

Oss. 199.

Mr. Milner





DISSERTATIONS
ON THE
HISTORY
OF
IRELAND.

To which is subjoined,

A DISSERTATION on the IRISH
COLONIES established in BRITAIN.

WITH SOME
REMARKS on Mr. *Mac Pherfon*'s Translation of
FINGAL and TEMORA.

By C. O'CONNOR, Esq.

D U B L I N :

Printed by G. FAULKNER in Parliament-street.

M DCC LXVI.



P R E F A C E.

THE Notice which some learned Men were pleased to take of the following Essays, in the first Draught, encouraged the Writer to offer a Second, as soon as new Materials were put into his Hands, for Additions and Emendations. He offers it with the greater Confidence, as several, who perused the former Endeavour, seemed to have received some Satisfaction from the Account he gave, and the Proofs he brought, of the early Use of Letters in this Island. Were that a probable, and much more, a real Fact, it would extend to a more interesting Enquiry, than what is produced by

a

bare

bare Curiosity ; it would prompt to a Desire of being informed further, whether that Art, which was reserved as a State Mystery in the neighbouring *Celtic* Countries, might not have been made subservient to philosophical Uses, that is, to the Improvement of the human Mind and Manners in our own ? It would be required, what this Improvement was, in Kind ; to what Degree it was carried ; and, finally, whether the Cultivation, whatever it was, can be dated from an earlier *Æra*, than that which introduced the *Roman* Language, with the *Christian Religion*, into this Country ?

Such Demands are reasonable, and were made. The first Hints have been communicated by Dr. SAMUEL JOHNSON, a Gentleman not more to be valued for great Extent of Knowledge and Genius, than for the Honour he has done, and the great Service he has rendered his native Country, by bringing most Nations more intimately acquainted with its Language and Literature. Far from joining in the current Prejudice against the present Subject, or oppressing the Writer who undertook it, with Censure, even where Censure was justly due, he approved of an Endeavour to revive (as far as they can be usefully revived) the antient Language and Literature

Literature of a Sister Isle (*a*), “ which was once the prime Seat of Learning in all *Christendom*.” The smallest Application from such a Man; was sufficient with the Dissertator to overlook many Discouragements which lay in his Way; and yet, his having it not in his Power to consult some old Manuscripts, scattered at present through various Countries; rendered a Compliance with Doctor *Johnson*’s Desires, a desperate Undertaking. The Sense of this, made him a long Time irresolute. Some worthy Persons, however, who have supplied him with new Materials, enabled him to resume the Subject. From these, and a more careful Review of his former Collections, he has extracted the following Essays; and it is obvious, that, with more Materials of the same Kind, he would have succeeded better. Such as it is, we are in Hope, that the present Endeavour will convey some useful Idea of the Origin, Improvement, and Decline of Government and Arts in this Island: Such an Idea, I mean, as may excite the Industry of an abler Hand, when *public* Spirit may co-operate in procuring faithful Copies of our dispersed old Chronicles; or when *private* Spirit may be sufficient, of itself, to ex-

(*a*) *Prideaux*’s Connect. of the Old and New Test. Vol. III. p. 341.

amine the Originals, in their several foreign Repositories.

The Introduction of Letters into an uncivilized Country, doth not infer the Cultivation of the human Mind therein. False Knowledge may be propagated, or none of any Kind may be communicated. In antient *Gaul*, Letters served no Uses, but those of Intrigue and private Correspondence among Men in Power. The Bulk of the People were Strangers to the Art ; and thus it was in *Cæsar's*, and probably long before, as well as long after his Time. Among a fierce and warlike People, Ignorance of Letters is never considered as any Disadvantage. Reflexion, wholly employed about the grosser Objects, becomes unfit for toiling in the finer Abstractions which lead to Knowledge. It is by early Discipline and the Force of Education alone, that such, or indeed any Men, are brought acquainted with the intellectual Powers ; and it is only when they take a Delight in the Exertion of those Powers, that Letters become the Instruments of Knowledge.

The Uses, to which Letters have been turned in *Ireland*, so differently from the Practice of other *Celtic* Countries, was not owing to a more happy local Genius among its Inhabitants ;

bitants; their heavy Climate, and other physical Causes, led rather to a slower Progress in intellectual Researches: But it was owing to a few great Men, particularly to ONE great Genius, who set the Example, that the Nation was in a Manner new molded. This was OLLAM FODHLA, who reigned long, and who, to the Authority of a great Monarch, joined the Influence of a great Philosopher, in forming the Minds of the national Youth. It was he who planned, regulated, and endowed the College of the Learned in *Teamor*; laid down a new System of Education; and made this the Model of the several provincial Schools, for cultivating the Arts intellectual, and military. The particular Regulations he made, and the Documents he gave, are little known at this Distance of Time; but may in Part be learned from the Spirit and Operation of subsequent Institutions. They were revived, on the Erection of the House of *Eamania*, and the Succession of *Hugony* the Great, whose Son, *Roigney Roscadach*, has been celebrated in all Ages for his Jurisprudence. These Arts have declined soon after, during the Contentions of unworthy Princes, whose Names are still preserved. In the Reign of *Concorvar Mac Nessa* over *Ulster*, the national Sciences were again re-established. In his Time, and through his Patronage, the Philosophy and

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Jurif-

Jurisprudence of the Nation were committed to the *Taibble Filca*, or wooden Tables of the Learned, as they were called. Judicial Proceedings, subjected before but too much to the arbitrary Decisions of the Judges, were now ascertained by written Records; and these Regulations were made some Time before the Commencement of the *Christian* Æra.

This Account bears the Marks of Authenticity: All our Remains of antient History are constant and invariable in the Representation. The *Ollambs* or *Fileas* (the Doctors of every Species of lettered Science) were, as is well known, an honorable Order in the State, and admitted into the intermediate legislative Department, between the Princes and subordinate Freemen. To these Sages was intrusted the Education of the national Chiefs; and, in some Conjunctions, their Order has been reformed, but never abolished; they were supported, respected, and but seldom disturbed, through the remaining Times, between *Concovar Mac Nessa*, and those which introduced the *Christian* Religion.

Such as oppose Nothing but mere negative Arguments to this Representation, have their Materials very cheap: But before they can shake the Truth of Facts, supported by the
constant

constant Manners and Customs of a Nation, as well as by written Accounts, uncontroverted through a long Series of Ages, they must bring some better Proofs, than such as arise out of bare Scepticism alone, or the Conjectures of which historical Scepticism is in particular so eminently fruitful.

Why such a Subject should remain so long disregarded among ourselves, may appear strange ; and yet it is far from being unaccountable. Another Spirit prevailed in the last Century. The learned Primate *Usher* studied some of our old Writings, and, from many Facts which he preserved, we find that his Labours were well rewarded. His learned Friend, Sir *James Ware*, made noble Collections for the History of his native Country ; and yet, through the Misfortune of understanding but little of its Language, and meeting with no skilful Interpreter, until the last Year of his Life, what he has published on the Antiquities of *Ireland* is very lame and defective, in many Particulars. The Information chiefly to be sought from the Records of antient Time, and for which alone they are worth examining, is wanting. In Facts not difficult to ascertain, he is not seldom mistaken ; and his Mistakes naturally produced his groundless Conjectures.

Keating's Work is a most injudicious Collection; the historical Part is degraded by the fabulous, with which it abounds. *Keating* was one of those laborious Readers, who, in making Extracts, do it without Selection or Discernment; and such Works (as the judicious *Mac-Firbis* (*b*) observes) ought never to be published. An easy flowing Style distinguishes this Writer; and even *that* is debased by many Vulgarisms in Language. It is but Justice, however, to inform the Reader, that his pretended Translator has hardly rendered him Justice, in a single Period, through the whole Work. The History given in *English*, under *Keating's* Name, is the grossest Imposition that has been ever yet obtruded on a learned Age.

Mr. *O'Flaberty* succeeded to *Ware* and *Keating*, in these Researches. His technical Chronology is the most accurate that any ancient Northern Nation can boast. He computed chiefly by the Generations of the *Heremonian*

(*b*) In a Letter to Dr. *Lynch*, the Author of *Cambrensis Eversus*:—Mr. *Mac Firbis's* Account of the principal *English* and *Irish* Families of *Ireland*, has been lately purchased for the Lord *Jocelyn*. Some twenty Pages of the Work, which have been long since injuriously cut out of the Volume, have fallen into the Hands of the Writer of the following Dissertations, and shall be transmitted to his Lordship, that the Work of so eminent an Antiquarian, all written by his own Hand, may be restored to its original Integrity.

remonian Monarchs; by the Duration of their Reigns; and particularly, by the Successions of the Kings of *Eamania*; taking as much from *Flan* of *Bute*, *Eochy O'Flin*, *G. Coeman*, and *G. Moduda*, as contributed to support the chronological Canons he established, on the Successions and Genealogies of our Princes. This Accuracy (for so it may be called) furnishes an additional Proof, that the Annals of the Nation were, from a very early Age, committed to Writing. Blind Tradition, or ulterior Invention, could never, in Ages of Simplicity, and so distant from each other, concur in so many Marks of Authenticity, as Mr. *O'Flaberty* has collected for the Ascertainment of his Chronology.

It must, however, be confessed, that through the Mistakes of Transcribers, (which are ever greatest in all numerical Serieses) and through some (perhaps) wilful Interpolations in the genealogical Lines, Mr. *O'Flaberty* could not avoid falling into Anachronisms; and in such a Case, one superinduces another. It is only when he comes to the Time of *Tuatbal Teachtmar*, that he approaches nearest to Certainty. That Monarch's Reign constitutes a new *Æra* of Accuracy in History and Chronology.

Mr.

Mr. *O'Flaberty* promised to give us the Annals of the Christian Ages, down to the Diffolution of the Monarchy; but, through the many Discouragements which intervened, that Work never appeared. We have seen but a small Part of it, in his own Hand-writing, and found in the Study of his great Friend and Patron, Colonel *Terence Mac Donagh*, of *Creevagh*, in the County of *Sligoe*. Should the Whole be still preserved, it would be a valuable Acquisition to the Public.

Several of this excellent Antiquarian's Papers have been dispersed into private Hands, since his Death; and some have been lately discovered in *Galway*, of which the Writer of the following Dissertations has been refused the Perusal. He can therefore pronounce no Judgment on the Contents. He can only express his Apprehensions for the learned Author's Reputation; lest any of his loose Papers (for several such we have seen and possess) should be offered for Publication, without receiving his own last Corrections.

Many Remains of our antient History have been lately discovered. From the Account communicated this Year by Dr. *Swinton*, Professor

fessor of oriental Languages in *Oxford*, the
Irish Collection in the *Bodleian* Library is
 very considerable. The Manuscripts collect-
 ed by that celebrated Antiquarian, Mr. *Lluid*,
 are in the Hands of Sir *John Sebright*, and
 accessible, through the Indulgence of the
 worthy Possessor. Several Manuscripts of
 the *Chandos* Library, have been recovered
 also: And we have the Pleasure of informing
 the Public, that, among all these Collections,
 none can excel that of *Trinity-College* here
 in our own Country; as it has been lately
 enriched by the *Ulster*, *Clonmacnose*, and
 (c) *Donegal* Annals; with several curious
 Tracts from the late Dr. *Fergus's* Library.
 The Principals of the University have, on
 this Occasion, exerted a Spirit worthy of
 them, and of the Seat of Learning over
 which they so worthily preside. Nor must
 the particular Attention of Dr. *Leland*, to
 this Point, be concealed; as it was to his Care
 we owe it, that these old original Chronicles
 have not *again* fallen into private Hands.
 He, who has put so much of the antient Li-
 terature of his native Country in the Way of
 being preserved, has conferred a new Ob-
 ligation on the Public; an Obligation in-
 deed due to it, as it has done so much Jus-
 tice to his own excellent Compositions.

From

(c) Commonly called the *Annals of the Four Masters*.

From such a Spirit as we have seen exerted, much may be expected: It promises what the late Dr. *O'Sullivan* intended to propose; some public Establishment for preserving the *Celtic* Dialects, once spoken in these Islands, and as much of the Contents of our old Writings as may be found useful. Without some Establishment of this Kind, it is much to be apprehended, that those Writings, through Ignorance of the Language, will be lost to Posterity. Like the Weapons of the Antients, in a royal Armory, they will barely remain to be looked at; never to be taken down for Use.

The Mention of Dr. *O'Sullivan*, reminds us of the greatest Loss the Public could sustain, relatively to our antient Literature. After entering into the Genius, and conquering all the Difficulties, of our old Language, he made noble Collections of *Irish* Law Placits and Annals; which, some Time before his Death, he was explaining by a literal Translation into the *Latin* Tongue, and which he intended as a Legacy to our University-Library. To that learned and worthy Man, the Writer of the following Dissertations is indebted, for considerable Corrections in the Topographical Section; and the Public is a
 Loser

Lofer, by his not being at Leisure to make Corrections in every other.

It is a Pleasure to own such Obligations; and the Acknowledgement is due, in a particular Manner, to the Earl of MOIRA, who supplied the Writer with some curious and valuable Manuscripts, from the County of *Antrim*. When Undertakings on this Subject are equally encouraged by Persons of his Lordship's Rank, it will not be long a Reproach, that this is the only Country in *Europe*, whose History is slighted at home, and unknown every where else.

To one who fell into so unbeaten a Track, Nothing can be more gratifying than the Countenance and Encouragement of Men, whose own Writings will edify future, as they do the present Times. In this Number, the Writer must justly place *E. Burke*, Esq; Representative in the *British* Parliament, for *Wendover*: And he is under particular Obligations to the learned and worthy Dr. *Delany*, Dean of *Downe*, who accidentally perused some of the Sheets, as they came from the Press; and who, to his Approbation, has joined Acts of Friendship, which can never be forgotten. Among other Instances, he supplied the Writer with *Irish* Comments on the Aphorisms of *Hippocrates*, written in the 13th Century; and, though such

Works

Works do not contribute to cast any Lights on our antient History; yet they remain as an additional Proof of our Attention to the Sciences, even in the Days of Anarchy. In Truth, our People were in no Time Savages; what Mr. HUME represents them to have been. Their Barbarism, in later Ages, was owing to a civil State, the worst that can possibly exist; but the Force of Manners did in some Degree remedy the Evil; nor were they greater Barbarians, than some of their Neighbour-Nations.

To the Rev. Dr. WARNER, of *Barnes* in *Surry*, the Writer owes the strongest Acknowledgements, for setting him right, in some Parts of this Undertaking, and reminding him, in others, of Mistakes which he committed in the first Draught of it. That learned Gentleman has already published one Volume of the History of *Ireland*, from the earliest Records of Time, to the *English* Invasion. In that, as in other Works, he has given Proofs of his historical Abilities: And it is with great Satisfaction we can inform the Public, that he is now employed in writing the History of the Rebellion, in *Ireland*, during the Reign of *Charles* I. continued to the final Settlement under *Charles* II. It is the most interesting

teresting Period in our whole History; and as the Author has collected abundant Materials for so important a Work, we can have no Doubt but that he will meet with sufficient Encouragement in both Kingdoms.

Far from omitting his obligations to Dr. CURRY, the Writer of the Dissertations acknowledges them in the most grateful Manner. He has experienced, and felt, the Advantage of the most free Communication with so warm and learned a Friend; of whose Instructions he availed himself, and whose historical Collections were at all Times open to him.

To Mr. O'MORE of *Ballina*, in the County of *Kildare*, he is obliged, for some judicious Remarks upon our *Eric* and *Tanist* Laws; and it is no small Part of his Happiness to possess the Friendship of a Gentleman, who inherits Endowments over which Fortune can exert no Power; the Legacies of paternal and maternal Ancestors, who have adorned the Annals of this Island.

To conclude: If the Substance of what is advanced in the following Sheets, be supported

ported by the proper Proofs; the Subject, that of a lettered and thinking People, secluded many Ages from any Communication with the lettered Nations on the Continent, cannot be unimportant.—To know Man through the several Revolutions of Government, Opinion and Manners; to survey him on every Stage, where intellectual Nature has been improved, or depraved, by Education; to consider him under the Influence of Climate, or Tyranny of Custom; in a Word, to detect him truly, where philosophical Theory may mistake or misrepresent him, is important, most certainly. To get through so intricate a Maze, no Clue can be more useful, than that which History puts into our Hands; and the Idea lately propagated, that the Records of these Northern Countries, before the Resurrection of Letters in the sixteenth Century, are not worthy of Attention, cannot be supported. It is a Strain of Affectation, and one of those Paradoxes, which, by degrading the Judgment of a *great* Genius, keeps inferior Abilities in Countenance.

Little more need be added. The last Section of the former Dissertations, as belonging to modern Times, is omitted in the present Edition. The Observations on the Poems of FINGAL and TEMORA, stand
in

in Need of no Apology; as this Subject on the antient *Scotish* History, is still so little known to the Public, and as the Idea propagated by the Translator of those Poems, that they are Compositions (for Writings they are not pretended to be) of the third Century, would affect the Credit due to our antient Chronicles, which are absolutely silent about FINGAL, and the Kingdom wherein it is pretended he reigned. They are, in Truth, the Compositions of later Times, and would come better recommended, by some Attention to our antient Manners and Customs. Historical Merit they have none; and it was proper to shew, that the Translator built upon no better Foundation, than his Predecessors of the *Lowlands*, whose Hypothesis, after a warm Controversy of more than an hundred Years, has been finally abandoned, as indefensible.

After the following Sheets were printed off, a Friend expressed a Wish, that a few more explanatory Notes had been inserted, for the Use of such Foreigners as might have a Curiosity to peruse the Work. The Truth is, when we treat of Matters familiar to ourselves at Home, we rather fear an

* a

Excess,

Excess, than any Deficiency, in our marginal Illustrations. We think it impertinent to explain what is too well known to the Generality of Readers; without considering that some are Strangers to the whole Matter, or that all may be so, perhaps, in another Age. Upon the Whole, however, the Writer trusts that his Omissions, in this Particular, are but few and inconsiderable. It remains only to inform his Readers, in general, that, to avoid the Trouble of frequent References and Quotations, most of what he says of the *Christian Ages*, is extracted principally from the *Annals of the Four Masters*.

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Errata in the *Dissertations* on the History of *Ireland*.

Page 21. Line 25, *for* of, *read* for.

42. l. 18, *for* Phenecians, *read*
Phœnicians.

43, l. 11, *for* Ferbolgs, *r.* Firbolgs.

76, l. 9, *after* brought, *insert* up.

108, Note (p.) *for* Typographer, *r.*

Topographer.

116, l. 1, of the Note, *for* oddi-
tus, *r.* aditus.

126, l. 14, *dele* twenty.

177, l. 8, *for* its, *r.* his.

217, l. 14, *for* Aumirey, *r.* Anmirey.

246, l. 4, *after* and, *insert* his.

266, l. 12, *for* Lock-hannin, *read*
Loch-hannin.

278. *For* Sect. XIX, *r.* Sect. XX.

287, in the Note, *for* aurence, *read*
Laurence.

Errata in the *Dissertations* on the History of *Scotland*.

Page 6, Note (d) *for* Primo d, *r.* Primord.

8, Line 8, *for* Soots, *r.* Scots.

10, l. 12, *for* founded, *r.* founded.

38, l. 24, *for* Conor, *r.* Conar.

Some few other literal Errors have escaped
Notice ; but they are such as cannot set a
Reader astray in the Meaning of the Words.

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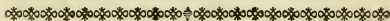
1891
1892

The *Iris* Alphabet is to be placed
by the Binder between Folios 36
and 37.

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DISSERTATIONS
ON THE
HISTORY
OF
IRELAND.



SECTION I.

General Idea of the Subject.

WHEN we consider the Position of this Island, in the Extremity of the West, and extending beyond fifty-five Degrees of North-Latitude, we will abstractedly form no advantageous Idea of it's Climate or Soil. The westerly Winds, so favourable to other Regions, and so benign even in this, by qualifying

B

lifying the Rigour of the northern Air, are yet hurtful in the Extreme. Meeting with no Lands on this Side of *America*, to break their Force, and proving in the general too powerful for the Counter-action of the shifting Winds from the Eastern and *African* Continents; they waft hither the Vapours of an immense Ocean. Our Sky is hereby much obscured; and, from the Nature of Rest and Condensation, these Vapours descend in such constant Rains, as threaten Destruction to the Fruits of the Earth, in some Seasons. This unavoidable Evil, from natural Causes, is aggravated by the Increase of it, from other Causes, which are absolutely either moral, or political. The Hand of Industry hath been long idle in a Country, where almost every Advantage must be obtained from it's Labour, and where Discouragements on the Labourer must necessarily produce a State of Languor, equally hurtful to the Prosperity and Manners of every Nation. Ever since the Neglect of Agriculture in the ninth Century, the Rains of so many Ages subsiding on the lower Grounds, have converted most of our extensive Plains into mossy Morasses. Near a tenth Part of this beautiful Isle is become a Repository for stagnated Waters, which, in the Course of Evaporation, impregnate our Air with noxious Exhalations, and in some Seasons prove the

Causes

HISTORY of IRELAND. 3

Causes of Contagions among Beasts, and of epidemic Disorders among Men. Thus is Vegetation weakened, and animal Life shortened, by an Excess of Humidity: A Misfortune the more grating; as it might, in a great Degree, be prevented (*a*) by the Application of human Industry, particularly in a Country protected by the Fleets and Armies of another mighty Nation, and secure by it's Situation, beyond any other Country in *Europe*.

WITH these Disadvantages attending our Climate and Soil, we will, however, hardly find any Island on the Globe happier (*b*) in both. It's Seasons, though subject to several Variations, are in the mean extremely temperate; and the Face of Nature exhibits almost the Verdure of the Spring in the severest. Some Winters approach to the genial Warmth of Summer, and some Years afford a Temperature not to be felt in any other northern Country. The dreadful Frosts and deep Snows of the parallel Regions, on the Continent, hardly ever affect it; and the great

B 2

Droughts

(*a*) See Doctor *Warner's* Introd. to the Hist. of *Ireland*, P. 23, 37, 70, 102, 107, 108.

