complete map of the whole rock, and roughly laid down the positions of the outlying circles and lines. This map,

(Fig. II), shows that the incised lines and circles occupy a space of many square yards. The rock itself is of the coarse slate which prevails in the

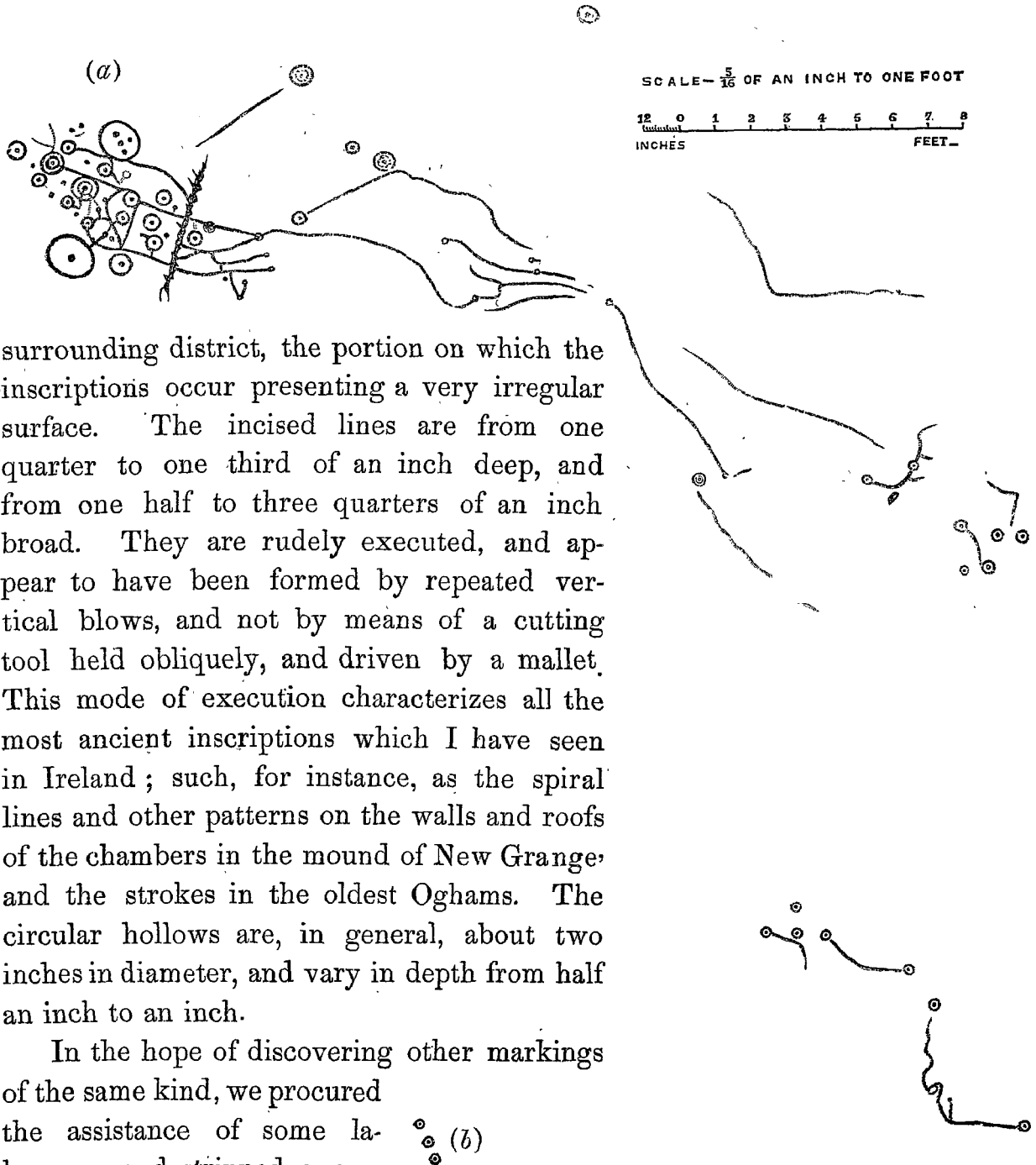


FIG. II.

surrounding district, the portion on which the inscriptions occur presenting a very irregular surface. The incised lines are from one quarter to one third of an inch deep, and from one half to three quarters of an inch broad. They are rudely executed, and appear to have been formed by repeated vertical blows, and not by means of a cutting tool held obliquely, and driven by a mallet. This mode of execution characterizes all the most ancient inscriptions which I have seen in Ireland; such, for instance, as the spiral lines and other patterns on the walls and roofs of the chambers in the mound of New Grange, and the strokes in the oldest Oghams. The circular hollows are, in general, about two inches in diameter, and vary in depth from half an inch to an inch.

In the hope of discovering other markings of the same kind, we procured the assistance of some labourers, and stripped a portion of the rock at a considerable distance from the principal group of circles (Fig. II. (a)). This ex-

periment was successful. It led to the discovery of three circles (Fig. II. (b)), which had previously been covered by turf three feet in thickness. These latter appeared better preserved than some of those traced on the already exposed parts of the stone. Further search leading to no result, we proceeded to examine the surrounding ground, and observed no feature of interest, with the exception of a large sloping face of rock, remarkably smooth, and infinitely better adapted for the purpose of inscription than the one upon which the circles are cut. It presented, however, no artificial markings.

The inscriptions of this kind which I have next to mention were

discovered by Lord DUNRAVEN and myself, near Ballynasare bridge, about six miles to the east of Dingle. They are two in number (Figs. III. and IV.), and, like those at Staigue bridge, are cut upon the surface of the natural rock. They present, however, distinctive features which deserve notice. Whilst all the circles on the rock at Staigue are perfect, several of those at Ballynasare are incomplete. Sometimes a short and slightly curved line, drawn from a small hollow