(*b*) Hæc propior *Britanniæ*, spatia terrarum angustior, sed coeli solique temperie magis utilis. *Oros. lib. 14, cap. 6.*

Hibernia autem salubritate ac serenitate aërum multum *Britanniæ* præstat. *Bed. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 1, cap. 1*

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Droughts of the more southern, are as seldom experienced.

THESE natural Advantages are not more remarkable than the Commodiousness of it's Ports and Harbours, it's numerous Lakes, fine Rivers, and fruitful Coasts. Every Element offers us large Contributions. Our immediate Wants may be easily supplied. Our Stores are inexhaustible ; and *North-America* has been discovered. From our Situation, the Commerce of the Old and New World comes, in a Manner, within our Grasp, and our Industry is excited, as our Prospect is enlarged. Certain it is, that, under far inferior Advantages, the antient Natives of this Country figured in the Commerce and politer Arts of their own Times.

THOSE Accidents which create a national Spirit of Improvement, opened this Commerce, and the Constitution of Government, defective as it was, favoured it. The peculiar natural Advantages which were the Foundation, were the Guards of it; a Sort of impregnable Barrier in Time of War; the Nurse of Navigation, Arts and Industry, in Time of Repose; Instances of which might be given even in the long Course of the *Norman War*; when *Ireland* stood it's Ground, amidst domestic Factions, against the bravest People then

then in the World, the Conquerors of *France* and *England*. Thus hath indulgent Nature, in all Times, and legislative Wisdom, in particular Periods, provided for the Happiness of our Predecessors, while any Virtue remained among them. The Materials of true Opulence were scattered around them, without those Incentives to Laziness, which first enervate, and in the End destroy, Nations, who acquire great Wealth with little Labour,

SUCH is the Country, of whose old Inhabitants we propose to convey some Idea in the subsequent Essays: In their Infancy, a martial and free, in their Progress, an industrious and legislating, People: In their Prosperity, learned, religious, hospitable; in every Period, factious and turbulent.—An important and interesting Subject; exhibiting, under sundry Views, the Effects of Liberty and Faction; the Abuses of the former, from the ill Exertion of aristocratical Power; the Miseries of the latter, from the Intemperance of the People; the one burdensome, the other ill directed; and both ending ultimately in the Dissolution of a weak Monarchy.

THIS remote Island was little known to the learned Nations of *Europe*, until the Times in which the Spirit of the Gospel discovered Places, hitherto impervious to that

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of Tyranny and Conquest. We consequently find the learned World almost silent about it; furnishing us indeed with some few glimmering Truths; but discovering their Ignorance greatly, (like the later Voyagers of the sixteenth and seventeenth Centuries) by (c) arbitrary Descriptions of the Land, as well as of the People; supposing These unpolished and barbarous, and representing That as all over frozen and intemperate.

THIS Want of Intercourse with the Sciences of *Greece* and *Rome*, was, in many Respects, a great Disadvantage; a Counterbalance of Evil to the continued State of Independence, which the Inhabitants of this Isle enjoyed. We will, notwithstanding, find the Inhabitants deriving great Glory from this very Disadvantage, supplying their own Wants from the Stores of native Nature, exhibiting in a remote Corner of the Earth a peculiar

(c) Du tems de *Strabon*, qui vivoit aussi dans le premier Siecle, les *Romains* ne connoissoient pas l'*Irlande* &c que, comme l'assure *Nicholson*, dans sa *Bibliotheque Irlandaise*, ces auteurs, ne sçachant qu'en dire, avoient hasardé ces traits sur les recits de quelques matelots, qui avoient peut-être échoué sur les côtes de cette île, ou les habitans devoient être alors ce qu'ils sont encore aujourd'hui chez les nations le plus policées, c'est-à-dire, durs et ferores a l'égard de ceux qui font naufrage sur leurs-terres. *Hist. de l'Irlande*, par M. l'Abbe *MacGeoghgan*. Tom. 1. p. 43.

peculiar System of Knowledge, and in this Respect standing singular among all the northern Nations.

CURIOSITY alone will be busy in making Discoveries what such a secluded, untaught People could produce by their own natural Strength; and an higher Principle will be anxious about the History and Fate of a free Nation, who have been established here, several Ages before the *Christian* Æra, and who have, soon after, made so distinguished a Figure in *Europe*.

AT this Distance of Time, we cannot be as particular, on so interesting a Subject, as such a Subject requires. The several Invasions and subsequent Confusions in this Country, for eight hundred Years past, caused such a Destruction of our Records and Archives, as hardly any other, but that of the People, whose Story they conveyed, could equal. The Remains of those Records, like Inscriptions on old Medals and broken Columns, are all we have now to trust to; and even these have but a bad Chance to outlive another Generation. Like Men who draw the Advantages of Life from small Funds, Historians of remote Ages must be content with what Fortune throws in their Way: And the Merit of the present Attempt, if it

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hath any, consists in gathering up some Parts of our historical Wreck, and examining how far they may be depended upon, as authentic Materials, such as distinguish History from Fable, and Truth from that romantic Antiquity, which Vanity only bestows, and which a small Degree of Sagacity detects.

SECT.

S E C T. II.

The Original of the antient SCOTS.

SUCH as are in the least conversant with the primeval Accounts of antient Kingdoms, cannot be ignorant of the several marvelous Relations that many Nations have fallen into, from a Passion for an early and heroic Antiquity. The antient Inhabitants of *Ireland* have not fallen short of their Ancestors, the old *Spaniards*, in these Pretensions: And the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans* and *Greeks*, have surpassed both: However, as the Traditions of the latter Nations have challenged the Attention of the most eminent Antiquaries and Critics, in pointing out the Authenticity of some antient Facts, and ascertaining the Chronology arising from them, we expect an equal Indulgence to the first Reports of our Bards and Fileas; so that we can give Proof of the Use of Letters in *Ireland*, as early, or near, as in any other *European* Country. It will be easily seen, that, without such a Testimony, our Pretensions must appear as groundless

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groundless as those of our (c) Neighbour-
land of *Britain*, of which little is known
before the Entrance of *Julius Cæsar*.

OF all the old *Scythian*, or *Celtic* Nations,
the antient *Spaniards* were the most martial
and free, the most humanized by Letters, and
the most conversant with the *Egyptians*, *Phæ-
nicians*, and *Grecians*. From that Nation,
our *Gadelian*, or *Scotish* Colony, (e) derive
their Original. Foreign Authorities on this
Subject concur in the same Account; and an
Identity of Language and Customs confirms
it. A Fact of this Notoriety will easily ac-
count for the Use of Letters and Arts in *Ire-
land*, where great Security from foreign Con-
quest retained them, and where the Man-
ners of the People, and the Form of Govern-
ment, rendered the Cultivation of them ne-
cessary.

(d) Apud omnes *Britannorum* nationes, tanta fuit
scriptorum penuria, ut, ante *Romanorum* illuc adventum,
omnia silentiis vastis tenebris conspulta jacuerunt. —
Buchan. lib. 2. p. 38.

(e) Novissimè venerunt *Scoti* a partibus *Hispaniæ* ad
Hiberniam. *Nenn.*

Primum omnium constans fama est (quamplurima
etiam indicia confirmant) *Hispanorum* multitudinem,
sive a potentioribus domi pulsam, sive abundante sobole,
ultra profectam, in *Hiberniam* transmisisse. *Buchan.*
lib. 3. p. 88.

Interea *Scotis* (id enim universæ genti nomen erat)
per *Æbudæ* insulas fines propagantibus, &c. ib.

cessary. These Advantages very naturally gave Rise to History; and the Fragments which remain show the early Use of it, from it's Preservation of some Facts, which throw back Lights on those antient *Spaniards*, who, to use the Words of the *Universal History*,
 “ were a brave, free, noble, and hospitable
 “ Nation; possessed of all the Virtues of the
 “ old *Celts*, and inheriting fewer of their Vices,
 “ than any other of their Descendants.”

To evince the *Spanish* Original of our *Iberian (f) Scots*, it will be necessary to recur to the Traditions of our earlier Bards, as they have been collected by *Corbmac Mac Cullinan*,
 King

(f) Although the Name of *Scots* was not used by the *Greeks*, before the third Century, nor by the *Romans*, before the fourth; yet it has been in all Ages preserved among the Natives themselves. In the genealogical Line of *Milea*, or *Milesius*, the *Spaniard*, we find them drawing their Original from a supposed *Heber Scot*, or *Scut*; what points out evidently a Memory of their *Ibero-Scythian* Original. They derive also from a celebrated *Breogbain*; what points out with equal Evidence the Original of the *Scoto-Brigantes*, or *Scuta-Brigantes*, mentioned by *Seneca*, in his Satire upon *Claudius*. The Natives, in their different Flexions, write *Scot* and *Scuit*; and the Correction of *Scaliger*, in his Notes upon *Propertius*, and Animadversions on *Eusebius*, turning *Scuta-Brigantes* into *Scoto-Brigantes*, seems unnecessary; as either Word amounts to the same Signification. *Scaliger's* Notion, however, has it's Use; by giving us a Conviction, that the Word *Scot*, or *Scuit*, was not absolutely unknown to the *Romans*, even in *Seneca's* Time.

King and Archbishop of *Munster* in the ninth Century, as well as by the antient Author of the *Leabar Gabala*. Here, the Leaders of this *Spanish* Colony are represented as descended from a long List of Heroes, who figured in *Egypt*, and filled the Continent with their Fame and Exploits. This Account, taken from our Bards and Fileas, is mixed with much Fable certainly; and we need not doubt of the Corruption of the Stream, as it is mixed with the Currents of succeeding Ages: It is enough that it was clear in it's Source, and that the chiefest Heroes mentioned by our old Bards, were equally celebrated with the Traditions of other learned Nations.

AFTER a diligent Examination of our fabulous and mythological History, I sought whether any Parts of it could be supported by parallel Accounts from other antient and lettered Nations, who lived on the Continent. I thought such a Scrutiny the more necessary, as the original Reports of so remote a People as those of *Ireland*, must, upon the first View, appear equally suspicious, as those of all the other northern Countries. The Satisfaction I received from this Enquiry, has, indeed, greatly exceeded my Expectation.

I OWN with great Pleasure, that my Lights in these parallel Researches were chiefly owing

ing to the System of Antiquities and Chronology left us by the late Sir *Isaac Newton*. It is he, and I think he only, who gives the most authentic and rational Account of the Introduction of Arts, Letters and Sciences into *Europe*; and it is to his, and to his chiefly, that the *Scotish* Accounts of these Matters can be reconciled. See here, then, an additional and an unexpected Degree of Credit brought home to our earlier Accounts; and this without the least Design, nay contrary to the Intention, of the Great Author, to whom we owe it! The Learned of *Europe* stood aghast, amazed at the Novelty of *Newton's* System! And who can, without equal Admiration, behold a secluded northern Nation, the remotest in the West, transmitting such Relations, as prove a Comment and Support to that very System?

As it is impossible that such an Agreement should happen from Concert, or start from Chance, the Consideration of it in Detail will be important. We will previously exhibit, in opposite Columns, a short View of this Connexion.

The earliest Accounts of foreign Nations (as illustrated by Sir *Isaac Newton*) compared with those of *Ireland*.

Foreign Testimonies.

I.

(g) An emigrant Colony of *Iberians*, from the Borders of the *Euxine* and *Caspian* Seas, settled antiently in *Spain*.

II.

(b) A Colony of *Spaniards*, by the Name of *Scots*, or *Scythians*, settled in *Ireland*, in the fourth Age of the World.

The native Files.

I.

(g) The *Iberian Scots*, bordering originally on the *Euxine* Sea, were expelled their Country; and, after various Adventures, settled ultimately in *Spain*.

II.

(b) *Kinea Scuit* (the *Scots*) and the Posterity of *Eber Scot* (*Iberian Scythians*) were a Colony of *Spaniards* who settled in *Ireland*, about a thousand Years before *Christ*.

(i) The

(g) *Iberorum Coloni Europam profecti, nomen derunt Ibero, Hispaniae flumini, atque Hispaniam ipsam tenuerunt. Rues ex Appian. in Aeneid. lib. 9. ad v. 582.*

(b) Vid. *Newton. Chronolog. Dub. Edit. p. 10. Buchan. Rer. Scotic. p. 88.*

(g) *Leabar-Gabala. Part. I. Ket. Mss. lib. 1.*

(b) *Leb-Gabala passim. Ogyg. Exter. p. 83. et passim. Dissert. Historic. R. P. Vard. p. 318.*

III.

(i) The *Phœnicians*, who first introduced Letters and Arts into *Europe*, had an early Commerce with the *Iberian Spaniards*.

IV.

(k) *Nil, Belus, Si- bor, Ofibor, Tboth, Ogmios, &c.* were *Egyptian* Warriors, who filled the World with the Fame of their Exploits.

V.

(l) The *Egyptian* Conqueror of *Spain* got the emphatical Name of the Hero, or *Hercules*.

III.

(i) The antient *Iberian Scots* learned the Use of Letters from a celebrated *Phenius*, from whom they took the Name of *Phenii*, or *Phenicians*.

IV.

(k) *Niul, Bile, Sru, Afru, Tat* and *Ogaman*, were mighty in *Egypt*, and several other Countries.

V.

(l) A great Hero, famous in *Egypt*, obtained the Name of *Golamb* and *Milea Espainne*, i. e. the Conqueror, or Hero, of *Spain*.

(m) *Nil*

(i) *Strab.* lib. 3. *Univerf Hist.* Vol. 18. p. 382, 383

(k) *Newton.* Chron. *paſſim*

(l) *Ibid.*

(i) *Leb-Gabala.* part. I. *Ogyg.* p. 63.

(k) *Leb-Gabala.* ubi *ſupra paſſim.*

(l) *Ibid.* et omnes noſtri.

VI.

(*m*) *Nil, Sibor, Osi-*
kor, &c. succeeded to
 the *Phœnicians* in cul-
 tivating and instructing
 several Nations.

VII.

(*n*) In the Days of
 the first *Hercules*, or
Egyptian Conqueror
 of *Spain*, a great
 Drought parched up
 several Countries.

(*m*) *Id. passim.*

(*n*) *Id. p. 98. 231.*

VI.

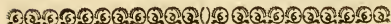
(*m*) *Niul, Sru, Af-*
ru, &c. succeeded to
 the *Phœnicians* in teaching
 the Use of Arts and
 Letters.

VII.

(*n*) The Conquest
 of *Spain*, together with
 a great Drought,
 forced the *Iberian*
Scuits, or Scots, to fly
 into *Ireland*.

(*m*) *Leb-Gabala et Ket.*
ex Psalt. Cormaci Mac Cu-
linan, Momoniarum Regis,
et Archipræfulis.

(*n*) *Ogyg. Domest. p. 182.*



THE foregoing parallel Relations are ex-
 tremely remarkable, and deserve a particular
 Illustration.

It being (o) a Fact unquestionable, that Arts, Navigation and Letters, were first taught in *Europe* by the *Phenicians*; the constant Tradition of our Bards, that a celebrated *Pbenius* instructed our Ancestors on the Continent, in a very early Age, is well supported. (p) It denotes a very early Intercourse between the *Iberian Spaniards* and the *Phenicians*. The Retention of some Part of the *Phenician* Alphabet in the *Irish* BETH-LUISNION, is, perhaps, a stronger Proof of this Intercourse, than any other written Record of fabulous Antiquity.

LET us endeavour (what hath not been hitherto attempted) to show that the Accounts of the Fileas, in Regard to the celebrated Heroes, *Niul, Sru, Afru, Bile, Ogaman*, &c. are not without a Foundation, in the Truths which have been preserved by the antient Poets and Historians of the learned Nations.

C

NEWTON

(o) Vid. *Newton. Chron. passim* --- 2. *Curt. lib. 4. cap. 4.*

(p) In *Hispania* vero *Græcis*, et ante eos *Phœnicibus*, qui interni maris occupaverunt littora, et unis é Barbaris (ut *Strabo* scribit) *Turdetanis*, fuit quidem literarum usus. *Buchan. lib. 2. p. 38.*

These *Turdetani*, or properly *Turduli*, were doubtless from the same Celtic Stock with the antient *Gadelians*, as their *Scotish* Name sufficiently evinces.

NEWTON informs us, from unquestionable Authorities, that, soon after the Dispersion of the *Phenicians* into the Countries bordering on the *Mediterranean*, the great *Egyptian Sesostris* began his Conquests, subjected most Parts of the known Earth, and carried *Spain*, among the rest, in the Tide of his Victories.

(*q*) Venit ad Occasum mundique extrema
SESOSTRIS.

SPAIN, improved already by the Instructions of the *Phenicians*, must now avail herself somewhat of the Knowledge of the *Egyptians*, then the wisest, as well as mightiest, People on Earth. — The farther we proceed in the present Disquisition, the more we will find the Evidence of this Fact opening upon us.

THE History of (*r*) *Sesostris*, saith *Newton*, has been greatly obscured, in the several fabulous and confused Accounts of *Mars*, *Bacchus*, *Belus*, *Hercules*, *Sihor*, *Ofikor*, *Nilus*, *Dionisius*, &c. And these, he is certain, were but different Names given by different Nations to this one Conqueror, who multiplied

(*q*) *Lucan.* lib. 10.

() *Newton.* Chron. passim.

plied his Appellations with his Conquests, and flourished in the Days of *Solomon*, when ascititious and patronimic Names were imposed in various Countries, according to the Nature of the great Actions then performed. Our antient Bards, however, like the antient Poets of *Greece*, and other Countries, represent such as they retained of the above-mentioned Names as so many different Heroes, who merited a Rank among the Gods, and who rendered themselves famous on the Score of their Arts, Navigations and Exploits. It is extremely probable, that all these Relations of the foreign Poets and native Bards, belong only to one or two great Heroes of that early Age; and *Newton* is positive, that the Fact is unquestionable.

THE most material Facts delivered of *Nil*, *Sibor*, *Ofibor*, *Toth*, *Belus*, *Dionisius*, and *Orus*, are related of our *Sru*, *Afru*, *Ogaman*, *Tait*, *Bile*, *Don* and *Ir*. (s) These Heroes are reported to be great in *Egypt*, and other Countries: That they filled most of the known Regions with the Fame of their martial Achievements: And finally, that they rendered themselves immortal, by instructing Mankind in the Use of Arts, Letters, and Civil Polity. Such Truths, delivered in this Man-

(s) *Leab. Gabhala*, Part I. *Ket. MSS. lib. 1. ex Psalter. Caffil.*

ner by our primeval Bards; thus correspondent with the Accounts of Nations remote and little known to them; and thus illustrated by a great Author of our own Times, are extremely remarkable.

WITHOUT the Lights of Sir *Isaac Newton*, it is probable that this Correspondence of Names and Actions, would ever lie enveloped in the Mists of Fable. By the same Lights we may safely proceed to the next Relation of our Bards, That *Spain* was (*t*) conquered about a thousand Years before the *Christian* Æra, and that a prodigious Drought in those Days drank up the Rivers, and destroyed the Vegetables of the Earth. *Newton* proves that the *Egyptian Sesostris* conquered *Spain*, at that very Period of Time, and that his Son *Orus* (the *Phaeton* of the Poets) was thrown into the *Eridanus*. It requires little Labour to satisfy the Reader, that the Poets, who affected the Marvellous, attributed this great Drought to *Phaeton*, by the known Fable of his attempting to steer the Chariot of the Sun. Our filean Account, therefore, of such a Drought, stands sufficiently confirmed in the antient Traditions of the continental Writers; and the Drowning of *Orus* in a great River, corresponding with the Account of the Bards,

that

(*t*) Vid. *Newton*. Chron. passim.

that our (*u*) *Ir*, or *Irus*, was lost at Sea, appears equally well founded; and both these Relations may be the more depended upon, as having a Foundation in true History; since they synchronize so exactly with the *Newtonian* Calculation.

(*w*) THE above great Author informs us, that it was the Custom of *Sesostris* to recruit his Army with conquered Captives, and reward their Valour with Acquisitions in the contiguous Countries he subdued; a Strain of *Egyptian* Policy extremely wise, and suited to that Age of Migration. This Account of *Newton* throws great Light on the Reports of our old Bards; when they inform us, That *Spain* was in that Age conquered by a Nation of *Geths*, or *Gethulians*: For the *Gethulians*, according to (*x*) *Sallust*, were the *Indiginæ* of the Country in *Africa*, opposite to *Spain*: And *Sesostris* having invaded *Spain*, after his Conquest of *Lybia*, he, according to Custom, must have transplanted a Colony of those *Gethulians* into *Spain*. What other Incident can account for our Tradition, that *Spain* was conquered by the *Getuli*? Or of that other very remarkable Tradition of a mighty *Goadal*, or *Gathelus*, who was the
C 3 greatest

(*u*) *Leab. Gab.* Part. 1.

(*w*) *Newton.* Chron. passim.

(*x*) In *Bell. Jugurth.*

greatest Hero of his Age, and received (y) his Birth in *Egypt*? The Kings of *Ireland* pretended to a Descent from this *Gaodal*, or *Gathelus*, and they have laid the same genealogical Claim to *Niul*, *Sru*, *Asru*, *Ogaman*, &c. The Whole is evidently a Fable of the Bards, to render the Original of our Monarchs the more august and sacred. Other Nations have adopted the same Pretensions; and it is enough for our present Purpose, that the Memory of such Names was not lost in the old Traditions of our antient Senachies.

THUS stands the Account, as I have extracted it from the (z) *Leabar Gabala*, a Work of great Antiquity; and it easily refutes the Error of (a) *Buchanan*, who ridicules our old *Scotish* Bards, for making *Gathelus* a *Grecian*, without giving him (to save the Blunder) a *Grecian* Name: But the Blunder is his own; nor did a Man of great Abilities

(y) *Eochy O'Flynn*, citat. in *Leab. Gab.*

(z) The old Copies of this Work have been greatly corrupted, by the Transcribers of different Ages. I had no better before me, when these DISSERTATIONS were first published. The more correct Copy of *Michael O'Clery* was put into my Hands lately, by the learned Doctor *O'Sullivan*. a Gentleman, who, at considerable Expence, has made the best Collection of *Irish* Manuscripts, that I have seen in any public or private Repository in the Kingdom.