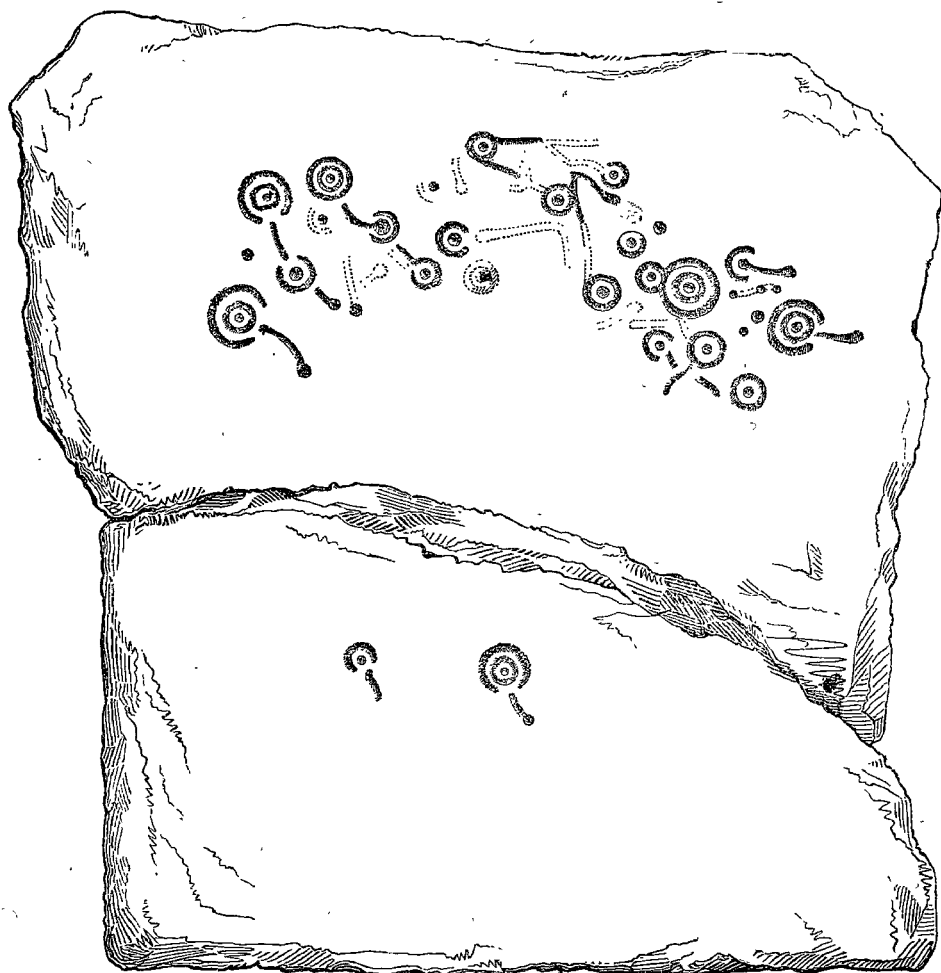


FIG. III.

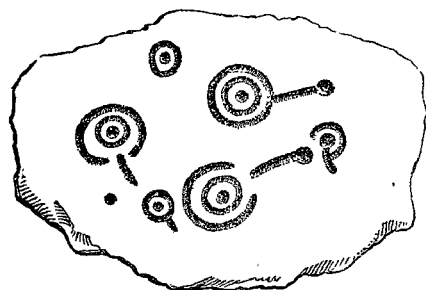


FIG. IV.

outside the circle to the central cup, passes through the open part of the circumference. More frequently, this line stops short just as it reaches the break in the circle.

The inscriptions which remain to be noticed are distinguished by the circumstance that they are found on detached stones, of different sizes. The most remarkable of them was discovered by Mr. HITCHCOCK in 1848 at Aghacarribble, not far from Ballynasare. It is cut on a large stone, which appears formerly to have stood erect, but which now rests in an oblique position, leaning against, and partly imbedded in a fence. Time has obliterated many of the markings on this curious monument, but their general character is obvious (Fig. V.). It is deserving of notice that in the immediate neighbourhood are many ancient remains of various kinds—standing stones, forts, and caves. In one of the latter are three Ogham inscriptions, and two incised crosses of a peculiar and primitive form.