(a) *Buchan.* lib. 2. p. 46.

lities (Mr. (b) *Mac Pherfon* excepted) ever know less of any antient historical Subject, than *Buchanan* of that he undertook: He barely skimmed over the Surface of the *Scotish* Antiquities, superadding his own to the Errors and Inconsistencies of his Countrymen. Thus, among

(b) This Gentleman has lately published several Poems, particularly those under the Titles of *FINGAL* and *TEMORA*, as Translations from *OSSIAN*, whom he represents as a Son of *FINGAL*, who reigned in *North-Britain*, towards the Close of the third Century; a Monarch, by the Way, unknown hitherto in all the Records of *Ireland* and *Scotland*. As those Poems, however, retain the Names of some Men and Places, celebrated in the antient History of this Kingdom, it is evident that the Translator points out to us *Oisín*, the Son of *Fin Mac Cumhal*, the Commander of the celebrated *Fian*, or Militia of *Ireland*, in the Reign of his Father-in-law, *Cormac O Cuinn*, (the Legislator of *Ireland* in the third Century.) To these Poems, Mr. *Mac Pherfon* has prefixed Dissertations, filled with false Etymologies, which show his Ignorance in the *Galic* or *Scotic*, and with negative Arguments, drawn chiefly from Mr. *Innes*, a Priest of the *Scotish* College in *Paris*. In the one and the other, he endeavours to discredit all the Writings of our earlier Bards, to make Room for *OSSIAN*, whom he represents as an illiterate Bard of an illiterate Age, and whose Poems escaped the Search of the best Critics of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for 1400 Years, 'till this modern *Columbus* made the Discovery, and restored the true Text of what was not, thro' a whole Millennium, committed to Writing. Mr. *Mac Pherfon*, like other Travellers into unknown Regions, not only indulges himself in the Marvellous, but is audacious enough to think that he could impose on a learned Age, what could not be tolerated in that of the greatest monastic Credulity.

among other Instances, finding the Hero in Question often denominated, in our poetical Records, the *Grecian Gathelus*, he concluded, without farther Enquiry, that the Fileas (who are all unanimous about his *Egyptian Birth*) represent him a *Grecian*: Whereas he received that Name patronimically, from his Expedition into *Greece*: And this Account corresponds exactly with *Newton*, who is positive that the *Egyptian Sesostris* did invade that Country.

IN this Collation of our old Bards, with the oldest Writers on the Continent, we have, I think, proved a Coincidence of Facts, pointing out the first Use of Letters in *Spain*; the Conquest of that Country by the *Egyptians*; and the Flight of a Colony of the old Natives, thereupon, into *Ireland*. It will be, doubtless, not a little pleasing to the Curious in Researches of this Nature, to find such Remains of antient *Spanish* History still preserved in *Ireland*.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Ostentation of the antient Fileas, in feigning a Descent from *Egyptian* Heroes; yet they never lost Sight of their true *Scotish* or *Scythian* Original. (c) “ These *Egyptians* (say they) were the Posterity of the Princes of *Iberian Scythia*;
a Race

a Race who conducted their *Scythian* Emigrants through several Regions, until they finally settled in *Spain*." Here is a Mixture of Truth and Fable: For, it can be proved, from unquestionable Authority, (as (d) *Newton* shows) that before the Days of *Samuel*, *Greece* and all *Europe* were peopled by wandering *Cimmerians* and *Scythians*, from the Back of the *Euxine* Sea: And, (e) *Ap-pian* informs us, that the *Spanish Iberians* were the Descendants of the *Iberians* of *Asia*. And this Account seems to stand upon a better Foot of Credit, than the Testimonies of *Strabo* and *Eustatbius*, who affirm the Contrary.

THE Intercourses of the *European Iberians* with the *Phenecians* and *Egyptians*, we have, I think, established on the firmest Foundations; and this being a Fact of much more Importance, than their *Asiatic* Original, to That we will adhere. The first Teachers of Navigation and Letters in *Europe*, being called *Eritbreans*, as well as *Phenicians*, it appears evident, that it was from them our *Iberian* Colony from *Spain* took the Names
of

(d) *Newt.* in *Introduc.* p. 10.

(e) *Univerf. Hist.* Vol.

of *Erinii* and (*f*) *Pbenii*. This they have done (according to the Custom of the earlier Ages) to render their Original the more august: And most probably, some of these *Eritbreans* were employed by the *Scots*, to conduct them in their Voyage from *Spain* to *Ireland*; nor can it be admired if the latter should ostentatiously give both their Nation and new-acquired Country some memorial Appellations of this Nature. Other Nations have done the same, to transmit thereby indelible Marks of their Communication with a People, who, after their Dispersion, became the Instructors of Mankind in Letters, Handicraft, and naval Affairs. Thus (*g*) *Erythra* became the Name of a City in *Ionia*; of another in *Lybia*; of another in *Locris*; of another in *Boeotia*; of another in *Cyprus*; of another in *Ætolia*, and of another in *Asia*, near *Chios*. *Eyrithia acra* was a Promontory in *Lybia*, and *Erytbreum* a Promontory in *Crete*; and *Erytbros*, a Place near *Tybur*, and *Erytbini*, a City or Country in *Paphlagonia*: And the Name of *Erythra* was given to the Island of *Gades*, peopled by the *Pbenicians*:
And

(*f*) *Maolmura*, a learned Antiquarian of the ninth Century, asserts This, in his historical Verses on the Original of the *Gadeliens*, or *Scots*. "From the celebrated *Pbenius* (says he) the *Scots* took the Name of *Ibsenii*, or *Phœnicians*." Vid. *Ogyg.* Cap. 72. p. 349.

(*g*) *Nouv. Chron.* p.

And *Ireland*, as well as *Egypt* herself, obtained the Name of (b) *Æria*.

All these Facts are inflexible Proofs, that the antient *Iberians*, who emigrated into *Ireland*, carried thither the Elements of Letters and Arts, and had Advantages superior to all other *Celtic* Nations. Letters might give a Beginning, as they certainly gave a Form, to their philosophical Studies; and Philosophy helped to preserve their Theology, as far as it could be preserved, in it's original Purity. The Sciences have their State of Infancy and Maturity, their Rise and Decline, their Resurrection and final Extinction, alternately, in the Constitution of Things; and no Country can afford stronger Instances, than That, of which we are now writing.

Thus far have we treated of the Original of the antient Inhabitants of this Island, and of the Commerce of their *Spanish* Ancestors with

(b) "Heic etiam antiquitatum investigatoribus, non aspernendum datur, qualiter *Æria* et *Ogygia*, *Ægypto* et *Hiberniæ* communia, et antiquissima illa nostrorum. Communis traditio, de *Scotæ Pharaohonidis* cum majorum *Scotorum* nuptiis, prodere videantur, aliquod vetus nostrorum cum *Ægyptiis* commercium."----This Observation of Mr. *O'Flaherty* is judicious; and where could this Commerce between the *Egyptians* and *Iberian-Scots* exist, if not in *Spain*, which, according to *Newton*, was conquered by the *Egyptians* in the Days of *Solomon*?

with the lettered Nations of *Phenicia* and *Egypt*. For what remains, we must treat of them as of a People sequestered from all the learned Nations, and indebted to their own Industry for any Progress they made in the useful Arts of Life, either in bettering their Condition, or enlarging their Knowledge.



S E C T. III.

*Of the LANGUAGE and LETTERS of the
antient SCOTS.*

THE *Celtic* was the original Language of the Posterity of the Patriarchs, *Gomer* and *Japeth*; and this, in After-ages, branched out into the various Dialects of the *Persians, Teutons, Gauls, Britons* and *Scots*. It was certainly as old and extensive a Language as any on Earth; it was also one of the most copious.

THE learned Authors of the *Universal History* pretend, that the original Purity of the *Celtic* is still preserved in the *Gumaraeg*, spoken in *North-Wales*. We do not pretend to dispute the Excellence of that Dialect; but we do not hesitate to doubt of it's retaining the original Construction, in a Country which had not the Use of Letters near as early as the antient *Spaniards*: For, who doth

doth not see that, without this Insuranc by Letters, the most incorruptible Language must, in the Course of Ages, degenerate into (i) Jargon and uncouth Dialects. Thus it was within the Confines of *Gaul*, where, by (k) *Cæsar's* Account, three different Tongues, or, properly, Dialects, were spoken in the Time of that Conqueror. Thus it fared also with the *Roman* Language, after the Invasions and Conquests of the Northern Nations. After the Reception of Letters in *Britain*, the *Cambrian*, we doubt not, improved itself into an excellent Language; nor is it to be wondered, that it should at this Day maintain it's Perfection in *North-Wales*, among a People who are certainly the most antient of any at this Day in *Europe*. We only assert the Improbability of the *Cambrian* Language being identically the same, in it's present syntactical Form, with the original *Celtic*.

OUR *Gaèdblic*, or *Scotic*, hath, we think, the Preference, in Point of Purity, as well as Antiquity, to all other *Celtic* Dialects. And as it is evident, that the *Scots* had the Use of Letters, from the Time of their Settlement
in

(i) Illæ linguæ quotidiè moriuntur, quotidiè nascuntur, quæ pendent ex libidine imperitæ multitudinis. *Muret.* Vol. 2 p. 656.

(k) *Bell. Gallic.* Cap. 1.

in *Ireland*; there can be no Dispute but that their Language comes the nearest of any to the original patriarchal *Celtic*. Their Secularity from all foreign Invasion; their Remoteness from the Continent; their Polity; and their Manners, rendered the Study and Purity of Language a principal Part of the Education of Youth: And the Consideration of their Care in this Particular, obliged a (l) great Genius to confess, that the Language of this Nation is the most *original* and *unmixed*, now remaining in any Part of *Europe*.

THE excellent Researches of Mr. (m) *Lluid* of *Oxford*, of Mr. (n) *Rowland* of the Isle of *Anglesea*, of M. *Pezron*, have thrown great Lights on the Use and Affinity of the several *Celtic* Dialects, which still remain. † M. *Bullet* has improved much on his Predecessors, in this Part of antient Learning: And from their several Dissertations their Proofs are full, That none of those Dialects have been preserved in any Degree of Purity, equal to the antient (o) *Cambrian*, or *Goemraeg*, and our *Gaedhlic*, or *Scotic*. We should consider these latter Languages as Monuments

(l) See Sir *Wm. Temple's* Introduction to the History of *England*, p. 24.

(m) In *Archæolog. Britann.*

(n) In *Mona Antiq.*

† *Memoires sur la Langue Celtique. A Besançon.* 1760.

(o) See Doctor *Warner's* very excellent Introduction to his History of *Ireland*. p. 47. 53.

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ments of Antiquity older than any Inscriptions
now found in *Europe*; and the more valuable,
as they are to this Day intelligible.

THE late (*p*) Dr. *Anthony Raymond*, one of
the Fellows of Trinity College, near *Dublin*;
having taken laudable Pains to improve upon
Mr. *Lluid*, hath accidentally discovered a
Specimen of the *Celtic*, which proved the
same with the *Scotic*, or *Gaedblic*, both in
Words and Syntax; allowing only for the
Errors of Transcribers, which, by an extra-
ordinary Fate, happen not to be considerable.
These Specimens he published in his printed
Introduction to the History and Antiquities
of *Ireland*, and thought the Discovery a
happy Foundation; as it evidenced the early
Use of Letters, in such a Preservation of
Celtic Purity.

I HERE present them to the Reader, from
the Doctor's own Copy.

(*p*) Introduction to the History of *Ireland*; p. 2, 3,
4, 5.

THE

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

CELTIC.	SCOTIC.
1. Our narme ata ar neamb'	1. Ar nathair ata ar neamh
2. (q) Beanich a tainm	2. Beannaigh thear hainm; <i>or</i> naomthar hainm
3. Go diga de riogda	3. Go dtigidh do Rioghacht
4. Go denta du hoill air talm in marte ar neamb	4. Go ndeantar do thoil ar talamh mar donithear ar neamh
5. Tabair deimaniugh ar naran limbali	5. Tabhair dhuinn aniu ar naran laethamhail
6. Agus mai duin ar fiachamhail maamhid ar fiacha	6. Agus maith dhuinn ar bfhia cha mar mhaithmidne dar bf heitheamhnaibh fein
D	7. Na

(q) “ *Beanich* and *naomthar*, and *ambaribh* and *Cathughadh* have the same Signification in the *Irish*. The other Words are the same. I take the Omission, or Addition, of Letters, to be the Fault of the Press;” (or, he might add, of *Transcribers*.) *Raymond*. *Intro.* p. 3.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 7. Na leig sin amaribh
ach faarfa sin o olc | 7. Agus na leig sinn a
Gcathughadh acht
favr inn o olc |
| 8. Or fletfa Riogh-
ochta, comtha agus
gloir go sibhri.—
<i>Amen.</i> | 8. Oir fletfa an Ri-
oghacht, an chum-
hacht, agus an
Ghloir go fionnuid-
he.— <i>Amen.</i> |

SHOULD the *Celtic* Specimen here produced, be of eight hundred, or a thousand Years standing, it is wonderfully preserved: How this Language could be preserved in so great Purity on the Continent, so often disturbed by Conquests, and so subject to Variations of Dialect; is what we shall not pretend to account for. We will only hazard a Conjecture, that it is not impossible but that some other *Scythian* Nation bordering on the *Caspian*, might, through a Succession of Ages, live as undisturbed as the *Scots* of *Ireland*. And we incline to this Opinion the more, as it is observed by (r) several learned Men

(r) See Mr. *Harris's* *Lexicon Technicum*, and Dr. *Wallis's* *Preface*.

Men that our Language and the *European Tartar* have still a near Resemblance.

ALTHOUGH this Discovery of Doctor *Raymond* adds Force to what we have advanced; yet, independently of such a foreign Authority, which equally vouches for the Purity of our Language, and the Use of Letters; we have internal Evidences enough before us to remove every Doubt on this Subject.

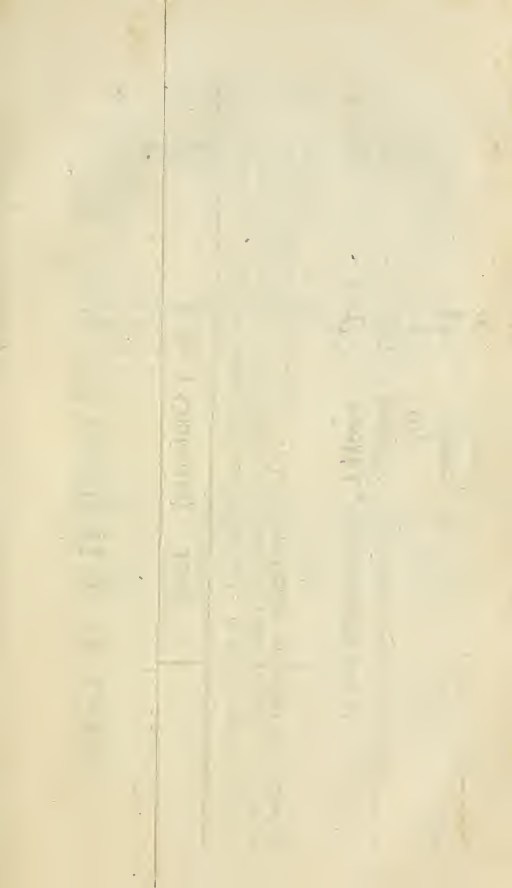
IT is observable, that all the northern Nations of *Europe* (the *Scots* alone excepted) have been indebted to the *Greeks* and *Romans* for their Letters and Learning: This is demonstrable from History, from their Manner of Writing, and the Identity of their Alphabets. But our BETHLUIS-NION of the OGMA has not the least Resemblance with either the *Greek* or *Roman* Alphabets. Had our antient Bards been silent on the Original of our Letters from a celebrated *Phenius*, or *Phenician*; yet the Signatures of an early Commerce between our Predecessors, and an oriental lettered Nation, would appear evident. How strong must such Signatures appear, when our oldest historical Traditions point out the Time and Place of it, the Nation who instructed, and the Nation who received, the Instruction? Can it be wondered,

that the latter People should learn the Art of Navigation from such Instructors, or that one of their Colonies should, in some Disaster, take their Flight into *Ireland*?

OUR antient *Scotic* Cyphers, differing from those of all *European* Nations, in Name, Order, Number and Power; we have given the annexed Table of them, to show how much it differs from the Abgator, or Alphabet of the *Romans*, introduced in the fourth and fifth Centuries. It is in itself a curious Remnant of Antiquity.

IT presents us, in the first Place, with a Number of (*s*) eighteen Letters only, of which a third Part are Vowels: For, as the late learned Doctor *John Fergus* observed to me, the pneumatic UATH, hath not only the common Force of an Aspiration, but that of a Vowel also; of which, Instances are needless to those who have made our Language a Part of their Study. And as such a Proportion of Vowels must declare both Softness and Harmony; so the frequent Euphonias, by the Quiescence, or occasional Suppression, of nine of our Consonants, in most of the Inflections of Words, demonstrate the Improve-
ments

(*s*) Or rather seventeen, if the Letter P (according to some) is to be excluded. Certain it is, that it is not to be found in the more antient Glossaries.



The Scottish F E A D H A or Letters.

Order. Vulgar Characters. Power.

Name.

1.	b	+	B	Beth.
2.	l		L	Luis.
3.	M.n.p.3		N	Nion.
4.	f	+	F	Fearh.
5.	s	+	S	Suil.
6.	h.f		H	Uath.
7.	d	+	D	Duir.
8.	c	+	T	Tinne.
9.		+	C	
4	Sounds	-	Grac	

Thymcoll. (ae) sounds like the Latin Diphthong *ae* l...

N. B. The 9 Letters marked with a Dagger †, are quiescent when joined with a Note of Aspiration.

||. Thus marked have two different Pronunciations, which are

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ments made by our Bards, in clearing this Language of those harsh Sounds, so frequent in other *Celtic* Dialects ; not to instance in the modern *Gothic* Tongues, or the Language in which I am now writing.

THESE Letters are arranged in a different Order from the Alphabet of the *Greeks*, or Abecedarium of the *Romans* : Their antient vulgar Figures (by all that we can discover in these latter Ages) were peculiar to this western Nation alone. And their Names, partly *Phenician*, and partly vernacular, not only show their *Asiatic* Original, but their great Antiquity in this Island also. All this added to the Paucity of their Number and distinct Powers, shows, beyond Contradiction, that these Elements were imported into *Ireland*, when Letters were in their Infancy. They were brought hither before the additional Cyphers were invented, and before any Commerce was opened between our Ancestors and the learned Nations. And these extraordinary Facts, summed up together, fairly account for the Use of Letters in *Ireland* from the first Entrance of the *Iberian Spaniards*, whom we now call the *Scotish*, or *Milesian* Colony, in Contradistinction to the *Firbolgs* and other *British* Colonies, who were settled in *Ireland* before them.

38 DISSERTATIONS *on the*

THE Origin of our Letters, and the consequent Preservation of our Language, being thus accounted for; we may pronounce, in the general, that this *Celtic* Dialect, not only answered all the commodious Ends of Speech; but afforded, in a high Degree, the Decorations of Harmony and Strength of Expression, which a great Genius for Poetry or Oratory can require, to become Master both of his Subject, and of his Auditors. It was copious, without Luxuriance; laconic, without Obscurity; nervous, pathetic, figurative. This is so well known of some Writings which still remain, that a Person of Taste can never too much admire the Force and Dignity, the Salts and Vivacity, of their Periods; nor can a Stranger of a good Ear, avoid feeling the Harmony of their Numbers; an easy Diction runs generally through the Whole, without turgid Brilliancy, or affected Sublime; those Stilts of some Moderns, where Nature and true Genius fail them.

By comparing the † *Gaelic*, or *Scotic*, with the learned Languages, we will find none more

† Thus Mr. *Ennis* writes it, [*Gaelic*] as it is pronounced: We do not except to this Manner, though Etymology would require it's being wrote *Gaedhlic*, or *Gaidelac*, as *Cambrensis* wrote it in the twelfth Century. Mr. *Mac Pherson*, Translator of *Fingal* and *Timora*,

more concise or expreſſive, and few more copious, within the Limits of the complex Terms, to which a ſecluded Nation (confined to their own local Modes) muſt neceſſarily be retained; a ſingle Letter impoſed or tranſpoſed often determining the Caſe and Gender, and that very elegantly. A prepoſitive Article preſerves the Noun from a Variety of Terminations; and one Word, by the Manner of Accenting, will bear different, and ſometimes contrary Meanings; what adds to the muſical Cadence in poetic Compoſitions. The Modes and Tenſes of this Language are confined to the Order of Nature, without running into the ſeveral Modifications of modern Tongues, which commute Simplicity for Refinement, and Solidity for needleſs Delicacy. The Verb likewise needeth not, in ſeveral Inſtances, the explaining Pronoun of the *Engliſh* and *French*: And, upon the Whole, this Language is free from the Redundance of various definite and indefinite Articles, auxiliary Verbs and Expletives, which are the Crutches of the Tongue I write in, as well as of ſeveral others. To this may be added, that, as the *Scotic* is no

D 4

Way

Temora, invariably writes *Galic*, inſtead of *Gaelic*, or *Gaedelic*. Any Highlander, of the ſmalleſt lettered Knowledge in his own Language, could inform Mr. *Mac Pherſon* better. See Mr. *Innes's* Critical Eſſay on the antient Inhabitants of Scotland. Vol. I. p. 76, &c.

Way subject to the refined, but unnatural Separation of correlative Words; frequently to be met with in the *Greek* and *Latin*: So neither is it necessarily confined to one Sort of Arrangement, like the *Italian* and *French*; partaking in some Degree of the elegant Disjunctions and Inversions of the learned Languages, without the tiresome Uniformity of some of the modern. It must be at the same Time confessed, That, in the Course of many Ages, the Poets (the Legislators of all Languages) have introduced Changes, and some for the worse. Many Words, a long Time antiquated, have been affectedly re-established in latter Times; and Anomalies, which should be avoided as much as possible, have been admitted, as useful, by popular Bards; who preferred Sound to Sense, and sacrificed Propriety, in some Instances, to the Harmony of their Numbers.

LET us now examine the close Connexion observed between the *Celtic* and the *Hebrew*; as it will lead us into some curious Reflections, which will help to confirm what we have hitherto advanced on the present Subject.