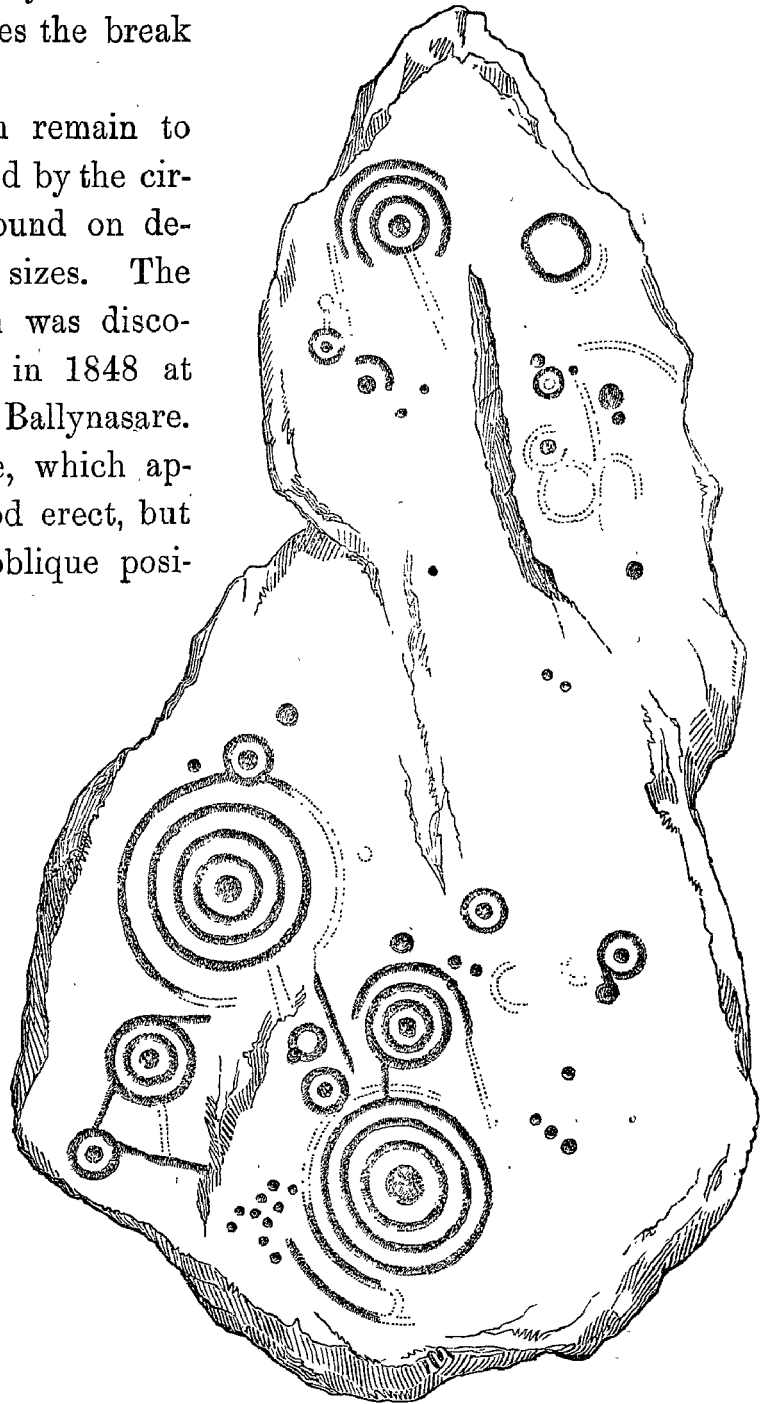


FIG. V.

In the neighbouring townland of Gowlane, Mr. HITCHCOCK found three

stones inscribed with circles (Figs. VI., VII. and VIII.). Two of these appear to be fragments of a larger monument, and it is probable that others will be discovered in the neighbourhood.

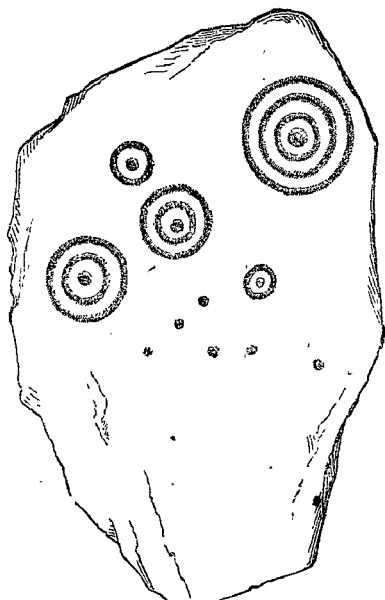


FIG. VI.

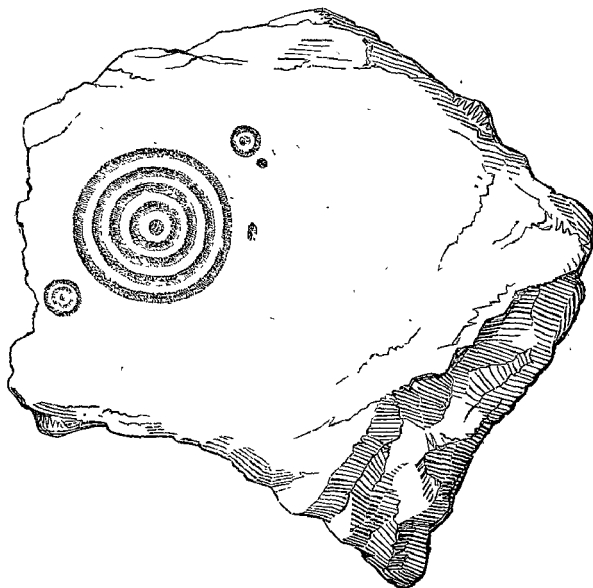


FIG. VII.