THE original Language of Mankind was composed but of few Words, such as were sufficient for the simple Ideas, and such as
were

were correspondent with the few Necessities, of the Ages which succeeded immediately to the universal Deluge. (*t*) These Words were retained in the Dialects which occasioned the Dispersion of Mankind, after the Confusion at *Babel*. They have been (says M. *Bullet*) the Ground of all the antient Tongues, and are only obscured, not lost, in the various Inflexions and different Terminations which happened at *Babel* itself. Here, then, is a Clue for that Labyrinth, in which so many of the Learned have lost themselves. The original Signs of the more striking Objects of Nature have been mostly retained in all Languages: As Arts were invented, and as Abstractions were made, new Words and new Compounds were necessarily invented and made also. The physical Causes of new Constructions multiplied, from Change of Climate, Coalition of Nations, and Succession of Ages. The new Dialects differed greatly from the old; and others differed so far from one another, as to lose almost all Kindred; some proving copious, energetic and harmonious; others harsh, barren and solecistical; as Civilization and Knowledge, Barbarism and Ignorance, displayed themselves in different Stages, and sometimes on the same Stage.

SOME

(*t*) Memoires sur la Langue Celtique. Chap. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, &c.

SOME of these Dialects, more than others, bore an Analogy with the *Hebrew*, and the antient *Celtic* is of the Number. No Writer has thrown more Lights on this Subject, than the learned (u) M. *Bullet*: And yet he doth not sufficiently advert to the several syntactic Forms, into which the *Celtic* itself must have necessarily fallen. Thus, the Construction of the *Scotic*, or antient *Iberian*, differs widely from the *Gomeraeg*, or antient Dialect of *Gaul* and *Britain*: And yet our learned Author, without any antient Authority, asserts, against Fact, that the one was derived from the other. The Euphonias, Aspirations, and mute Consonants of the former, give it a Softness, which perhaps it originally wanted. The Intercourses of the *Spanish Iberians* with the *Phenecians*, might give Rise to this Softness, and the Improvements in the Arts of Verse completed it. (w) This, then, was the antient *Celtic* spoken in *Spain*. Through the Use of Letters, it has been preserved in *Ireland*, and must consequently be

(u) Ibid. Chap. 14. p. 27.

(w) Gravissimorum hominum auctoritas fidem mihi jamdudum fecit, linguam Hibernicam, verborum granditate, dictionum Concinnitate atque dicacitate quadam acutula redundare; denique cum Hebraicâ linguâ communi Conglutinationis vinculo contineri. Stan. de Reb. Hibern. p. 29.

be that Dialect which bears a nearer Resemblance to the *Hebrew*, than any other.

IRELAND having been first planted by Colonies from *Britain*, the *Gomeraeg* was, no doubt, the Language originally spoken in it. On the Conquest of the Country by a new *Celtic* Colony from *Spain*, we doubt not but these Strangers have adopted several Words, and very probably several new Idioms, of the *Belgian* Natives. These *Belgians*, or *Ferbolgs*, were a very considerable People in *Connaught*, until the third Century of Christianity; and the Intermixture of the two Dialects, far from corrupting, might contribute to enrich, that which prevailed. Thus it is with the several Dialects of *Europe*, which at present are borrowed mostly from the *Celtic* and *Latin*. Through the frequent Intercourses of it's several States, they polish and illustrate each other; deriving from the same Fountains, a Sameness of Analogy runs in general through all; and, as the *Italian* comes nearest of any to the original *Latin*, so the *Gaelic*, or *Scotic*, may approach nearer to the original *Celtic*, without any Diminution to the Excellence of the *Gumaraeg* Dialect, now spoken in North *Wales*. The uninterrupted Repose of the Nation from foreign-Conquest, and the political Necessity of the
Art

Art of Speaking, bears us out in this Presumption.

SEVERAL of the antient *Roman* Writers have complained of the Harshness of the *Celtic* Dialects spoken by the Inhabitants of *Gaul*. In some Instances, the Complaint might be well founded, though the Prejudices of a foreign Ear (so to speak) must exaggerate in others. The *Gaelic*, for Reasons already assigned, was not liable to this Objection. To those who judge by the Ear alone, it is to this Day remarkably harmonious: In this Instance, it is superior to the *Hebrew* itself, and excels in a rare Collection of complex Terms, for which the *Latin*, and modern Tongues, have no Equivalent, but by Paraphrase. The Annalists, commonly called the Four Masters, have preserved it, as it was spoken in the fifth, sixth, and succeeding Centuries; and had we no other Obligation to those Compilers, this alone would be a valuable Acquisition to Literature, though, through the Carelessness of the present Age, it runs a Chance of being lost to the next.

S E C T. IV.

*Of the political Government of the antient
SCOTS.*

TH E R E is no forming an Idea of our antient Government, from what we see established in these latter more refined Ages. Modern Monarchies have vastly more Power, are conducted with more Art, and administered with greater Ease. A modern King hath little to do : He generally acts ministerially, through the Passions, through the Intrigues, and, but too often, through the Caprices, of Men, to whom he delegates his Authority : His Capacity is much screened from public Inspection, and his Person is secured from the Contempt, to which Vice or Weakness exposed antient Monarchs.—Almost all Things are changed. New Manners, new Forms, have been introduced ; and Nothing remains, excepting those strong Features

tures of the human Oeconomy, wherein our common Nature will admit of no Variation. The *Irish* Monarchs had no Guards about their Persons: They trusted to their domestic Servants; and, though generally exposed to Danger, from domestic Factions; yet their Houses were open at all Times for Attention to Complaint, and for Redress of Injury. The Courts of modern Princes exhibit the Pomp of oriental Monarchs: They grant Access but to very few of the People; and the Guards which surround them resemble a standing Army, though they are in no Danger. Nothing proves the Power of sensible Objects more, than the Terror, rather than the Reverence, which this Pomp excites: The Spirit of antient Time would not admit of it. The Kings of *Ireland* derived no Rights from genealogical Succession, by Primogeniture: Nor was it sufficient to be of the royal Line, unless they made their Way to the Throne, by what the World too frequently denominates great Actions, without entering into the Worthiness of the Motives. Authority supplied the Want of Power; and Reverence to the Throne was obtained, more from a Deference to superior Abilities, than from the Terrors of Magistracy.

THE old Monarchy of *Ireland* underwent
several

several Revolutions; (a) but the original Form was kept in View through all Variations. *Ollam Fodla*, *Angus Ollam*, *Hugony*, and others, in the earlier Times, of whom we know but little; *Eochy Feylech*, *Feredach* the Just, and other royal Legislators, of whom we know but little more, rendered their Times happy, through the Success which great good Fortune gives to great Abilities. Like Stars of the first Magnitude, they appear visibly through the clouded Night of Antiquity, casting a Glitter on the Shades surrounding them. Princes, perhaps of equal Abilities, failed in their Schemes of Reformation,

(a) *Jus haereditarium & Successionis proprietatem in regibus nostris desideratum, Giralduſ [Cambrenſis] calumnioſe convitiatur. A Summo Monarchâ, ad infimum Dynaſtarum ordinem, nullum erat Dominium, Cujus principatus, non at certam aliquam familiam ſpectabat; ex quâ unus eligeretur, qui Monarcha, Pentarcha, aut alius Subrex, aut Dynaſta, dominio ſibi haereditario, praeclaris actionibus ſimul, ac populi ſuffragiis Subjeſto, dum vixerit præſſet. Duo itaque erant Spectanda juſ haereditarium & populi electio: jure haereditario quivis muſculus, deceſſoris propinquus capax erat Summi Magiſtratus illius detionis, cujus aliquis e Majoribus primus erat Conditor: Sed electione ea dignitas uni aſtringebatur ad vitae terminum. Nec penes quos elegendi arbitrium erat, licebat undecunque oriundum eligere, ſed ultimi poſſeſſoris patruum, fratrem filium aut alium e familia propinquum; hac ſervata communiter lege, ut eſſet aetate ſenior, ſimul atque Conditione dignior, in quem poteſtas conferebatur, &c. Vid. Ogyg. Inſul p. 57. 58. et Diſſertat. Hiſtoric. R. P. Vard. de Vit. S. Romuold. p. 132.*

mation, from the Combination of untoward Circumstances. They fell Victims to the Good they intended; and their Characters falling into the Power of Rivals and base Successors, we are not to wonder if their Memories should be either lost in the Current of Time, or transmitted under unfavourable Representations.

THE Government which prevailed in *Ireland*, was a mixed Monarchy, wherein the Kings were elected out of a certain Royal Family. The Commons were admitted into a Share of the Legislature: But the whole System was, in the general, too much under the Controul of aristocratical Principles. To this Species of Government our antient Kings attempted to set Bounds, by the Convention of the States at *Teamor*. This, which they called the Great FES, was first instituted by *Ollam-Fodla*, about six hundred Years before the *Christian* Æra. He is said to have reigned forty Years. He established the *Mur-ollamhan*, or College of the Learned. And these were admirable Institutions, at a Time when Arts, Letters, and the Monarchy itself, were in their Infancy. *Ollam-Fodla's* Regulations are strongly marked in the Traditions which remain of those early Ages: What appears before him, or beyond him, until the Erection

tion of the House of *Eamania*, is involved in much Obscurity.

THE Building of *Eamania*, about 350 Years before the *Christian* Æra, and the Succession of *Hugony* the Great, form another remarkable Æra. It commences with a new Regulation in our political Constitution; and the Lights of History open with more Strength upon it.

HUGONY was a Monarch powerful by Sea and Land. His military Exploits, had we a minute Account of them, would afford but little Instruction at this Distance of Time. The Improvements he made in the Constitution are more worthy of Attention. (*b*) He set aside the pentarchical Government, and widened the Base of monarchical Power, by parceling the Kingdom into twenty-five regular Districts, or Dynasties. By this Distribution was the public Revenue ascertained; and it continued under the same Regulation for the Space of three hundred Years. However arbitrarily *Hugony* might have obtained such a Constitution, it had a good Effect; as it curtailed, in some Degree, the Power of the provincial Princes, the perpetual Disturbers of the Monarchy.

E

HUGONY

(*b*) Vid. Leb. Gabal. part. 1. Ogyg. Domest. p. 260. 261.

HUGONY carried his Views farther: Resolving to render the Stability of the Government subservient to the Aggrandisement of his own Family, and to obviate the Disorders arising from Elections; he obtained a Law for excluding the other Branches of the Royal *Milesian* Line, from their Right of Succession, and swore the Nation to a Recognition of that Right, solely in his own Family: But these Abjurations were feeble Guarantees in those Days; when Insufficiency, or Unworthiness, filled the Throne, and irritated the People to revoke the Security they gave. The bloody Contentions in *Hugony's* own House, spirited the excluded Family of *Heber Fin* to reclaim their former Rights to the regal Succession. They succeeded, and set up (c) *Mogbacorb* in ninety Years after *Hugony's* Accession. The *Ultonian Heberians* followed the Example, and elected the famous *Rudruid* King of Ireland, after a Defection of the supreme Dignity for two hundred and twenty Years in the *Ollam-Fodlian* Family.

It may be worthy of Observation, that these Princes, who obtained the regal Diadem in direct Violation of *Hugony's* Succession-Law,

(c) Annal. Quat. Mag. ad Ann. M. 4694.

Law, made no Alteration in the *Hugonian* Partition, which ſo much weakened the ariſtocratical Power. Kings, ſave only in very urgent Circumſtances, or in Conjunctions favourable to particular Interests, chooſe not to part with any Power exerciſed by their Predeceſſors. And, in the Caſe before us, the Monarchs under Conſideration were right. (*d*) *Eochy Feyloeb*, indeed, ſome ſhort Time before the *Chriſtian* Æra, reſtored the pentarchical, or provincial Government: We cannot gueſs at the Motives which induced that Monarch to make ſuch a Change. No Revolution could be more fatal to the Monarchy.

(*e*) CONARY the Firſt confirmed the provincial Eſtabliſhment made by *Eochy Feyloeb*. He reigned happily: But his Succeſſors experienced the Weakneſs of too limited a Monarchy. *Carbry Catcan*, a *Damnonian* by Birth, put himſelf at the Head of the Populace, and overturned the Conſtitution. He reigned over the Iſland five Years; nor did his Death put a Period to the national Miſeries. The provincial Kings, under *Elim Mac Conra*, pulled *Fiacha Finola*, the Son of *Feredach* the Juſt, from the Throne, and
E 2 expelled

(*d*) Leab. Gabal. par. 1.

(*e*) Leab. Gabal. par. 1. & Ogyg. Domeſt. p. 272. 287. 300. &c.

expelled his Family into *North Britain*. The Nation groaned under the tyrannical Government of *Elim*, the Son of *Conra*, set up by *Oligarchs*, who shared his Power. But the People had Virtue enough left to shake off their Tyrants. They recalled *Tuathal*, the Son of *Fiacha Finola*, from his Exile; who, after defeating his Competitors, mounted the Throne, (f) and established a new political Constitution.

TUATHAL began his Reign, by convening the Great Fes of *Teamor*. Like his Ancestor *Hugony* the Great, he obtained a Law for the Exclusion of the other Royal Families from the Throne, and engaged the Nation, by solemn Oaths, to elect all their future Monarchs out of his own. He did not, or could not, abolish the pentarchical Government: But, to render all future Kings of the Island the better able to keep down the aristocratical Spirit, he took Countries, of considerable Extent, from the five Provinces, and formed a sixth Province, known by the Name of *Meath*. This noble Domain, added to the ordinary Revenues, rendered his Successors

(f) About the hundredth and thirtieth Year of Christ, by Mr. *O'Flaherty's* Computation, what appears well supported, from the Synchronism of *Flan* of *Bute*, who makes *Adrian* the Emperor, and *Tuathal Teachtmair*, Contemporaries.

cessors more independent and respectable, than the Monarchs who reigned in the antient Times.

TUATHAL endeavoured to tame a fierce People (smarting under the Effects of recent Calamities) to a Government of Laws, in a Country destitute of Cities, and of much foreign Commerce. In his newly-erected Province of *Meath*, all Affairs of national Importance were transacted under his own Eye. Every Matter relative to Religion was regulated at *Tlachtga*: In *Usneach*, whatever regarded internal Commerce: At *Taltion*, matrimonial Alliances, and Family-oecconomy: Finally, at *Teamor* (the usual Place) was kept the great Convention of the States, where Laws were enacted, and every Affair determined in the last Resort.

NOTWITHSTANDING all Opposition from the provincial Governours, the *Tuathalian* Constitution remained three hundred Years in Force; a Period, on which History casts her fairest Lights. Great Men and great Revolutions are strongly marked, and an Historian hath Certainty for his Guide, as far as the Fragments left of those Times can enable him to proceed. The Use of Letters preserved some Memory of the anterior Times. The Infancy of Government began with

Heremon, (g) the first King of Scots: Legislation began with *Ollam Fodla*: *Hugony* strengthened, *Eochy Feyloch* weakened, the Monarchy. The License of Bards has thrown much Obscurity over those early Times; and we must derive the Æra of uncorrupted History from the Legislation of *Tuatbal*, and particularly from that of *Cormac O'Guin*, who improved upon his great Ancestor's Plan.

THE *Scotish* Constitution, at best, was far from being a perfect Model of Government. Our ablest Legislators could not reduce Idea to Practice; but were obliged to take Men and Things as they were; establishing the best Scheme of Legislation, that the Manners and obstinate Customs of the Nation could bear. To labour at more than this, was left to the Folly of latter Ages; to the Madness also of Men very unhappily invested with great Power, without the Knowledge of Philosophers, or Spirit of Legislators.

THE old political Establishment of this Country was divided amongst three (b) Orders

(g) So he is styled, by *Angus*, the *Celete*, or *Culdee*, an Author of the eighth Century.

(b) Tres erant olim in hac Republica ordines : unus Regum,

ders of Government; 1. the Chiefs of the Nobility, called Kings; 2. Druids and Ollamhs; 3. Artificers and Plebeians. Each Order had it's stated Departments of Power. Legislators strove to temper the two natural Species of Power so with the intermediate Order, that the *first* might not degenerate into Tyranny, nor the *last* into the Extremes of a Democracy: And they endeavoured at this, by the Institution of a middle artificial Power in the Body of *Druids* and *Ollamhs*, who might occasionally throw their Weight into the rising Scale of Government, between the Princes and the People, and keep the Balance as even as possible between those two prime Orders. The Institution was wise; but the Mischief lay in this, that the *second* Order were composed of Men, who, generally, had more Authority in the Senate, than both the prime Orders united; a still greater Evil, ever annexed to the Constitution, consisted in the Customs of Election: The Tribes of Druids, Artificers and Plebeians, sat in the Great Fes of *Teamor*, by their Deputies; and, conjunctly with the Heads of the Nobility, All elected a King out

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Regum; alius Druidum & literatorum; ac tertius opificum et plebeiorum; & in singulis ordinibus septem gradus et dignitates, suis quæque obligationibus et immunitatibus ordinatae, &c. Vid. Ogyg. Inf. p. 58. et Dissert. Historic, de vita S. Rumoldi p. 132.

of a certain Family, to wear the *Aston*, or Crown, and preside in their national Assemblies. It is evident that such Elections could seldom be made with sufficient Moderation: Factions were formed; the prevalent Party carried it; the losing Party collected all their Strength, to set aside the Monarch newly elected; and accordingly most of our Princes died with Swords in their Hands.

THE Plan of Government established in *Ireland*, had some Resemblance with other Institutions amongst the *Carthaginians*, *Spartans* and *Romans*; not to mention the *Gothic* Forms so much celebrated (and, perhaps, with little Justice) by the Writers of the Age we live in. After an Experience of the Ways of Mankind, it required less Genius, than is imagined, to hit upon this Expedient of three Orders of Government in a free State. The great Difficulty of reducing it to Practice, so as to answer the true Intention, hath been seldom surmounted. Relatively to the present Constitution of Parliaments in *Britain*, that of *Ireland* differed widely from it. The *three* Orders of antient *Scotish* Legislature were elective. Among the *English*, One only is now so. Our Convention of the States was triennial: Theirs is annual. Our Constitution was less open to private

private Corruption: Their's is better ascertained, and hath infinite Advantages over a Form, wherein frequent Elections became the Source of frequent Disorders.



S E C T. V.

The same Subject continued.

(i) **T**UATHAL TEACHTMAR made his Way to the Throne, through a Sea of
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(i) By this Prince's espousing the Daughter of *Scalbalbh*, King of *Femoire* or *Finland*; and by other Fragments of those Times, we see what close Intercourses the *Scots* held in the second Century, with the Nations bordering on the *Baltic*. We find these Alliances frequently renewed, through the succeeding Ages, particularly with the *Saxons*, until the latter began to make Settlements in *Britain*, and, from Friends, became Enemies. *Feidlim* the Legislator, Son of *Tuathal Teachtmar*, married the Daughter of another Prince of *Femoire*; and the Author of the *Leabar Gabala*, conforming to the Appellation used in his own Time, calls that Prince, proleptically, King of *Lochlonn*: But those Northern Nations have not received the Name of *Lochlons* (or Pirates) until the eighth Century. The Author of the Poems, *Fingal* and *Temora*, ignorant of this Fact, makes the Hero of his Epic mention *Swaran*, as King of *Lochlin*, instead of King of *Femoire*; that is, he puts Words into the Mouth of *Fingal*, (properly *Fin Mac Cumhal*) which were not known to the *Scots*, until several Ages after his Death.

of Blood, and established a new Constitution on the Ruins of a monarchical Oligarchy. For the Space of three hundred Years, his lineal Descendants succeeded to the supreme Government; and yet hardly any did so, without the Interruption of a Predecessor excluded by Law. The aristocratical Power was still predominant; the Power of the People, in their legislative Capacity, weak or ill defined. The middle Order (as we have observed above) extended their Influence over the Commons, and exerted, in Consequence, an unconstitutional Power over the reigning Monarch. The *Roydamna*, or King-elect, had also his Faction in the State; and generally the Kingdom was divided into two principal Factions, That of the King, and That of the *Roydamna*: I say *generally*; for there have been Instances, wherein we find both, even united, overturned by some ambitious provincial Governor. From the Orders of Government, where each was elective, such Consequences must often follow: And this must be remembered, lest we should ascribe to this Form of Government more Perfection than it ever merited. It is not probable that *Ollam Fodla*, or any of his Successors, ever thought of establishing two hereditary Orders by Primogeniture, in the Departments of legislative Power. It was not possible to bring such a Scheme to bear,
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in a Country where Manners prevailed more than Law itself. All was put to the Hazard of superior Abilities; a Question open at all Times to Controversy, and seldom decided, but by open Violence. Thus it was.—The Evil was great, no Doubt; but in some Degree counterbalanced, by the Care taken of the Education of the Princes and Ollamhs, that they might excel in their several Professions, and approve themselves worthy of the Dignities their several Ranks intitled them to. Clans, indeed, were hereditary; that is, certain Families were invested with certain Dignities, Powers and Districts; but one Person only, whether King, Ollamh, or Burgefs, was to preside, and That by Election. Each Tribe had it's Chief; and, to prevent the evil Effects of frequent Elections, as much as possible, they generally, as we have observed, (*k*) chose a Roydamna for the Throne,

(*k*) Quod ad successionem attinet; superstiti principi Successor designabatur, qui é vivis sublatum exciperet, esto filius aut frater, aut alius dignior é familia agnatus. Hunc *Tanaiste* dixere, vocabulo ab annulari digito translato, qui sicut medium et loco et longitudine propius attingit, ita *Tanista* loco et autoritate á principe secundus. Quisque é reliquis familiae candidatis *Riohb Dambna* dictus est, quod est regia materies apta ad recipiendum regiam formam suæ familiae. Si vero liberæ aut mechanicæ artis alumnus fuerit, *Adbbhar* tantum, quod materiem ætiam denotat vocatur; quippé Mater-

rie

Throne, and a Tanast for the inferior Ranks, to fill up each Dignity, immediately, upon the Death or Resignation of the governing Chieftain. This was a wise Caution; and yet but too often turned from it's true Intention, to the Purposes of Party and Faction.