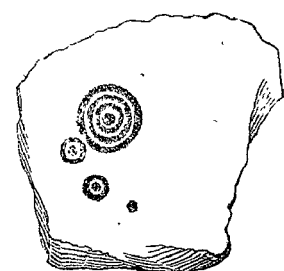
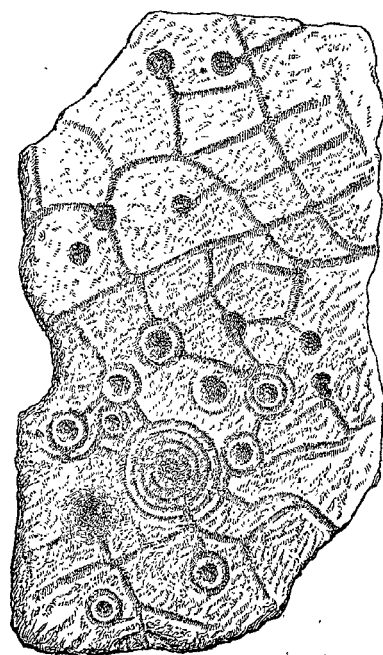


FIG. VIII.

In 1854, the rector of the parish of Kilcrohane, county of Kerry, informed me of the existence of one of these inscribed stones at Tullakeel, about two miles from Sneem. The monument is a large stone, forming part of a modern fence. The principal inscription upon it is on its south face (Fig. IX.); on the opposite face are two or three circles, of which I have not thought it worth while to make a drawing. In a field near this stone a considerable cave, such as is found in most of the Irish raths, was discovered by the farmer who rents the ground. We could see, however, no trace of a fort. On a small stone in an adjoining fence I found a rude carving of a short portion of a spiral. This circumstance appears deserving of notice, as I have



2.9 Feet.

FIG. IX.

as yet observed no spirals on any monuments belonging to the class described in this paper.

Not far from Staigue bridge, on a stone built into a fence, and close to the ruins of a stone fort, Mr. HITCHCOCK found a stone exhibiting two circles with some small shallow round holes (Fig. X.). Of this stone one may say with certainty that the inscription was cut upon it when it had its present size and form. It is rounded and water-worn, and clearly not a fragment of a larger inscribed stone or rock.

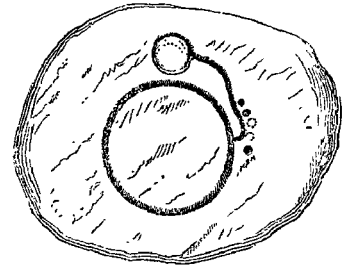


FIG. X.

Fig. XI. represents an inscribed monument, a drawing of which was communicated to me by Mr. WAKEMAN in 1854.

Fig. III., IV., V., VI., VII., VIII., X., XI., are drawn on a scale of half an inch to the foot.

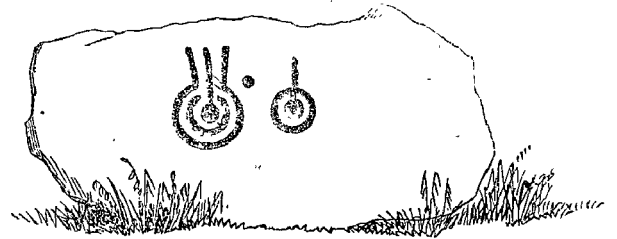


FIG. XI.

Having enumerated all the recently discovered monuments of this class, I must now refer to the only specimens of which, so far as I am aware, any previous notice has been taken.

The first of these is figured in Gough's Edition of Camden's "*Britannia*," vol. iii., p. 603 (London, 1789) (Fig. XII.); and the following note, at p. 645, describes the monument:—

"Fig. 13, pl. XLVII. represents a Druidical altar, discovered lying on the ground near the Rev. Mr. Hart's, at Lynsfort, on Inis Oen, 1773. The greatest length is 28 feet, in breadth 25. It is full of rock basons; * is a block on which the human victims were slain, and never seen on an altar before (Walker's '*Proposals for a Description of Ireland*,' 1774)."

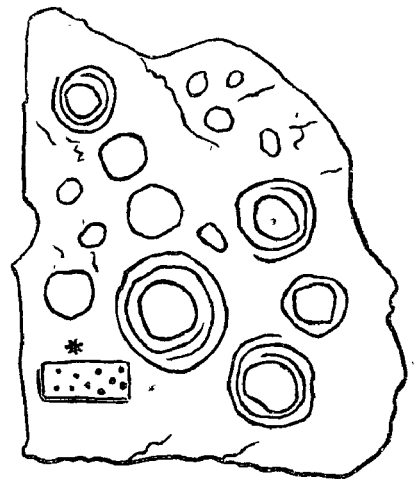


FIG. XII.

My attempts to obtain a copy of the prospectus from which this description is extracted have been unsuccessful; and my friends in Innishowen have been unable to identify the monument. If the

measurements given be correct, it is probable that a stone of such great size is still in existence. My friend Dr. Hart, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, has promised to have a careful search made for it. What Mr. WALKER says with reference to the use to which this monument was applied may be dismissed without further consideration. At the time when he wrote almost every ancient Irish monument was called *Druidical*; and every cromlech was an altar. We might, indeed, infer that the monument which he here describes was the covering stone of a very large but ruined cromlech.

The "Dublin Examiner" for October, 1816, contains a short article on Irish antiquities, by Dr. PETRIE, in which he gives engravings and a description of two ancient monuments exhibiting groups of concentric circles. Of the first (Fig. XIII.) he says:—

"No. 2 is a chiselled stone of mountain granite in the churchyard of Rathmichael, at Shankhill, near Loughlinstown, County Dublin; it is broken in the middle, and is

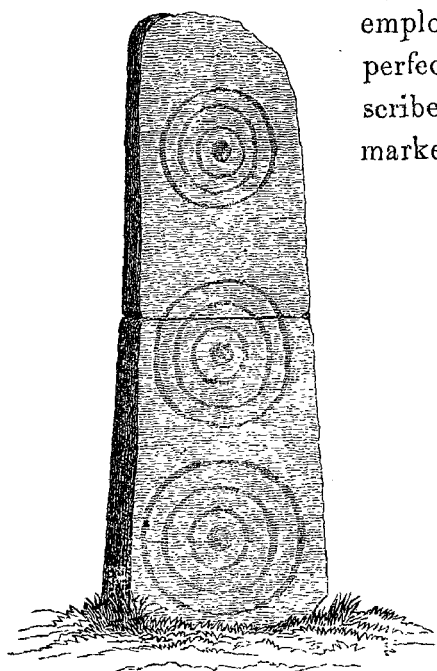


FIG. XIII.

employed as two head-stones. The inscription is deep and perfect. There are two or three other stones similarly inscribed; but less perfectly preserved; and it may be remarked that they are the only ones of the granite kind to be

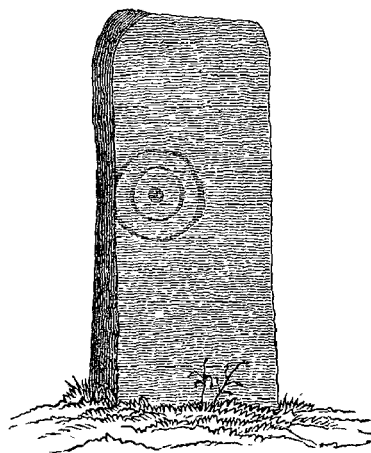


FIG. XIV.

met there, the building, as well as the mountain on which it stands, being of another description; from which it may be inferred that they were brought, perhaps, from a considerable distance, for the purpose to which they are now converted. Of the meaning of the symbol which is inscribed on these stones we are diffident of

hazarding a conjecture. We shall, however, mention that we have read somewhere that the ancient Irish represented the *Ti-mor*, or Great God, by a circle, and also by concentric circles and volutes; and that it was the opinion of a celebrated antiquary (General VALLANCEY), now deceased, with whom we have conversed on the subject, that such was the signification of such symbols. No. 3 (Fig. XIV.) is a symbol of the same kind in the churchyard of Croagh, about two miles beyond Rathfarnham."