THE provincial Sovereignities were regulated by similar Constitutions: Each had it's own Senate; but still under Subservience to the Authority of the Grand FES of *Teamor*, in every Matter relative to the common Good of the whole Nation. In any other Respect, these toparchal Governments were regulated by their own local Ordinances; and the provincial Sovereign, after discharging his legal Tributes, to the supreme Head, or Monarch, was little subservient to his Authority, on any other Occasions of Government. He was, indeed, accountable, for the chief Part of his Conduct, to the States of his own Province, who

ries disposita, ut tali professione informetur. Ogyg. Insul. p. 58. This Account of the learned Author seems a little deficient in Accuracy. From the antient Remains on this Subject, preserved in the Compilation of the Four Masters, and in other Collections Nothing is more clear, than that the *Roydamhna* was the King-elect, or Prince appointed to succeed the reigning Monarch of the whole Island; a provincial King had his *Roydamhna* also. The *Tanast* was the Person appointed to succeed the governing Chieftain in the inferior Districts; and the *Adbbhar*, him who was *Ollamh*, or Principal, in the liberal or mechanical Arts.

who reserved to themselves the Privilege of choosing and deposing their petty Kings, save only in Cases, where the FES of *Teamor* interposed. Whenever that Court assembled, it's Power, under the Presidency of the supreme Monarch, was absolute and unlimited.

THIS, in brief, is a true Picture of the *Scotish* Constitution of Government, in the earlier Ages. The like was established in *North-Britain*, by the Sons of *Eirk*, who headed the *Dalriad*-Tribe in the sixth Century. It was a complex Government, composed of several little free States; an Aggregate of so many independent Communities, who were to link together on great Emergencies for mutual Safety, and who acknowledged the Superintendency of one Sovereign, and the Jurisdiction of one supreme Council. Thus did the celebrated States of *Greece* hold together for many Ages, by the Institution and wise Regulations of their great *Amphiſtionic* Council, until a Degeneracy from their antient Virtue dissolved it; what matured, apace, every subsequent Evil, which befel that brave, wise, and learned People.

EXCEPTING the Regulation of the *Scotish* Government, by three distinct senatorial Orders, we know of no Constitution more like to this, than the present *Germanic* System,
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composed of several independent Sovereignities under one Head; to whom certain Tributes and Honours are paid, without much Diminution of the Power or Authority of the Princes who yield them; and the Dyet of *Ratisbon* hath, in many Respects, a great Resemblance to our FES of *Teamor*. It is true, all the sovereign Dignities in *Germany* are hereditary by Primogeniture, excepting the Imperial and Ecclesiastical, which are elective. In *Ireland*, every Dignity was conferred by Election solely; from the supreme Monarch, down to the meanest Possessor of a sovereign Fief. On the Whole, such an Institution kept the Country under the Rule of Men of Ability and Valour: But it was subject to great Inconveniencies, which, in the End, contributed to the Ruin of the Nation.

UNDER this Government, Clans have seldom forfeited their Rights or Dignities. No State-Crimes, of whatever Complexion, could affect the whole Tribe: Their Deputy, or Chief, was alone accountable; it being deemed most unreasonable, that a factious Insurgent (a temporary Ruler) should involve his Family and Posterity in one common Ruin with himself. The State-Delinquent was generally put to Death. In latter Times, the Punishment was often mitigated, by subjecting the Party to the Loss of Sight, or the Commu-

Commutation by *Eric*. Nothing could affect the innocent Successor, who, as he was free from Guilt, ascended to the Honours of the Clan, free of Reproach and Incapacity.

By what we have collected, in this Manner, of our antient Constitution; we see that it was far from being the ill-digested System *Ware* and others represent it. It was calculated for the best of Purposes; for raising a noble Spirit of Emulation in the Breasts of Youth; for rendering virtuous Sentiment coeval with the Use of Reason, and courting noble Principles in Opposition to the Tendency of corrupt Nature. It was planned by Wisdom. It's Operation was admirable, under able Governors; it's Abuse fatal, under weak ones. To say more in it's Favour, would be unjust. A less complex Machine would, doubtless, be more useful, as well as durable.

THE Number of little independent Governments tolerated in this Constitution, proved an insuperable Bar to the due Exertion of monarchical Power, in most Times. Factions were multiplied, from obvious Causes, and their Combinations have often either disregarded or defeated the best Measures of the *Teamorian* FES. We have but too many Instances of this, through the Course of our History.

History. The Intemperance of Liberty is, (for the Time) the Purveyor of Slavery, by breaking down all the Fences of the Constitution. It proved the original Source of every Invasion of this Country by a foreign Hand, from that of *Labra Longseach*, down to that of *Henry Plantagenet*.



S E C T. VI.

Of the Arts and Sciences of the antient SCOTS.

THE Sciences of the antient *Scots* consisted in Researches, religious and philosophical; in the Study of their Laws and Constitution; and in perfecting themselves in the military Art. This they conceived to be the proper Study of Mankind; (a) but especially of Legislators, Princes, Fileas and Druids: Of those, in fine, who were destined by Birth for Government, and of those whose Business it was to instruct Governours. As such Subjects received their most lasting Impressions from the Power of Words, Harmony of Numbers, and Melody of Sounds; a Knowledge of the Arts of Music and Poetry was absolutely necessary. If some
Frag-

(a) Teig Mac Dary, in *Admonit. ad O Brianum*, Tuamoniæ princip. MS.

Fragments of those Times may be credited, these Arts were cultivated to a Degree of Extravagance. Certain it is, that the Manners of the Nation were wholly ingrafted on this Stock. The Arts in Question were deemed of divine Original, and Ignorance of them was judged a sufficient Exception to a Man's Elevation to any important Services or Dignities of the State, let the Advantages of his Birth be ever so great. The History of the Nation, all the Placits of their Legislators, and all their Systems, philosophical, metaphysical, and theological, were conveyed in the harmonious Measures of Sound and Verse. Such Subjects formed the chief Diversion of their Entertainments and Festivities. They were sung by their Princes, Bards, and Cro-taries, in vocal and instrumental Accompaniments: And, by such Means, (Means, indeed, pointed out by Nature, and improved by Art) they roused the Soul to manly, noble, and heroic Actions. This Charm in the Combination of Musick and Poetry, smothered the Seeds of mean, little, and opprobrious Sentiments, in their Cradle, elevated the Passions to their best Ends, and became the Source of Intrepidity, exalted Sentiments, and virtuous Emulation.

THE *Scotish* Poetry was (b) harmonious in
 F 2 it's

(b) O'Molloy, in *Grammat. Latino-Hibern. Rom. impress. p. 143.*

it's Cadence and Numbers, filed by vocal Correspondences of Song in such a Variety of lyric Measures as the Subject required. (c) The Song was of three Kinds; *Golltraidbeacht*, *Geantraidbeacht*, *Suantraidbeacht*; that is, the *Martial*, the *Sorrowful*, and the *Reposing*. The Disposition was admirable; for it was derived from Nature. The *first* admitted of Subdivisions: It contributed to instil Courage, displayed the Glory of true Valour, and excited the Feelings of heroic Love, whilst it celebrated the virtuous Deeds of the Hero and the Legislator. Such were the primary Objects. It took in occasionally the comic Adventures of Life and Manners.

THE *Sorrowful* Species, accompanied in the same Manner with all the Powers of Verse and dignified Sentiment, produced it's proper Effects on the Passions. Tragical in it's Nature, departed Heroes were bewailed; and the human Soul was cast into that deep Distress, which administers a Kind of Comfort in the Midst of our Tears: Rage and Revenge were not excited, or were exchanged for tender Feelings. No Custom on Earth could contribute more effectually to humanize the Manners of a secluded and martial Nation.

THE

(c) Ex. MSS. antiq. pennis autorems.

THE *Reposing* Species closed their festal and convivial Entertainments. The Interval between the Stretching on their Couches and the Time of Rest, was employed in attending to soft Music ; to which were sung the Loves of their Heroes, and the Virtues of their Heroines. These Customs were invariable, while the Monarchy subsisted : They underwent some Alterations in the Course of Time, as the Nation degenerated or declined ! (d) But they remained in some considerable Force down to the End of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign ; for these Customs made a principal Part of their public Policy.

ANTIEN T Writings which still remain, are filled with Commendations of the Bards and Crotaries, who conducted the festal Solemnities of the Antients. *Craptine*, Musician or Crotarie to (e) *Cormac Conlangais*, is celebrated

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(d) *Plurima ex veteribus institutis adhuc manent [inter Scotos] nec quicquam fere in Hibernia, nisi in ceremoniis et religionis ritibus, est mutatum. Buchan. Hist. p. 55.*

(e) He was the Son of *Concovar Mac Nessa*, King of Ulster, and flourished forty Years before the *Christian* Æra.

It should be observed, that the *Fileas* were the antient Philosophers of *Ireland* ; and that those Philosophers, in their several Departments, took in all the Subjects

70 DISSERTATIONS on the

brated for his great Powers, instrumental and vocal; as is his Contemporary, *Atharne*, of *Ben-Hedar*, for composing the corresponding metrical Sentiments.

THE Monarchs who had Talents for such Compositions, were much revered in their own Times, and have been celebrated through all Ages. Such as were less eminent, or were taken up with the more pressing Affairs of Government, were ever attended, whether in the Court or in the Camp, with their Fileas, Bards,

of Poetry; that is, whatever regarded the Conduct of human Life and Manners. Through the Union of Song and Sentiment, and the Powers of Recitation, they took Possession (so to speak) of their Hearers. They not only became the Directors of the public Taste, but, in a great Degree, of public Manners. *Mac Dary*, in his Instructions to *O'Brian of Thuomond*, reminds his Patron of the Importance of his own Profession, in the following strong and laconic Measures.

Gi gurab oircheas do gach aon

Teagusg Riogh (in Reacht neamhchlaon)

As mo as Fiach é ar Fhileadh

Le Triath os é éistfhear.

“ Though (says he) it be every Man's Duty to possess the Ear of his Sovereign with useful Truths; yet, it more particularly is the Duty of the Filea: For, it is to such alone that Princes lend an Ear.”

In musicis solúm, præ omni natione quam vidimus, incomparabiliter est instructa gens hæc. *Cambrens. Topograph. Cap. 11.*----*Polydore Virgil* gives a like Testimony of the *Irish* Music in his own Time. *Hiberni* (says he) sunt Musicæ peritissimi. See *Cambrens. Eversus. p. 36.*

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Bards, and Croteries ; but still, not so much for their Amusement, as Instruction.

MUSIC and Verse were never separated, even in their Hunting-matches; another political Institution, for inuring the Body to Fatigues and Abstinence. The Chace was a Sort of military School. The instrumental Music here, as well as in the Field of Battle, was sounded by Wind-instruments, what they called *Stuic* and *Adbarcaidh Ciuil*. These Hunting-matches continued several Days; and, in some Seasons, several Months. At Nights, they encamped in the Woods, and reposed in Booths covered with the Skins of the Animals they hunted down. In the void Spaces of the Forests, they exercised themselves in their military Dances, wherein, generally, the most Expert regulated the Evolutions.

WHEN the Office of *Cu-rinky*, or Dancing-hero, was set aside, we are no where told. That, however, he was the chief Director in these military Evolutions, we need not doubt, from the very Meaning of the Word. It continues to this Day a Surname in several Families.

I SHALL close this Description of the Excellence and civil Uses of *Scotish* Music in

former Ages, with the Judgment of an old Author, the determined Enemy of the *Irish* Nation; and of a modern Composer, one of the best Judges in *Europe*, of these Matters. The Men I mean, are *Cambrensis* and *Geminiani*. The latter was struck with the Harmony of our Airs, and declared he found none of so original a Turn on this Side of the Alps. *Cambrensis*, who lived when the Art was in greater Perfection, seemed enraptured with our Music. "Of all the Nations within our own Knowledge, this (said he) is, beyond Comparison, the chiefest in musical Compositions." He little reflected, that a Nation so instructed, could not possibly be the Barbarians he represented them.

MUSIC and Verse suffered Changes in the Course of Time. Simple in their Beginnings, Art stepped in to improve them, though we cannot now mark the exact Periods, when such Improvements have been made. The latter Poets have multiplied prosodial Ornaments and Varieties, as may be easily discovered by a Comparison of their Poems with some of the Remains of our (*f*) antient Kings and Bards. Some Time before the first Dissolution of the Monarchy, on *Malachy* the Second's Death, it seems that there was a Separation

(*f*) Annal. Quat. Magistr. passim.

paration made between the two Arts: And yet, I offer this as a mere Conjecture of my own, from the Disuse of the antient lyric Measures, and from the Multiplication of rythmical Numbers in the Remains of that Age. They form a Music of themselves, independent of the air or instrumental Accompaniment; such as a definite Number of Syllables, harmonized by a Variety of Concords, Correspondencies, Unions, and other Attributes, which, being peculiar to *Irish* Verse, cannot be expressed in any modern Language. It seems to me, that the Musician must be confined in his Art, had he been constrained to adapt his Compositions to some of the invariable Measures of the latter Bards.

THAT their Art of Poetry declined, as the Nation itself declined, we are told; nor can we doubt of the Fact, when we consider the Causes which concurred to it's Origine and Progress. It would, however, be Injustice not to confess that (g) some eminent Bards appeared

(g) In the hymnal Species, *Donchad O'Daly* (Abbot of *Boyle*, A. D. 1250) excelled all the Bards of his Time. In latter Times, *Teige Mac Bruodin* of *Thuomond*; *Teige dall O'Higgin* of *Leyney*; *O'Gnive* of *Clannaboy*; *Teige Mac Dary* of *Thuomond*; *Lugad O'Clery* of *Tirconall*, and *O'Heofy* of *Orgiall*, had noble Talents; but diverted, in most Instances, from the antient moral and political Uses, to the barren Subjects of personal Panegyric.

appeared from Time to Time, who did Honour to their Profession, and only wanted better Days, and a better civil Government, for attaining to the Perfection of the Antients.

THAT their Music and Poetry arrived to the greatest Perfection, when it answered in antient Time so many good Purposes of Religion and Government, we need not doubt, from the Causes we have assigned; from the Influence of Manners upon Arts, and the Reaction of Arts upon Manners. Even in the Decline of Poetry, the Reader must conceive a high Notion of it, when he finds it celebrated, though from uncouth Translations, by (*b*) *Spencer*, the best Poet, and consequently the best Judge, of his own Age. In other Authors, he will be pleased to see the most rooted Enemies of the Nation doing Justice to the Excellency of our Music, as well

(*b*) “ There is among the *Irish*, a certain Kind of
 “ People, called Bards, which are to them instead
 “ of Poets; whose Profession it is, to set forth the
 “ Praises or Dispraises of Men, in their Poems or
 “ Rithmes; the which are had in so high Regard and
 “ Estimation amongst them, that none dare displease
 “ them, for Fear to run into Reproach through their
 “ Offence, and to be made infamous in the Mouths
 “ of all Men: For their Verses are taken up with a ge-
 “ neral Applause, and *usually sung at all Feasts and*
 “ *Meetings, by certain other Persons [called Racaraide]*
 “ whose proper Function it is.—I have, caused diverse
 “ of

well as to the Uñction and Spirit of our Oratory: And he will have equal Regard to the Testimony of (i) Sir *William Temple*, for the Antiquity and Purity of our Language. Writers of this Stamp, we may assure ourselves, spoke from glaring Conviction, and were the Reverse of the Natives, who at all Times showed an inflexible Partiality to their own Learning, Language and Customs. We well know that these Authors found the *Irish* Learning in it's Wain, and labouring under the greatest Disadvantages, at the Times of of their taking it under their Examination; a Circumstance, which renders their Authority the more unexceptionable, and gives us still higher Notions of the Sciences of the Antients.

THE Professors of Arts and Sciences among the antient *Scots*, whether learned or mechanical, were confined to their particular Functions,

“ of them to be translated unto me, that I might understand them; and surely they favoured of sweet Wit, and good Invention.”—*Spencer's* View of the State of *Ireland*, p. 112. 116.

This is that great Poet's Account, in 1585, at a Time when (as he says very truly) Poetry was stripped of it's *goodly Ornaments*: Yet, even then, says he, these Poems were sprinkled with some pretty Flowers, which gave good Grace and Comeliness unto them. *Spencer*, *ibid*.

(i) *Introduct. to the Hist. of England*. p. 24.

tions, from one Generation to another, in the same Family; and, to guard against Insufficiency, the most able in each Tribe was elected to preside over it. This is not only true of their Lawyers, Physicians, and other Artists; but of their Fileas, Sanachies and Crotaries. "By such a wise Institution," (k) as a celebrated Modern expresses himself, on a parallel Occasion, "being brought from Generation to Generation in these Professions, they made Advantage of the Experience of their Ancestors. Each Family transmitted it's Knowledge to the Children of it. No Person was allowed to go out of his Rank, or to forsake his hereditary Employment. By this Means, Arts were cultivated, and the Troubles occasioned by the Ambition of those who seek to rise above their natural Condition, was prevented." This, in general, was the Case in *Ireland*; but far from being indispensable. Extraordinary Merit was allowed to soar above it's hereditary Department, on extraordinary Occasions: And of this we have many Instances.

No People have been more retentive of their scientific Arts, than the antient *Scots*. They were the Seeds of great Actions, great Glory, and, indeed, of great Evil. The
learned

(k) See *Ramsay's Cyrus*.

learned Professions were made a national Cause, of the highest Importance to the State. The Fileas, Crotaries, Ollavain and Druids, were endowed by the Government, and prime Families. And that those Professors might not be under any Necessity of attending to any other but the Care of their several scientific Occupations, they were provided for in the most ample Manner. (l) Beside occasional Benefactions, they were allowed sufficient Patrimonies in Fee, which continued hereditarily, (as observed before) from Age to Age, in their Families. History, originally delivered in Verse, was put under Regulations. The License of the Poets administered perpetual Fuel to the Fires of Faction; and some Princes, in the Days of *Concovar Mac Nessa*, resolved upon the utter Extirpation of these incendiary Historians. (m) *Concovar* took the exiled Bards, or Fileas, into his Protection, preserved the Order, and very probably made such a Reformation, as reconciled

(l) Such Customs continued down to the Times of *Buchanan* and *Camden*. *Habent Hiberni* (says the latter) *suos Juridicos quos Brehones vocant: suos Historicos, qui res gestas describunt, Medicos, poetas et Citharæodos, qui suos liberos, sive cognatos, in sua qualibet arte erudiunt: Et semper successores habent, quibus singulis, sua prædia assignata sunt. Camden. Britan. Amstel. Edit. p. 686.*

(m) *Johan. O'Clery*, in Poem. Historic. cujus initium
 “ *Eisdigh a Eigfi Banbha.*”

ciled them to their Masters. To remedy the great Evil of factious History, the Productions of Historiographers were examined in the Great FES of *Teamor*. The Accounts deemed worthy of Credit were approved, and a Memorial of their Authenticity was entered in the Registers of that high Court. This, under due Regulation, was a rare Institution, to prevent the Prostitution of History to the Lufts of Party and Faction. It rendered some Justice to unfortunate Virtue, doubtful Patriotism, and exaggerated Mal-administration. It gave a Check to the Triumphs of Party-insolence, ever ungenerous after Victory, and vindicated the Honour of the Nation, by giving some civil Repose to fallen or mistaken Princes. Historical Calumny was punished by a standing Law; and it was never encouraged, but in Times like those of the two *Attacotic* Wars, when national Assemblies became vile Mobs, regardless of Law or Equity. When this Law, concerning the Authenticity of History, was first promulgated, is not so clear. (n) That it was in it's full Force in the Reign of *Cormac O'Cuin*, (about the Middle of the third Century) we all know; and there is great Reason to persuade us, that it had not
an

(n) Ogyg. Cap. 69. ex O' Duvegani Cod.

HISTORY of IRELAND. 79
an earlier Original, than the Reign of that
Great Legislator.

THIS Law for the Regulation of History, was deemed so essential to such a Government as prevailed in *Ireland*, that the (o) Great Confessor, who converted this Island to Christianity, assisted in the Renovation and further Sanction of it. Thus the vast Uncertainties, to which the History of a free and divided People is ever liable, were in a good Degree prevented. A Medium was found to lessen the Asperity of Parties, by so candid a Circulation of historical Justice; and legislative Wisdom could not provide a better Remedy against the Evil or Scandal of occasional History, in this or any other Country.

(o) Annal. Quat. Magist. ad Ann. 438.

S E C T. VII.

The same Subject continued.

NEXT to the Merit of a good Capacity, and a Knowledge of the Laws and Learning of the Country, the military Genius was the most esteemed among the antient *Scots*. The Truth is, One was not sufficient without the Other; in the Case of Princes particularly, who, from their Infancy, were bred up to Arms, as well as the Sciences. They were inured to Fatigues and martial Hardships, equally with any *other* Subjects. And the Natives, without Dispute, were great Proficients in the Art of War; since their whole heathen History, according to (p) a celebrated Antiquarian of the twelfth Century, was almost a continued Scene of Faction and Warfare. One Age added

(p) *Gilla Caombain*, the ablest Antiquarian of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, about the Year 1100.

added to the Skill of another, until the Times wherein they were enabled, in Conjunction with their Allies, the Picts, to make Head against the *Roman* Legions, in *Britain*.

THEIR Form of Government; their Invasions of the neighbouring Isle; nay, their Security of Situation, contributed to their Skill in military Affairs. Their Kings, national, and provincial, were elective; and their Elections controverted, in Consequence, by Candidates equally able and meritorious. These Controversies produced Insurrections, and Insurrections more military Stratagems, than a War with Foreigners generally requires.

THE Natives, like their Neighbours the *Gauls* and *Britons*, never made Use of (a) fortified Towns; thinking these no better

G

than

(a) The Author of *Fingal* makes frequent Mention of the Castle of *Tura*, in *Ulster*; and opens his Poem by a Representation of *Cuchullin's* Pensiveness, "Close by *Tura's* Wall." This Writer conformed to the Customs of modern Times; little considering that the *Irish* built no Castles until the twelfth Century. Before that Age, they gave their Fortifications the Name of *Dun*; a Sort of temporary Habitation, made up with thick Ditches of Earth, (square or circular) impaled with wooden Stakes, and surrounded with a deep Trench. The Area within the *Dun* they raised high, that they might annoy an attacking Enemy the more

advan-

than a Coat of Mail for Cowards, a Check upon heroic Bravery, and in the End a Kind of Hostages in the Hands of a wily Enemy, to awe the circumjacent Countries. They took Care, however, to impale occasionally their *Longphorts*, or Camps, to prevent Surprise. They began their Onsets with Enthusiasm, and rallied with great Dexterity. We have Instances of some Battles which lasted several Days before the Victory was decided: And so jealous were our Princes of their military Honours, that, from the Beginning to the End of our History, we hardly find an Instance of any Monarch's surviving the Loss of his Diadem. All these Facts, preserved in History, give us a true Idea of the Spirit and Manners of those antient Times. Faction grew up with the first and fairest Principles of the civil Constitution; as is the Case,

advantageously. In the general, they were but small, and fit only for defending a few in Number, who might maintain their Post, or fly from it, occasionally. Larger Fortifications would be unavailable in a Country destitute of large Towns, wherein alone great Magazines of Arms and Provisions could be deposited with Safety. The domestic Wars of these People were consequently but of short Duration, and generally ended in one decisive Battle. A Blockade alone would soon force the strongest Entrenchments of a defeated Party; and, sure of such an Issue, they avoided that Method of Defence; as Nothing was deemed more inglorious among them, than delivering up their Arms, and surrendering at Discretion to their Enemies.

Cafe, perhaps, in all free Countries. In *Ireland*, it attacked Kings in particular, until they utterly crushed their Opponents under the Weight of Power, or the Opponents them.

THE Order of Battle, in the earlier Times, is not sufficiently explained in such Prints and Manuscripts as fell into our Hands: But this we are assured of, that their *Carbads*, or military Chariots, were of great Use; by creating Confusion, and breaking the Ranks of an Enemy, in Plains of too great an Extent. And so expert were the Natives in this Kind of Exercise, that great Feats are recorded of some of our antient military Charioteers.

NEW Improvements in the Art of War rendered these Machines less useful; and their Strength consisted chiefly in a well-disciplined Infantry. (*b*) *Cuculand* and *Conall Kernach*, two celebrated Warriors, substituted a well-regulated Cavalry, in Place of Chariots, about the Beginning of the *Christian* Æra.

(*c*) THE antient *Scots* were trained up to War from their Infancy. In their seventh
G 2 Year,

(*b*) *Ogyg. Domest.* p. 280.

(*c*) *Ibid.* p. 279.

Year, they were entered in the military Order; and from thence, to the Age of Manhood, were exercised, at stated Times, in the Lessons of the Art. Such Exercises unbent the Mind from the feverer Studies of the native Sciences, and rendered both the more agreeable, by a natural Contrast between the Labours of the Body, and those of the Mind.

MILITARY Music made a Part of the Studies of their antient Warriors. It fired them with Courage, and a Contempt of Danger; and it was by the Help of the military Song they founded the Charge, Rally, Retreat, &c. Their great Proficients in the Art were called *Coradhs*; of whom those of *Crove-roe* were recorded as the most eminent in all Antiquity. The Word *Coradb*, comes probably from *Cor*, or *Cur*, which signifies Music, and *Cruit* signifies a musical Instrument; and *Creat*, Skill in Arts and Sciences: And hence, probably, the *Curetes* among the *Titanian*, or primeval *Celts*; Men, of all others, the most celebrated for their Skill in Music; and the Sciences, civil, theological, military and mechanic.

IN Process of Time, the *Scots*, through their Intercourses with (*d*) *Gaul* and *Britain*, made some Improvements in the Fashion
of

of their Weapons. Thus, after his Return from his Exile in *Gaul*, *Labra-Loingseach*, brought the *Lagean* in Use, a Sort of broad-edged Lance, from which the Provincialists of *Leinster* derived the Name of *Laiginibh*, and their Country the Name of *Laghean*. After the Departure of *Julius Agricola* for *Rome*, we find that the Natives availed themselves somewhat of the Skill of the *Romans*, with whom they were then at War. This explains the Account given of *Crimthan*, I. who, returning from his transmarine Expedition, (which could be no other than that into *Britain*) is said to have returned laden with Spoils and foreign Trophies. Among these are reckoned some Weapons, Shields, &c. of such Art and Use, as merited a particular Notice in the History of those Times, and therefore mark an Epoch in their military Science.

IN those early Ages, the Shield alone was all their defensive Armour, for the Body; their chief offensive Weapons were the Sword, Javelin and (e) Arrow. They never made Use

G 3

of

(e) In the Reign of *Crimthan ma Naire*, namely, in the first Century, they got the Use of the *Cran Tabhaill*, a Machine from whence they shot Stones on the Enemy's Retrenchments, or, occasionally, on their Ranks, in the Day of Battle. *O'Heosy*, contrasting the antient Discipline with that of modern Ages, since the Conquest, complains of the Degeneracy of the Natives in his own Times, in the following Lines:

of Coats of Mail, or any other Casing, than that of the Helmet, which covered the Head and Shoulders. In latter Times, (as *Ware* judiciously remarks) the Foot were of two Sorts, the heavy and light-armed: The first were called *Galloglachs*, armed with an Helmet and Coat of Mail, bound with Iron Rings. They were also girded with long Swords. They fought occasionally with a most keen Axe, after the Manner of the *Gauls*, mentioned by *Marcellinus*. Their light-armed Infantry (called *Keberns*) fought with bearded Javelins, and short Daggers, called *Skeyns*. *Cambrensis* informs us, “ that, “ in the Days of *Henry* the Second, the “ *Irish* had three Kinds of Weapons in Use; “ short Launces, two Javelins, and broad “ Battle-axes extremely well tempered, “ which last they borrowed from the *Norwegians*. Against the Force of these “ Weapons,

*Ni faicthea Gille a ngeall Treasa. Na trealamb lasich
laimb re Cuilt;*

*Na colg ag deol dearnann laimhe. Ni cheanglann rea
fainne Fuilt.*

It is easy to see, that the Force of this Quartane is lost in a literal Translation: The Meaning is, “ No longer are we respectable to the Enemy, by the Number of their Prisoners. Weapons are no longer the only Bedfellows of the Soldier. The Sword doth not now suck the Palm of the militant Hand. The uprising Combatant hath not the Ringlets of his Hair bound in the Frost.”

“ Weapons, neither Helmet, nor Cuirafs,
 “ was a fufficient Defence; fo that, in our
 “ Days, it is common to fee the whole
 “ Thigh cut off at one Stroke, though ever
 “ fo well cased in Armour; that Limb
 “ dropping down on one Side of the Horfe,
 “ and the dying Body on the other. They,
 “ moreover, gall the Enemy extremely
 “ with Hand-ftones, when other Weapons
 “ fail: And, at this Manner of Fighting, no
 “ Nation is more expert.” (f) *Stanikurst*

G 4

is

(f) *Primus ordo est equestris. Sed Hibernici Equites*
ab aliarum gentium Consuetudine multum diffident.
Nam hastas bene ponderosas, circa medium manibus
prehendunt, non ad latera sua, infra brachium apponen-
do; sed supra capita lacertis viribusque librando. Ha-
bent etiam excellentes Equos et dociles, quibus in ho-
stium manum multitudinemque se committunt; aut cor-
porum declinatione, eorum impetum, si certamen non
sit aequum, vitant. Totum istud absque magno equitis
labore fit, etiamsi laxissimas habenas habeat. Nihil
enim Hibernicis Equis est tractabilius. Nuncquam pe-
tasati in equis hærent; verum ita alte, in unaquavis
lutulenta via, furas attollunt, & ita placide, sine ullo
Succesfu, equitant, ut caligas cæno atque fordibus, nullo
modo prorsus oblinant. Ad hæc ferreis Scalis, in equos
minime ascendunt, neque hujusmodi nugatoria (sic isto-
rum opinio fert) adminicula phaleris adhærescere per-
mittunt. Sed eas jubarum Setas, quæ frontibus immi-
nent, aut equorum aurículas sinistra apprehendunt, atque
dum equi, obstipis Capitibus quieté inclinant equites,
etiam loriceis aut Sagis amicti, mirâ Corporis agilitate,
se efferunt, divaricatisque cruribus, ephippia clitel-
lis non dissimilia, subito occupant. Talis autem ascen-
 tio

is more particular and elegant in describing the military Art of the *Irish* in his Time; with

rio ita in eorum Consuetudine versatur, ut non sit tam laudabile, illud munus præstare, quam turpe non perficere. Canteriis, licet sint placidissimi asturcones, raro advehuntur. Equas ut pariant tantum pascunt. Nihil ad Equitis Æstimationem turpius, nihil ad inspectantium Cachinnos aptius, quam in equa sedere. Proximus est equitibus ordo pedestris, qui constat ex quodam genere Sagatorum militum, quos isti *Galeglasia* appellant. Homines sunt magnæ staturæ, præter communem morem Corporati, fortes bustuarii, sanguinarii toti, ac minime propitii milites. Humanum apud illos nihil tam est, quam odium humanitatis. Habent tela pedalia, securibus similia et gemina, Cultris tonsoriis pæne acutiora, longiusculis hastilibus adfixa, quibus plagam gravem faciunt, ubi feriunt. Prius vero quam aliquis in eorum Collegium co-optatur, magna religione jurat, quoties in aciem dimicationemque venit, nunquam tergiversari: tametsi iste mos antiquari incipiat. In omni acri ac acerbi prælio, si ad manus veniatur, aut cito illi pereunt, aut cito perimunt. Sunt, sine Controversia, homines valentissimi, atque Hibernici belli fundamentum & robur. Tertius ordo comprehendit alios etiam pedites, ac levis armaturæ machærophoros, ab *Hibernis* KARNI [*Cetberni*] dicuntur. Isti quidem hastas amentatas toris viribusque adeo viriliter torquent, ut eas instar Circuli, in orbicularem Gyrum compelli existimares. Cetrīs, aut manicis ferreis, armati, pugnant: Non admodum ponderoso vestitu tecti incedunt. Hastilium spiculis, equites, vel equos, eminus fauciant; cominus districtis Gladiis, certamen incunt. Insignes sunt lapidatores: armis palæstrice uti, omnino nesciunt: Nec in ludicra gladiatorum arte sunt exercitati. Raro hostes pungendo effodiunt; ictibus crebrius vulnerant. Enses acuti et minime scabri, mirabiliter illis in amoribus sunt: et ne Æruginem incidant, neve eorum acies hebescat,

with the Addition, that the *Irish* Soldiery was of all others the most cruel. He confined the Observation, no Doubt, to latter Times. It was the Consequence of a long, butchering, civil War, wherein Extirpation is the Object on both Sides. Cruelty becomes familiar, insatiable and boundless. When old *Heber Mac Mahon*, Bishop of *Clogher*, harangued *O'Neill's* Army at *Benburb*, he inveighed vehemently against the accustomed Inhumanity of the Soldiery. He conjured them, by the Duty they owed to God and Man, to give fair Quarter to the Enemy, if Providence gave Success on that Day to their Arms.

THOSE People were as well formed for Agility and Strength of Body, as any other in *Europe*. In Courage, other Nations were, no Doubt, their Equals; in Art and Discipline, their Superiors: But the Natives exceeded all, in sustaining the rudest Fatigues of War. The Severity of Climate they conquered by Habit, and those of Famine they encountered by an Abstinence practised from their earliest Youth. When all other Resources failed, they often exhausted the Stores of a superior Enemy, by living mostly
on

hebescat, omni diligentia curant. STAN. *de Reb. Hibern.* p. 41. 42. Thus far *Staniburst*, with the Fidelity of a good Observer of what passed in his own Time; what follows, is in the general false and ridiculous.

90 DISSERTATIONS *on the*
on spontaneous Vegetables. In a Country
so intersected with high Mountains, deep De-
files, and flat Marshes they had vast Ad-
vantages in a defensive War; and, in a State
of Concord among themselves, they must
prove invincible.

WE have seen the Uses to which Music
and Poetry were put antiently in this Island.
They entered into the Policy, and regulated
the Manners, of the Nation. Where such
Arts are cultivated, mechanical Arts are never
neglected. (g) Soon after the Arrival of
the *Scots* from *Spain*, we read of *Uchadan* of
Cuala, who rendered himself famous by his
Skill in the Fabrication of Metals. In the
same Age, *Eochy Edgathach*, Monarch of
Ireland, made Regulations in the Fashion and
Colours of Garments. In a succeeding Age,
Rotbeacht, another Monarch, made Im-
provements in the Construction of Wheel-
carriages. Expert Artists were made free-
born, by a standing Custom through all Ages;
and few northern Nations excelled the *Scots*
in lignarian Architecture.

THE long Wars between the *Normans*
and *Irish*, proved destructive to Arts and
Sciences in this Country, as well as in every
other

(g) *Leb. Gab.* part. 1. et omnes vet. MSS. passim.

other, where those Barbarians found Entrance. The Seclusion of the *Hy-Niall* Race, and Intrusion of the provincial Kings into the Government of the whole Isle, had another ill Effect: But the Irruption under *Henry* the Second, King of *England*, proved the utter Ruin of the Nation. The Adventurers at that Time were a motley Aggregate of *Normans*, *Flemings*, *English*, and *Old Britons*; of whom *England* itself became soon jealous, though she allowed them the full Benefit of her own Laws, for some Time. The old Natives she threw into a State of absolute Anarchy, for the long Space of three hundred and fifty Years; refused them the Privileges of Subjects, and left them the Lands she could not subdue by Arms, for a Field of Slaughter, to torment and massacre one another. This, in brief, was the State of this ill-fated Country, for more than three Centuries: And yet, even in that long Period, our Music and Poetry did in some Degree survive Government and Liberty. Antient Manners had still some Force; and a legal Establishment became the Wish of all good Men, after so many Sufferings from the Want of it. Many able Men attempted the Restoration of Monarchy; but unsuccessful Attempts made the Condition of the Nation worse than ever. Poetry in the mean Time kept up and enlivened the Spirit of Liberty:

Foreign

Foreign Policy damped, and domestic Faction marred, all it's Efforts, on the other Hand: And, so jealous were the *English* of our Bards, that they looked on them to be (what *Philip* thought of the *Athenian* Orators) the great Obstacle to the speedier Reduction of a People, who would not be Slaves, and yet endeavoured to be Subjects.

How active these Bards have been, to stir up their Patrons to Rebellion, may be collected from numberless Poems still extant. I shall, out of many, produce one Instance of their Asperity, in some Extracts from a Composition of *Fearflatka O Gnive*, Family-Clamb to the *O'Neills of Clanna-boy*. The Work in the Original is bold and spirited; and the discerning Reader will easily conceive, that this Spirit must evaporate in my prose Version of some Lines of the Original.

“ Oh the Condition of our dear Country-
 “ men ! how languid their Joys ! how pressing
 “ their Sorrows !—the Wrecks of a Party
 “ ruined ! their Wounds still rankling ! the
 “ wretched Crew of a Vessel long tossed
 “ about ; finally cast away. Are we not the
 “ Prisoners of the *Saxon* Nation ? the Cap-
 “ tives of remorseless Tyranny ? Is not our
 “ Sentence therefore pronounced, and our
 “ Destruction inevitable ? Frightful, grind-
 “ ing

“ ing Thought! Power exchanged for
 “ Servitude; Beauty for Deformity; the
 “ Exultations of Liberty for the Pangs of
 “ Slavery---a great and brave People for a
 “ servile, desponding Race. How came
 “ this Transformation? Shrouded in a Mist,
 “ which bursts down on you like a Deluge;
 “ which covers you with successive Inunda-
 “ tions of Evil; ye are not the same People!
 “ Need I appeal to your Senses? But what
 “ Sensations have you left? In most Parts
 “ of the Island, how hath every Kind of il-
 “ legal and extrajudicial Proceeding taken
 “ the Pay of Law and Equity? and what
 “ must that Situation be, wherein our only
 “ Security (the Suspension of our Excision)
 “ must depend upon an intolerable Subser-
 “ vience to lawless Law? In Truth, our
 “ Miseries were predicted a long Time, in the
 “ Change these Strangers wrought in the
 “ Face of our Country. They have hemmed
 “ in our sporting Lawns, the former Theatres
 “ of Glory and Virtue. They have wounded
 “ the Earth, and they have disfigured with
 “ Towers and Ramparts those fair Fields
 “ which Nature bestowed for the Support of
 “ God’s animal Creation---that Nature which
 “ we see defrauded, and whose Laws are so
 “ wantonly counteracted, that this late free
 “ *Ireland* is metamorphosed into a second
 “ *Saxony*. The Slaves of *Ireland* no longer
 “ recog-

“ recognize their common Mother---she
 “ equally disowns us for her Children---We
 “ both have lost our Forms---and what do
 “ we see, but insulting *Saxon* Natives, and
 “ native *Irish* Aliens?---Hapless Land!---
 “ thou art a Bark, through which the Sea
 “ hath burst it's Way---we hardly discover
 “ any Part of you, in the Hands of the
 “ Plunderer. Yes! the Plunderer hath re-
 “ fitted you for his own Habitation---and we
 “ are new-molded for his Purposes.---Ye
 “ *Israelites* of *Egypt*---ye wretched Inhabi-
 “ tants of this foreign Land! is there no Re-
 “ lief for you! Is there no *Heſtor* left for
 “ the Defence, or rather for the Recovery,
 “ of *Troy*?---It is thine, O my God! to
 “ ſend us a ſecond *Mofes*: Thy Diſpenſa-
 “ tions are juſt! and unleſs the Children of
 “ the *Scythian* EBER SCOT, return to thee,
 “ old *Ireland* is not doomed to ariſe out of the
 “ Aſhes of modern *Saxony*.”

THE Author of this poetical Declamation
 preſerved himſelf from Punishment, by re-
 maining conſtantly in the *Irish* Quarters; and
 the *English* were far from being miſtaken,
 when they allotted the ſevereſt Penalties for
 theſe incendiary Bards; a Race of Men who
 were perpetually ſtirring up the Natives to
 Rebellion; and as conſtantly giving Rebel-
 lion another Name, Nothing leſs than the
 Rights

Rights of the Nation, and the Spirit of Liberty.

POETRY preserved the Spirit of our Language, the Force of Elocution, and in some Degree the antient Genius of the Nation, even in Ages of Anarchy. In Conjunction with it's Sister-art, Music, it must have produced much more powerful Effects in better Times : In the worst, it preserved the People from degenerating into Savages. Their Manners approached nearer to those of Citizens, than of Barbarians.



S E C T. VIII.

Of the MANNERS, CUSTOMS, COMMERCE and LAWS, of the antient SCOTS.

(*b*) **T**HE Manners of the antient *Scots*, like their original Principles of Theology, were grafted on the Stock of Nature.

(*b*) Sunt enim (ut supra commemoravi) perhospitales; prolixa beneficaque Natura; in laboribus, ex omni hominum genere, patientissimi; omnium bellicosissimi; in rerum angustiis raro fracti.—Magna ex parte sunt religionis summé colentes.—Nefas esse arbitrantur, vel teruncium de Sacerdotis bonis, in ulla direptione, attingere, multo magis execrantur, eorum Corpora vulnerare.—Idem honor rythmicis [Bardis] tribuitur, quorum ingeniis sebjectam Vitam, famamque habent. Nam horum laudationibus immortaliter gaudent; contraque eorum versibus violari, carnificinam existimant. Nam ut reliqua omnia æquissimo animo ferant, qui illud infamiæ frænum mordeant, non inveniunt. Nec Sacerdotes et rythnici solum, sed omnes etiam literis tincti,

ture. A noble Simplicity prevailed a long Time over all their Customs and Arts. Grandeur was sustained without Pageantry; Dignity, without Pomp; and Power, without Terror. The Great trusted their Respect chiefly to great Actions, without leaning on sumptuous Equipages, or brilliant Outfides; a necessary Distinction, no Doubt, where no better exists, and especially where civil Oeconomy requires that the Inside of great Men should, as much as possible, be concealed from the Knowledge of the Vulgar. Such Arts had no Place in a Country where Education confined itself simply to the Permanent and Useful. Great Plenty became the Source of Hospitality; Benevolence, of Popularity; and worthy Actions, of Authority. Superfluities could not administer to Luxury, amongst a People confined chiefly to the Productions of the native Soil: And Avarice could have little Place, as the Materials, which gratify it, were wanting. There was but one Method for rendering Superfluities

H useful;

tincti, sunt in laude et gratia, apud illos. Item ipsa optimarum artium cognitio, est in honore maximo. - Quod autem quorundam Sermo increbuit, eos passim in Silvis, inter feras, ætatem degere scœnumque instar pecudum, esse; id tam abest a vero, ut nihil magis vero esse possit, contrarium, &c.—Such is the Account given by *Stanihurst*, in the Year 1580, in an Age of Misery and of Barbarism, uncontrolled by any Law, but that derived from the Force of antient Manners.

useful ; that of distributing them among Retainers and Followers. If this should lessen the Merit of giving ; yet the Habit at length wore away Penury, and rendered Liberality a Virtue or a Vice, as it associated with the kindred Virtues or Vices which prevail more or less in the human Constitution. Such a Manner of Life did, in the general, produce friendly Intercourses between all Ranks of Men, without much Diminution of Authority ; because able Men were elected to Dignities, and because every Department of civil Oeconomy was regulated, as it was bounded, by stated Customs. The higher Ranks were Strangers to the Pride begat by partial Converse and false Distance ; and the lower owned their Dependance, without thinking meanly of it. This practical Observance of the social Duties, enlarged the Mind. It supplied the Wants, and corrected the Excesses, of the political Oeconomy ; it increased the Stock of human Knowledge, most wanted in all Ages ; but most neglected in our own. Civil Manners, in modern Times, are governed chiefly by Party-attachments, and spiritual Calumny.

EVERY Scheme of Legislation, every Plan of public Prosperity among this People, was, no Doubt, marred by some local Embarrassments ; such as hang more or less on every human

human System. The Darknefs and Miseries attending religious Hatred, were not of the Number. They began with the Education of Youth from their early Infancy, (*i*) by training them up to laborious Exercifes of Body and Mind: On the one Side, Running, Wrefling, Shooting; performing martial Evolutions; fuftraining Fatigues, and fometimes the Rigour of Hunger and Cold: On the other, they made them try their Strength in the *Filacht*, which took in every Subject regarding the human Mind. They taught them the Powers of Verfe and Song, by initiating them in the Myfteries of metrical Cadence, vocal Harmony, and graceful Action. Thefe Branches of Knowledge were abfolutely neceffary to young Princes, to the Candidates for Magiftracy, and to the Ollavain.