Dr. PETRIE would now speak with less deference to the authority of General VALLANCEY; and I am much mistaken if he would not refer these monuments, which appear to be artificially squared, to the early Christian period. If I am right in assuming that they do not belong to the Pagan time, and that they were sepulchral stones, we shall be warranted in concluding that, whatever these symbols represent, there was an appropriateness in inscribing them on monuments of a sepulchral kind.

It may readily be imagined that the inscriptions here described have given rise to many speculations as to their nature. It was to be presumed that the persons who carved the inscriptions intended to represent circular objects of some kind or other. But what could these objects have been? Some have suggested shields. This notion seems inconsistent with the fact that the same stone presents so many circular symbols of different sizes, varying from the small shallow cup of an inch or two in diameter to the group of concentric circles two feet across. It also seems probable that, as shields in general used to bear distinctive devices, these would reappear in the inscriptions; but the inscribed circles exhibit no such variety as might have been expected on this hypothesis. Again, if the circles represented shields, what could be meant by the openings in the circumference of many of them (Figs. III. and IV). Lastly, what connexion could there be between the idea of shields and the long lines appearing in the Staigue monument, or the short ones on that at Ballynasare?

Another idea was, that these figures were designed to represent astronomical phenomena. This notion was perhaps the most obvious, and the least easily disproved. It harmonizes also with what has been handed down respecting the elemental worship of the Pagan Celts. Nevertheless, it seems open to obvious objections. In astronomical diagrams, one could hardly fail to recognise a single symbol conspicuous amongst the rest as denoting the sun or moon, or two such symbols denoting both these bodies. One might also expect to see some delineation, even by the rudest hand, of the phases of the moon. We look in vain for these indications of an astronomical reference in the groups of lines and circles figured above. Again, this supposition fails to account for the openings in the circles, and the lines which appear in connexion with them.

A countryman at Staigue bridge suggested that these circles were intended

to serve as moulds in which metal rings might be cast. This explanation is decisively negatived by the fact that the circles occur on parts of the rock which are not horizontal.

Another proposed the idea that the circles were used for the purpose of playing some game. The great dissimilarity which exists between the figures on the different stones renders this explanation improbable.

The idea which occurred to my own mind was, that the incised circles were intended to represent the circular buildings of earth or stone of which the traces still exist in every part of Ireland. This conjecture is supported by the following considerations :—

1. The circles are of different sizes; and some are disposed in concentric groups. The ancient dwellings and fortified seats of the ancient Irish were circular; they were of various sizes, from the small cloghan, or stone house of ten feet in diameter, to the great camp including an area of some acres; and the principal forts had several concentric *valla*.

2. The openings in the inscribed circles may have been intended to denote the entrances.

3. The other inscribed lines may have represented roads passing by or leading up to the forts.

The conjecture that these carvings were primitive maps, representing the disposition of the neighbouring forts, appeared to be a fanciful one; and, discouraged by the scepticism of the friends to whom I communicated it, I laid aside the drawings and rubbings for some years, hoping that some light might be thrown upon the subject by the discovery of monuments the purpose of which was more evident.

This expectation has not been fulfilled. Nevertheless, I have some hope that my original guess has been confirmed in such a way as to warrant me in submitting it for the judgment of our antiquaries.

In the course of last autumn, after a careful examination of the drawings, I came to the conclusion that the centres of the circles and the neighbouring cups and dots arrange themselves generally three by three in straight lines. This disposition of the symbols could not be said to be perfectly accurate; but I thought I could observe a close and designed approximation to it. If then the circles represent forts, and are disposed three by three in straight

lines on the inscribed stones, I saw that we might expect to find the forts disposed in like manner over the surface of the country; and I think that I have succeeded in verifying this inference. The ancient raths have fortunately been laid down on the six-inch Ordnance Survey Maps of Ireland; and, unless I am deceived by fortuitous collineations, I find that the forts are actually arranged three by three in straight lines. The discovery of this fact, if it be a fact, would be of much more consequence than the explanation of the meaning of the inscriptions of which I have just given an account. But this further inquiry must be conducted with care. Large portions of the country must be examined, and those difficulties must be confronted which the disappearance of ancient remains must inevitably give rise to.