H 2

They

(*i*) *Mufica delæctantur-ét poëfi. Ad militiam maxime funt affecti, et ad eam cum primis, quibusque apti nationibus, utpoté animofi, fortes expediti, patientes laboris et inediae, appetentes gloriae, et capaciffimi cum totius disciplinae militaris, tum ufus atque exercitii armorum omnis generis. Scientias feu liberales disciplinas multum amant, et viros eruditos plurimum honorant. Sunt etiam paffim, acutis praediti ingeniis, et ubi commoditatem ad id nafti, addicunt fe libenter Studiis, diligenter eis infiftunt; pronoiores vero ad ea feruntur ftudiorum, five Scientiarum genera, in quibus ingenii acumen, quam alia, in quibus nulla mentis vis exercet fe. &c. Petr. Lombard. de Hibern. p. 112. Edit. Lovan.*

They were the Foundations on which Civil Policy and private Manners were erected.

(*k*) THE Institution of the *Mur-Ollavain* at *Teamor*, gave Rise (as observed before) to this Course of Education. Several other provincial Schools have been erected on the same Plan; of which, those of *Carman*, *Cruachain*, and of *Eamania* in particular, are illustrious Instances.

CONFORMABLE to the Spirit of Hospitality, their Entertainments were frequent and rational; seldom disorderly. Every Subject of the *Fileacht* entered into their convivial Associations; Peace and War; Science and Law; Government and Morals. These serious Speculations gave Way, in Turn, to Sports and Pastimes, wherein they sung the Actions of their Ancestors, and the Exploits of their Heroes. Nothing could animate their Youth more. From these Recitations they derived Intrepidity of Mind, and many noble Feelings, which counteracted the Treachery or Malevolence to which our human Nature is otherwise subject. That Disorders should sometimes end their mixed Entertainments, we cannot wonder; in a Country where Faction, the Bane of Liberty and

and of the Nation, prevailed too much. Popular Resentments were excited, as Liquor inflamed the Passions, and Contest rarely ended without Bloodshed on the Spot. In this Instance, the present Age may have the Advantage over the Times we speak of. Modern Party-aversion is more decent, tho' more implacable; less barborous, though not less determined.

AT stated Times, the Pleasures of the Chace superseded all other Diversions. (1) No People in the World pursued that Business more eagerly. It was (as I observed before) a Sort of military School, which rendered Toil easy, and annexed Pleasure to the rudest Fatigue. It gave them great muscular Strength, great Agility, and Firmness against the Severity of the most rigorous Seasons: It beside taught them Vigilance, Skill in Archery, and great Patience under long Abstinence from Food. They came out of the Forest expert Soldiers; and no Nation could excel them in rapid Marches, quick Retreats, and sudden Sallies. By these Means

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(1) *Scoti, ante cunctas gentes, studium venandi semper coluerunt. Laus. Consult. p. 520.*

Illa pharetratis est semper gloria Scotis

Cingere venatu saltus, superare natando

Flumina, ferre famem, &c.

Buchan. in Epithal. Vales.

it was, that they so often baffled the Armies of *Scuth-Britain*, and the *Roman* Legions united.

THOSE great Hunting-matches were so common in all Ages, that an Historian cannot over-look them, without omitting Particulars which entered deeply into their Policy and Manners.

AGRICULTURE was one of their principal Occupations in the earlier Ages. The first Employment of the *Milesian* Colony, after their Arrival from *Spain*, consisted in making Room for themselves in a Country covered over with huge Forests. In this Work they laboured so strenuously, that History makes particular Mention of the Monarchs who encouraged it most; ranking such Undertaking in the Number of the most glorious Incidents of their Reigns: And, undoubtedly were so; being infinitely of greater Benefit to Mankind, than lofty Pyramids, and other stupenduous Structures; wherein, though we have many Things to admire, yet Nothing more than the Power, as well as Folly, of the Builders.

THIS Clearing the Land of Wood, gave Rise to Agriculture: The Progress of the Art cannot be easily marked out, in the Fragments

ments we have left of those Times. The Omission, however, is supplied, in a great Degree, by Characters still as legible as they are authentic, from the Hand of Industry. In some of the waste and uncultivated Parts of *Ireland*, we at this Day meet the Impressions of the Plow-share; what gives the strongest Conviction that the Country had once a much fairer Face of Nature than it wears at present, after this long Repose of near eighty Years. It proves the superior Number, as well as superior Industry, of the antient Inhabitants: And it were to be wished, that a Circumstance, which contributes so much to our Reproach, may contribute to our Instruction.

To the Industry of the Inhabitants it must be owing, no Doubt, that the Antients, who touched on this Isle, preferred it, for it's (*m*) Fecundity, to *Great-Britain*. That *England* has at present vastly the Advantage in this

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Particular,

(*m*) *Hibernia* latitudine sui status, et salubritate et serenitate ærum, multum *Britanniæ* præstat.—Dives lactis et mellis, nec vinearum expers, piscium volucrumque, sed et cervorum venatu insignis. *Bed. Eccles. Hist.*

Hibernia propior *Britanniæ*; spatio terrarum angustior, sed Cœli, solique temperie Magis utilis. *Oros. in Sit. Europ. lib. 14.*

Scotia eadem et *Hibernia* proxima *Britanniæ* insula, spatio terrarum angustior, sed situ fœcundior. *Isidor.---*
Vid. *Petrum Lombard. Prim. Ardmac. de H.b. Cap. 8.*

Particular, cannot be denied; all owing to admirable Institutions, which find Employment for the inferior Ranks of Men, and excite Emulation, as well as Industry, every where. In these latter Ages, *Ireland* has been converted into a Desert of Bogs and Morasses. Even since the late Revolution, we had many Returns of Famine, which thinned the Land more than a civil War. We have seen our Towns on the Decay, our Inhabitants yearly on the Wing, and the best Part of three fine Provinces turned into Pasture-lands: All this we have felt, feel still, and still tolerate.

THE Buildings of the antient *Scots* were for Use solely, not for Ostentation. They built their Houses of Timber, as several Nations of *Europe* have done, until very lately, and as some do to this Day. Such Materials were near at Hand, were least expensive, and the soonest erected. They did not conceive that real Magnificence consisted in rearing great Heaps of Stone, artfully disposed, and closely cemented; or that real Grandeur received any Diminution from the Humility of it's Habitation. They brought Dignity to the Place; they sought none from it; And thus judged all the *Celtic* Nations; until the *Roman* Conquests changed their Manners, and made them yield to *Roman* Customs.

IRELAND, ever free from foreign Power, received but few foreign Improvements; and the History of one Age gives a tolerable Picture of all the rest, relatively to their Manners and Customs. The first in worthy Accomplishments was generally elected to the Dignities of Magistrature, whether royal, or dynastal. In such a Country, durable or superb Structures could not well take Place. As the Possession was temporary, so was the Building. And so far did inveterate Custom prevail among this People, that even after the Reception of *Christianity*, they could not be induced to build their Churches and Monasteries of more durable Materials than their own Habitations. The Exceptions are very few; and the (n) Church of St. *Kianan*, built in the sixth Century, is the first Instance of any Stone-work erected in the Kingdom.

THEY had no Cities, or large Towns, in the earlier Ages. Each Clan sat down in
it's

(n) Called by the Natives the *Domb-liag* of St. *Kianan*, (now called *Duleek*.) There were several other *Domb-Liags* (i. e. Stone Houses) built in Imitation of this; what sufficiently refutes the Idea of Writers, who pretend that we had no Stone Buildings in *Ireland*, before the Invasions of the *Normans*. What little St. *Bernard* said truly on this Subject, characteristically of the Time and Place, doth not conclude against former Times of less Confusion and Barbarism.

it's hereditary Canton, and each *Brughaid*, or Head-villager, held from the *Toisach*, or Chief of such a Clan, a certain Portion of Land for Culture and Pasturage. In every such District, the Occupiers lived apart; near enough to assist, not too near to incommode one another. In a Country, where the Inhabitants have but few mechanical Arts, where they draw most of their Necessaries from the Soil they cultivate, and where precious Metals are not made Equivalents or Signs of national Wealth, there can be few or no Cities. And though this is certainly true of *Ireland*; yet Civility was preserved, through the frequent Custom of bringing the People together on one Spot, in their Camps, their *Aonachs*, and particularly in their Assemblies at *Teamor*, *Taltion*, *Flachtga*, *Eamania*, *Cruachain*, &c. They were temporary Cities, (so to speak) where all national Affairs relating to War and Politics, Property and Commerce, were adjusted: And this Custom kept the People from falling into Barbarism.

IN their Wars with the *English*, they were at last obliged to avail themselves of the Arts of their Enemies, by erecting Castles and other strong Holds. This gave Rise to Stone-buildings in *Leinster*, *Munster*, and *Connaught*, and soon after in *Ulster*. The northern Bards
inveighed

inveighed bitterly against this Innovation, and represented it as a Signal, that the Nation was ripening for foreign Subjection. “ Let
 “ us (said one) pull down those Fortresses of
 “ the insidious Enemy, and cease working
 “ *for them*, by erecting any of our own.
 “ Their Stratagems assuredly will wrest them
 “ out of our Hands. Our Ancestors trusted
 “ entirely to their personal Valour, and
 “ thought the Stone-work of the *Gauls* a
 “ Disgrace to Courage. What a Reproach
 “ to their degenerate Posterity, not to be ac-
 “ tuated by a like Spirit!”

THE sumptuous Palace of (o) *Eamania* surrounded with Ditches and Ramparts, is (next to *Teamor*) the chief Instance we can produce of architectonical Magnificence among the antient *Scots*. It was built near *Ardmacha*, and makes a signal Æra in the History of the Nation. *Colgan* assures us, that the Ruins of that celebrated Court, (visible in his Time) proclaimed the Magnificence storied of it. The Palace itself was burned down in the Year of our Redemption, three hundred and thirty-two, by the Grandsons of *Carbry Liffecar*, after it stood more than six hundred Years; affording, through that long Period, such Examples of Splendor, Greatness and Oeconomy, as do Honour, not
 only

108 DISSERTATIONS *on the*
only to the *Rudrician*, but the whole *Milesian*
Race.

THE royal and senatorial House of *Teamor*, deserves particular Notice. I take my Account from the *Dinfechus* of (p) *Amergin*, who is supposed to be a Filea of the Desies of *Teamor* in the sixth Century.

THE chief Court, or (q) *Teach Miodchubarta*, was three hundred Feet in Length, thirty in Height, and fifty in Breadth. It had Access by fourteen Doors, which opened on several Apartments fitted up for the Kings and Deputies of each Province. The royal Seat was erected in the Middle of the House, where the Monarch in Chief sat in State, with his *Afionn*, or imperial Cap on his Head. He turned his Face to the West: The Kings of the two *Munsters* took their Seats on his Left; those of *Ulster* on his Right; the King of *Leinster* in his Front; and the King of *Connaught*, together with the *Ollambain*, behind the Throne. The particular Reasons
for

(p) A Typographer of the sixth Century. The Work I have before me, contains only some Extracts from that antient Writer; the Quotations from latter Writers shew evidently, that the Compiler could not have lived earlier than the twelfth Century.

(q) Vid. Poem. *Guani O Lochaini* H 1 A. Pro regis,
A. D. 1023.

for such a Disposition, are not set down in any Manuscript come to our Hands.

THIS high Court of Convention was surrounded by four other large Houses, fitted up for the Lodgings and Accommodations of the several provincial Kings and Deputies, during the Session: Close to these were other Houses; one for State-Prisoners; another for the Fileas, and another for the Princesses and Women who attended the Court.

IN *Teach Miodchuarta*, the Kings, Nobles and Deputies, assembled every Morning: Here they debated on the Affairs of the Public. What Time they generally took up in dispatching the Multiplicity of Affairs laid before them, and what their Order of Debate and Voting, we could not, by all our Enquiries, hitherto learn. Things too well known are often omitted by cotemporary Historians, as prolix and impertinent: And, to this Idea we owe the Loss of many curious Anecdotes in the History of all Countries. What we know for certain of *Irish* Legislation, may be brought within a small Compass. The Forms of the Constitution were observed, even in the Distractions of civil War, without Regard to Seceders, or Male-contents. Their Sessions were triennial; and, in ratifying their Ordinances, they took up six whole Days;

Days; three Days before the first of the Month *Samban*, (our first of *November*) and three after. In our modern Senates of Parliament, such Affairs are generally dispatched in one Day.

IT is remarkable of the Decisions of this Great Assembly, that they were reduced by the (*r*) Fileas into Verse, and registered in the royal Archives, or *Taibble*, of *Teamor*. The great Legislator, *Cormac O'Cuinn*, made a Reformation in this Custom; and his Repository has obtained the Title of the Psalter of *Teamor*. *Keating*, a most careless Collector, talks of this Body of Laws as extant in his Time: But, we have good Reason to believe, that no considerable Part of it hath escaped the Devastations of the *Norman War*.

TEAMOR

(*r*) His itaque familiis, demandatum fuit negotium, ut omnia notabilia, vel Commemoratu digna in regno, aut viciniis contingentia, secundum quod veritas facti se haberet, annotarent: et ne menda obreperet, aut falsa insinuatio, tenebantur in Committiis generalibus, vel coram supremo Monarchâ, et selectis peritioribus proceribus, (quibus post lucis Evangelicæ agnitionem adjuncti fuerunt Episcopi) scripta sua producere qualibet triennio, ubi habita diligenti discussione, ac expunctis omnibus, quæ incertæ, aut dubiæ fidei viderentur, de congestis omnium Calculo approbatio, summarium extractum asservabatur in Regio Scrinio *Teamoriæ*: unde prodiit celebratissimum illud Volumen. Psalterium *Teamoriæ*, ita nuncupatum, quia ad Solamen Memorix, et præcavendas corruptelas, metrice fuit compilatum. Jus. Prim. *Armachan*. p. 181.

TEAMOR was the royal Seat of the Kings of *Ireland*, and the principal Court of Legislation, from the Days of *Ollam-Fodla*, down to the Reign of *Dermot Mac Kervail*: So that the FES of *Teamor* continued, from Time to Time, through a Series of more than eleven hundred Years. Since the Year of CHRIST, five hundred and sixty, our national Assemblies were removed from *Teamor*, and kept occasionally in the other Parts of the Island, patrimonially subject to the North and South *Hy-Nialls*. *Teamor*, for some wicked Proceedings (of which Great national Councils give but too many Instances) was pronounced accursed, and no Monarch of *Ireland* sat there, after the Period we have mentioned, down to the Dissolution of the Monarchy under *Roderic*.

THE Dress of the antient *Scots*, was plain as their Manners. The Great were apparelled in much the same Manner with the lower Ranks, allowing only for the Fineness of the Texture, and the Variety, or rather Number, of the Colours. The Law of Colours was first promulgated by (i) *Eochy Edgathach*; and when it ceased we are not informed. The Number of them in any Garment distinguished the Rank of the Wearer; and

(i) *Leb. Gab.* part. 1. *Ogyg. Domest.* p. 204.

and those intitled to fix, (the *Ollambain* and Bards) came next in Honour to the ruling Princes. This Law did more towards gaining Esteem and Respect, than all the golden Trappings of the East; and yet cost Nothing. It produced a noble Emulation among Men of Letters, who, on approving themselves skilled in the *Fileacht*, that is, in the Arts and Sciences of the Land, received the Vesture of six Colours.

THE Fashion of this Vesture was so admirably adapted to the Manners of a martial Nation, that it received very little Change through all Ages. It helped to display Action, and exhibited the Actor in the most advantageous Manner. One Piece covered the Legs and Thighs of the Wearer closely. The *Braccon*, or Piece annexed, was so conveniently contrived, as to cover the Breast better than any modern Dress; while the close Sleeves gave the Soldier all the Advantages he could require in the Use of his Arms. The Covering of the Head, or *Bared*, was made of the same Stuff, and rose conically, like the Cap of a modern Grenadier. Over the Whole, they wore a *Fallung*, or wide Cloke; what covered them from the Sun and Rain in Time of Inaction, as in Time of War it served them for a Bed to repose on in their *Longs*, or Field-tents. I have seen a
Represent-

Representation of these Dresses, in the Carvings on the King of *Connaught's* (*k*) (*Feidlim O'Connor's*) Tomb in Roscommon: And the Remains of this Species of Apparel are still preserved in the Highlands of *Scotland*.

As few Things contribute more to the Happiness of States, than Order in their conubial Alliances, our antient Legislators were so peculiarly careful of this Part of civil Oeconomy; that they had a (*l*) Court set apart for it, in the great *Aonach*, or Assembly, of *Taltion*, established by *Tuathal Teachtmair*, in the second Century. In the preceding Ages, we read of (*m*) Abominations among our Princes, which disgrace Humanity, and which no good Qualities, for which they are celebrated, can compensate. It appears, however, that the *Taltionian* Regulations permitted Polygamy, and that the thorough Reformation of this Abuse in Manners, was reserved for the Days of Christianity.

WHAT appears barbarous in their Funerals, was, in it's Institution, a Strain of refined Policy. The Croteries and Bards composed the Funeral-song: A Chorus of Minstrels was retained for chaunting it. The

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Virtues

(*k*) Ob. A.D. 1265.

(*l*) Vid. *Ogyg. Domest.* p. 304.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 267. 282. 287.

Virtues and Heroism of the Defunct were founded in affecting Strains, and the Solemnity of their Procession, as the dead Body was conducted to the Grave, made such an Impression on the Hearers, as produced the Effects intended; a Reverence and Imitation of Virtue, or of what, in those Ages of Heathenism, was deemed Virtue. Among all the Arts which wind up the human Passions, the Legislators of this Island found none more effectual, than the united Powers of Verse and Song. This inveterate Custom entered so deeply into the Manners of the Nation, as to out-live, in some Degree, all Revolutions. The female Chorus is continued to this Day at our Funerals in *Ireland*, and in the Highlands of *Scotland*; but so remotely from the original Institution, so debased by extemporaneous Composition, and so disagreeable from unequal Tones, that no Passion is excited. It is at present a truly barbarous, but innocent Custom.

So few are the Examples of burning the Dead among this People, that we must attribute their exhibiting any, to some local Occasions, which must for ever lie in the Dark. They stuck religiously to the original Custom of Mankind, in the patriarchal Days, that of Interment. Of this, the two royal Cemeteries of *Brugh-Boyne*, and of *Relic-na-Riogh*,
near

near *Cruachain*, are clear Proofs. The latter Place is of a circular Form, surrounded with a Stone Ditch greatly defaced. It measures an hundred and sixteen Paces in Diameter; and it is remarkable at present for Nothing, but being once the Dormitory of so many of our Heathen Kings, celebrated in a few sweet Lines by *Torna Egeas*, a Filea of the fourth Century. (n); *Dathby*, the last of our Heathen Monarchs, was therein interred.

(n) Ogyg. Domest. p. 415.



S E C T. IX.

The same Subject continued.

THE Commerce of this People was never considerable: The Wealth of the Nation consisted chiefly in their numerous Herds, and the Produce of their own Labour: It was real and inexhaustible Wealth. The Progress of Industry produced Superfluities, and these they bartered for the Commodities of the northern Countries; of *Gaul* in particular, the wealthiest of all. Such a Beginning removed the Seat of the northern Commerce into *Ireland*, preferably to *Britain*. From this Account, to which (o) *Tacitus* gives his Testimony, we may collect two Circumstances, which reflect great Honour on the Nation; their Humanity to Strangers, and their superior Industry.

THE

(o) Odditus, portusque *Hiberniæ*, per Commercia et Negotiatores melius cogniti. *Tacit. in Vit. Agricol. §. 24.*

THE little Commerce they had with foreign Nations, though confined, was yet free ; It encreased much, it lessened in no Degree their domestic Prosperity. By improving the Bounties of Nature, the Wealth of the State was great and solid, while that of Individuals was restrained within moderate Limits. Luxury, the Parent of private Opulence, and at some Times of public Indigence, found no Entrance ; and their civil Liberty could never be merely nominal, however abused, in some Periods of Time, by Party and Faction.

AFTER the Perusal of the foregoing Facts, from Fragments of foreign and domestic Writers, we must give little Attention to Sir *James Ware*, who asserts, from no Authority, but from what he saw and felt in his own miserable Time, That the antient *Irish* fed but poorly, and mostly on spontaneous Vegetables. Had no History remained, yet the Inscriptions of Agriculture, still so fairly legible on our coarsest Wilds, would easily refute so ignominious a Representation ; to say Nothing of our Soil and Sea-coasts, so abundant in the richest Kinds of animal Food. Nothing but a State of Despondency and Discouragement, can produce Laziness and it's concomitant Evils, in any civilized Coun-

try, where almost all the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life must necessarily be purchased by the Hand of Labour. A different State of Things gives Nature a new Spring, opens her active Powers, and kindles up every extinguished Principle of national Virtue: Nor can we doubt but that *Ireland*, even in the Days of *Tacitus*, must have been happier than it is at present, where we see two Thirds of our People living, like the wild *Tartars* of *Asia*, chiefly on dry Roots; without Raiment, without Habitations, without Pity! Posterity will hardly believe this to be our present Case, and it will be posed to discover the Causes of so much Misery, under so mild an Administration, and so long a State of Repose as we have enjoyed, through a Course of more than seventy Years: Nor will the Difficulty be lessened, when it is considered that modern *Ireland*, through Improvements in Navigation, and, indeed, through the Improvement of the whole *European* State, has many Means of Prosperity in her Hands, which the Old wanted. But we are doomed to be singular in Extremes:—a free, and relatively speaking, a knowing People, under the smallest Advantages; a miserable, and (if our Neighbours may be credited) a dull Nation amidst the greatest.

IN Dissertations on the History of this, or of any other Country, Digressions of this Nature

Nature may have their Use. But, before we come to a Conclusion of the present Section of Manners and Customs, it will be apposite to our Design, to give some Account of the civil Law of the antient *Scots*. This, which the *Romans* called *Jurisprudence*, was known in *Ireland* by the general Name of *Pheneachus*, and commenced, probably, with the Legislation of *Ollam-Fodhla*. Our first Axioms were few and simple. In the second State of Legislation, some Reformation was made by (o) *Royney Rosgadbach*, the Son of *Hugony* the Great, about two hundred and ninety Years before the *Christian* Æra; but (as it appears) with little Effect in the Times of Confusion which ensued.

THE Contests of rival Princes, after the Accession of *Mogbacorb* to the Throne, overturned one Corner-stone of the Constitution, and greatly affected the Distribution of legal Justice. The *Fileas* engrossed, then corrupted, and finally defeated, the Advantages Society expected from it. Revolutions in Government were frequent. The *Fileas* in Power applauded every new Change, with seditious Virulence, and, in their judicial Capacity, as *Brehons*, silenced or oppressed (but too often) the Voice of Justice. Like the *Druids*, their Guides in most Matters,

I 4

they

(o) *Ogyg. Domest.* p. 218.

they sought every Means of imposing on the Public, and of rendering their Knowledge as dark and cabalistic, as their Decisions were violent and arbitrary. In such Outrages, where Law itself becomes a greater Grievance, than most, that it would redress, the Remedy must ultimately come out of the Disease. The Nation could no longer bear this State of Things; and, by a natural Reaction, the public Resentment poured, like a Torrent, on the Heads of the *Fileas*. In this, as in most similar Cases, Violence knew no Bounds, but swept Good and Bad before it, without Discrimination or Discretion. Confounding the Use with the Abuse of Things, the People of *Munster* and *Leinster* would hearken to no Composition, and the *Fileas* were banished out of the *Heberian* and *Heremonian* Provinces. In this Distress, these Perverters of Law and Learning found no Protection but in the Court of *Eamania*, under (*p*) *Concovar Mac Nessa*, a Prince, whose heroic Actions and Patronage of the Sciences, made Amends to the Public for great personal Failings.

THIS Prince, attentive to the Dangers, to which the desperate Cure of abolishing the
Filean

(*p*) Poem. Joh. O'Cler. *Esdigh a Egse Banbha.*

Sub *Conquovaro*, *Ultonie* rege, duo celebres ordinis
jam

Filean Order exposed the Public, attempted and effected a Reformation. The Fileas, however

jam laudati Poëtæ, *Forchernus*, *Deagæ* filius (a quo *Deagade Mommonice*) & *Nedius*, filius *Adnai*, nepos *Uibirii*, colloquium de legibus instituerunt. Idem *Forchernus* apud *Eamaniam Ultonie* regiam poeseos præcepta, & varia carminum genera literis mandavit. Quem librum *Uraicaicht na negeas*, i. e. præcepta Poetarum inscriptum, & centena Carminum genera complexum. *Kenfoela*, filius *Olilli*, *Donaldo* rege *Hiberniæ*, multis abinde Sæculis apud *Doire-Luairain* interpolavit. *Forchernus* idem & *Nedius* ut et *Athirneus*, *Conquovari* regis Archipoeta inter authores numerantur, qui legum axiomata *Judicia Cælestia* nuncupata, quemadmodum apud *Græcos* dicta Sapientum, decreverunt; *Cælestia* etiam *judicia* tulerunt *Moranus*, *Carbrei* Regis *Hiberniæ*, filius, & sub *Feredacho* Rege item *Hiberniæ* supremus judex, *Cormacus* Rex *Hiberniæ* (cujus & *Carbrei* filii & in regno Successoris apud *Acoill* in legem lucubrationes etiamnum extant) *Fithilus*, *Cormaci* regis Judex, & *Finnus*, *Cuballi* filius, *Cormaci*, ejusdem Militiæ Præfectus & gener. Inter alios etiam cœlestium axiomatum Authores recensentur, *Fachtinaus* filius *Senchai* nepos *Coelclini*, *Senchaus* filius *Olilli*, *Nereus*, filius *Finncollui*, *Rognius Rosgadhach*, poëta, filius *Hugonii* Regis *Hiberniæ*, *Manius Nilnescius* poeta, & *Ethnea*, filia *Amalgadii*.

Talia itidem *judicia* Christiani excoluerunt *Dubthacus O Lugair*, S. *Patricio* adventante, *Ethnicus*, de quo *Jocelinus* Cap. 45. *Senchanus Torpestius*, tempore *Guarii* Regis *Connahtiæ*; *Kenfoela*, filius *Olilli*, de quo supra, & qui é veterum Scriptis unum opus constarunt *Judicia Cælestia* inscriptum, tres O *Burechani* fratres, viz. *Farannanus* Episcopus, *Boethgalus* judex, & *Maltulius* poëta, *Cathaldo Fingunii*, rege *Momonice*.

Paulo ante *Conquovarum*, *Fergusso* filio *Ledei Ultoniæ* præsidente, *Seanus*, filius *Agii* Scriptor floruit, qui *Fonn Seanchuis mboir* composuit. Celebria fuerunt *Judicia Eugenii*

however corrupt, had, at this Time particularly, Men of their Order, reputable for great Capacity and Integrity. *Concobar* set these eminent Persons to Work; and FORCHERN, NEID, and ATHARNE, of (q) Ben-

Eugenii, filii Darthaeti, Achaii, filii Luetai, regis Momonie, qui erant Conquovaro Suppares, Carithniati & Nemthenii. Feradachus, Rex Hibernie, sub quo Morannus, floruit, Scriptis fuit celebris. Modanus, filius Talbani, Quinti Centimachi regis Hibernie tempore, legum volumen conscripsit. Conlaum insignem Connachtæ judicem, qui adversus Druidas scriptis decertavit, Senchaum filium Caelinii (Fachtnai, de quo supra, patrem) Kinethum O Conmid, & alios Paganos omittam, quorum tempora distinguere non vacat. Ogyg. part. 3. p. 218.

(q) Now the Hill of Howth.

That the Nation had some public *Taiblle Feneachus*, (or Law-Tables) before this Time, we have Reason to believe, from the Regulations made by *Ollamb-Fodbla, Royney-Rosgadbach, Angus-Ollamb*, and others. Whatever they were, it is certain, that they grew obsolete, and were set aside, to make Way for the arbitrary Decisions of the *Fileas*. Hence the great national Clamour against that Order of Men, and their Expulsion into *Ulster*, until, through the Interposition of *Concobar Mac Nessa*, new Law-tables were published, and every Man, in some Degree, made a Judge of what he owed to the Public, as a Fellow-subject, and to himself as an Individual.

Mr. *O'Flaherty's* Assumption (for it is no more) that we had no Law-tables before *Mac Nessa's* Time, is refuted even by himself, in the same Page wherein he delivers it; confessing that *Royney Rosgadbach*, who lived two hundred Years before *Concobar*, was one of the Authors of our *Cæstrial Judgments*. In the main, however, we cannot deem this any great Slip of that accurate Author, as those original Judgments were wholly laid aside, or lost in the intervening Times of public Confusion. Vid. *Ogyg.* p. 216. 217.

Ben-Hedar, gained Renown through all succeeding Ages, as well by their Labours in reducing the Laws to simple and intelligible Rules, as by giving such wise Judgments, as rendered the Course of Justice less obstructible through the Chicanery of future Advocates and Brehons. By such Regulations, now first published through every Part of the Kingdom, the Fileas were once again admitted into Credit. The Terror of their late Expulsion, made them practise on the Terms of their original Institution.

THE Civilians under *Concovar*, reduced the Laws into Axioms, which, like those of old *Royney*, obtained the Title of *Breatba-Nimbe*, or *Cælestial Judgments*. These were deemed to have been composed with so much Equity and Wisdom, as to merit the Approbation of Heaven, and to be, consequently, unalterable. Numerous were the Authors, *Heathen* and *Christian*, who composed these *Judicia Cælestia*. To omit the three famous Fileas just mentioned, *Moran*, the Son of *Carbry*, King of *Ireland*, and Brethe to *Feradach* the Just, (A. D. 85,) published some. The same *Feradach*, *Cormac O'Guinn*, and *Carbry Liffecar*, his Son, all Monarchs of *Ireland*, gave *Cælestial Judgments* also. *Fitbil*, Brehe, or Judge, to *Cormac O'Guinn* and *Fin Mac Cumbaill*, that King's Son-in-law,
and

and Commander in Chief of the Army, published some. *Fachtna*, *Senckan*, *Nere*, *Eogan*, Son of *Datracht*, *Achay* Son of *Luchta*, *Moran*, and *Conla*, Judge of *Connaught*, (he who wrote the celebrated Book against the Druids) immortalized themselves also by their *Brethe-Nimbe*.

IN the Times of Christianity, likewise, several eminent Civilians compiled into one Body the *Celestial Judgements* of the Antients, and added some of their own. *Dubthach O'Lughair*, in the Time of Saint PATRIC, *Senckan*, the three Brothers, *Faranan*, *Boethgal* and *Maeltuile*, Civilians of the eighth Century, and several others.

Duald Mac Firbis, the most eminent Antiquarian of the latter Times, was possessed of a considerable Number of the *Brethe-Nimbe*. He alone could explain them; as he alone, without Patronage or Assistance, entered into the Depths of this Part of *Scotish* Learning, so extremely obscure to us of the present Age. When we mention *Mac Firbis*, we are equally grieved and ashamed; his neglected Abilities, ignominious to his ungrateful Country; his End tragical; his Loss irreparable! This Great Man transmitted an Account of of the *Pheneachus* Books in his Possession to the learned Author of (r) *Cambrensis*.

(r) *Cambrensis*. *Evers*. Cap. 20. p. 157. 158. 159.

brensis Eversus, from whom we have drawn the following Extract.

The first, intituled *Brethe-Nimbe*, was compiled chiefly from the antient *Fileas*, by the three Brothers above-mentioned, the Sons of *Bureachan*, and the Contents are given in the following Lines.

Eaglais, Flatha agus Filidh
Bretheamh daois gacha Dlighidh
Na Brughaidh fo aoibh dar linn
Na Saoir agus na Gabhinn.

*Quod sit Jus Cleri, Satrapæ, Vatisque, Fabrique,
Nec non Agricolaë, Liber iste docebit abunde.*

Mr. Lynch.

Another Collection contained the following Tracts.

I. MEILL-BREATHA. A Book written for the Use of the Unlearned, by *Modan*, the Son of *Tolban*, in the Reign of *Con-ced-cathach*, about the Year 177.

II. FIONDSUITH; written by *Fiatach*, one of the *Teamorian* Civilians, in the Reign of our great Legislator *Cormac O'Cuin*, about the Year 260.

III. AN TEACHT-BREATH; a Miscellany of several Laws.

IV.

IV. AN FUIGHEAL-BREATH; a Supplement to the Laws; to which is subjoined a Tract, intituled *Fotha-moir*, setting forth the true Office of a Judge, and the Errors which subject him to a Privation of his Jurisdiction.

V. FOTHA-BEAG: A Book on the Laws of Partition.

VI. AID-BHREATHA: A Tract relating to Thefts.

VII. CORASFINNE. A Book prescribing Rules for the Regulation of the Tanast-Districts.

VIII. The Book of CAIN, or Mulcts; divided into twenty-four Parts. The first relates to Mulcts of all Kinds; the second, to Murders and several other Crimes, with the Punishments annexed; the third, to Securities, Pawns and Forfeits; the fourth, to Witnesses and Testimonies. This Work was perfected at *Cashel*, under the Patronage of the Great Prince *Feidlim*, the Son of *Crimthan*, who merited the Title of *DOCTRISIMUS Scotorum*, and died King of *Munster*, in the Year 846.

To this Work is added, by Way of Appendix, *Eidgheadh*; a Book treating of Crimes

Crimes against the Laws, written in the third Century by *Cormac O'Cuin*, and his Son *Carbry Liffecar*, his Successor on the Throne.

IX. ANOTHER Work, intituled DULA, consisted of three Parts. The first treats of political Subjection, and the Measures of Obedience to our Kings; of Wardships, Patronages and privileged Places; of the Punishments of Offenders in the Case of Blood; and of the Forms wherein Pacts, Contracts and Treaties should be reduced to Writing. The aforesaid Monarch, *Cormac O'Cuin*, assisted in digesting this Work.

THE second Part; a miscellaneous Treatise, relating partly to Ecclesiastical Matters. It was compiled by *Comin-fóda*, but the Time uncertain: Another Tract relates to Rights and Regulations by Sea and Land; and was drawn by *Cormac* and *Carbry Liffecar*. The last prescribes what Honours are to be paid to Kings, Ecclesiastics, Fileas, &c. It is said to be taken mostly from *Royney Rosgadbach*, Son of *Hugony* the Great, who flourished three hundred Years before the Christian Æra.

X. CAIN-FUITRIBHE is the Title of another Code, which treats of the Laws of Prescription, and long Possessions. It was written

128 DISSERTATIONS *on the*
written in the eighth Century, under the
Inspection of *Cathal Mac Finguine*, King of
Munster.

XI. FONN SEANCHAIS MOIR. After the Reception of Christianity, Saint *Patrick* assisted in this great Work on the History and Laws of the Island, purged from Corruptions and druidic Superstitions: It is mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters; and the Loss of it is irreparable.

XII. CAIN DRUBHARTAIGH BEARRA, came forth about the same Time with the *Seanchais moir*: It treated chiefly of maritime and commercial Affairs.

XIII. CAIN LANAMHNA MOIR, and CAIN LANAMHNA BEG, showed the several Relations of Society, &c.

XIV. FAIDH FENEACHAIS. A Miscellany of all Laws.

XV. CAIN BORACHTA. A Tract relating to Property in Herbage, Herds, Flocks, &c.

ANOTHER Work, of which the Title is not given, treated of the Laws of Poetry; laid down Rules for Panegyric and Satire,
&c.

&c. This Work, begun by *Atbarney* of *Benbedar*, some Time before the Christian Æra, received several Additions from the Hands of *Ailgerach*, *Seanchan*, *Torpesty*, and others. I have seen some very antient Transcripts from these Writers in the Hands of the learned Doctor *O'Sullivan*; a Gentleman, whose Merit with the Public must not be concealed; as he has, at great Expence, made the best private Collection of antient Manuscripts now in the Kingdom, and as none knows the Use of them better.

S E C T. X.

Of the Laws of TANISTRY and ERIC, &c.

ON the Decline, and consequent Destruction, of the *Irish* Oeconomy, most of the old *Scotish* Laws were necessarily disused; others, ingrafted on antient Manners, were necessarily retained, though often hurtful in the Application: Like Medicines which have their Use in one Stage of a Disease, they served only to squeeze out the Remains of Life in another. The *Roydamna*, *Tanist*, and Partition-Laws of *Ireland*, appear shocking to modern Writers; because they draw their Judgments from modern Ideas and modern Customs. They consider chiefly the evil Effects of those Institutes in latter Times, without considering that they were calculated for distant Periods of Time, for certain Stages of Policy, and for peculiar Manners, under the Control of a national Legislation. Under that Control, the Condition

dition of the People was tolerable, never slavish. The Laws were suited to the Times; to a Nation, whose chief Commerce was within themselves. The Wealth of Individuals consisted not in Money, but in Men; in a Number of Retainers, who knew their own Value, and were free in Consequence of that Knowledge. The higher Ranks might impose, they could never prey, upon the lower; and many of the Miseries, felt under a more orderly Form of Government, were prevented. When the senatorial Power of the Monarchy was dissolved, then the Customs of Gavel-kind and Tanistry proved destructive indeed. For several Ages, many able and good Men lamented their own Condition, and that of the Nation. They applied to *England* frequently for a Government of equable Laws; but they applied in vain.

UNDER legislative Regulations, the Tanist and Partition-laws were necessary, in a great Degree, to a People governed by such Manners as we have described in these Dissertations. Their Arts were but few; their Commerce limited. It appeared necessary under such a Dispensation, that every Chieftain of a District should be the Legislator of it; a Legislator by established Custom, not by arbitrary Determination. By his distributive

Power, thus controlled, no Individual of the Clan could be excluded from a Share of landed Property. Each Land-holder, it is true, held for Life only; but he had a Security in the Knowledge, that whatever Disposition was made after his Decease, it would still be in Favour of his own Kindred, and not of the least Worthy; as is often permitted by more modern Institutions. He might, in his Life-time, negotiate in Favour of his nearer Kindred, his Children. And several Examples might be produced of a lineal Succession, for many Generations, as regularly, from Father to Son, as at present. In such Instances, the Advantages of hereditary Right were enjoyed; the Inconveniences removed. No Person could alienate his Tenure, or hurt his Successor; it being deemed proper, under such a Constitution, that Families should be immortal, though Individuals are not; and that what was but a temporary Tenure to the Possessor, should be perpetual to the Clan. Such a Balance kept the Scales pretty even, under the Regulations of a national Legislature, armed with Power to enforce its own Ordinances. Under such Regulations, *Ireland* prospered for several Ages: And it is a Fact of Notoriety, that the Partition and Tanist Laws never prevailed more,
than

than when this Country became the (f) prime Seat of literary Knowledge to all Christendom.

WHO could imagine that Men, in whom our Tanist and agrarian Laws excite so much Horror, should themselves be the Inhabitants of a Country, wherein two Thirds of the People live in a State of Despondency and *invincible* Poverty! What Tanistry Law, in the Days of Anarchy, could produce more political Evil, than such Men experience in Days of the profoundest Repose?

MUCH is said, and much is truly said, of the Evil of the Tanist Laws, relatively to adorning a Country by commodious Houses, Enclosures, and other Cultivations of the Earth. That such Customs were not so destructive formerly in *Ireland*, we have shown, from the Vestiges of antient Agriculture, now found in waste and uninhabitable Places. In latter Ages, such Customs were attended with the worst of Consequences. (t) They tended to render our Island a Desert, and our People Savages: But we must derive those Consequences from Sources more foul than any which could flow from the simple

K 3

Tanist-

(f) *Prideaux's* Connect. of the Old and New Test. Vol. 3. p. 341.

(t) Vid. Sir *John Davis's* Historical Relations throughout.

Tanist-Laws alone; from a State of Anarchy; from a perpetual State of Hostility; in which the People were exercised, either among themselves, or with the common Enemy, who gave them no Quarter. A People thus divided, and thus kept divided, were not capable of any Undertakings which should distinguish a civilized State; fierce from Resentment, cruel from unrelenting Severity, desperate from Insecurity, they neither improved, built, or planted. They seemed passionate for destroying what they could not enjoy.

THE Law of *Eric*, so much reproached to the Nation, at the present Time, was, in it's Original, an admirable Institution. It was as grafted upon the inerrable Law of right Reason; and (where no extraordinary Circumstances forbid) should be a standing Law through the whole Earth. It was what we call the Law of *Retaliation*, and was first promulged in the Reign of *Feidblim Reachtmar*, King of *Ireland*, in the Year 164.—“ By “ the Terror of this Law,” says the judicious Doctor *Warner*, “ the People of *Ireland* were brought to more Humanity, “ Honesty and good Manners of every Kind, “ than ever they were before. It is,” adds he, “ not only the most equitable Law in “ itself,

“ itself ; but, in it's Consequences, bids fairer
 “ than any other to promote public Order
 “ and Integrity.”

WHEN the Custom of Tanistry was no longer under the earlier legislative Regulations, then indeed that of (*u*) *Eric* underwent the great Abuse of repairing the crying Guilt of Assassination, by mulctative Amercement. It was the Consequence of a bad civil State, tending not only to Barbarism, but what is worse, to the Extinction of natural Sympathy, and of almost every noble Feeling in the human Breast. Through this Custom, Murder became common, and lost it's Name; even in the Annals of the Monks, wherein it is almost universally called Occision. It should be noticed, that the Country was divided into independent and hostile petty States, and that each became a Sanctuary to the Murderers, or to the Killers (as they were called) of the other. There was no Remedy against these Assassinations, but by a mulctative *Eric*. It was a Reparation

K 4

better

(*u*) The Custom of an *Eric* for Murder prevailed certainly before the Conquest under Henry II. Thus we are told, in the Annals of the *Four Masters*, that *Roderic*, the last Monarch of the Kingdom, obliged the People of *Desmond* to give him up 3600 Cows, as an *Eric*, for the Assassination of *Murkertagh O'Brien*, King of *Munster*, A.D. 1168.

better than none, and generally levied on the Offender's Kindred, to make Satisfaction to the Clan for the Loss of their Tigern, or the Tigern's Vassal.

DOCTOR WARNER'S Dissertation on this Subject, in the Memoirs of the Life of Sir *Thomas More*, (w) and partly repeated in his History of *Ireland*, is worthy the serious Attention of all the Legislators in *Europe*. The Law of *Eric*, as it was first established in *Ireland*, he proves to be the Law of God; and observes, that, "we too far infringe on
 " his Commands, by taking away the Lives
 " of Men for Theft and Robbery. It is
 " not only a pernicious Error---for extreme
 " Justice is extreme Injury---but a national
 " Abomination."---And he adds, "the Wil-
 " fulness of the Crime is no Sort of Excuse
 " for making the Punishment far exceed
 " the Heinousness of the Transgression: And
 " who will deny, that a little Theft or Rob-
 " bery----perhaps of two or three Shillings
 " only---is not punished infinitely beyond
 " a just Proportion, when it is punished
 " with Death?"

THIS is excellently advanced by the learned Author. It not only evidences a feeling

(w) Hist. of *Utopia*; Note, p. 42, 43; and Hist. of *Ireland*, p. 225, 226.

feeling Heart, but a sound Head, which disdains any reigning Opinion, and every local Prejudice that tends to make the State of Mankind worse than our common Nature requires, or divine Providence ever intended. And, in Truth, the *Irish* Custom of sparing of Blood, by mulcting for the greatest of Crimes, cannot be a greater Solecism in civil Policy, than our Law of shedding it for the smallest. Our petty-larceny Delinquents (such as Sheep-stealers, &c.) certainly should not suffer the Punishments inflicted on Murderers and High-traitors: By confining them in Work-houses for Life, they might be rendered very useful Members, in a Country which must flourish by it's Manufactures, or remain in a constant State of Languor, and Decay.

DURING the Times of Desolation, from *Henry II.* to those of *Queen Elizabeth*, the Manners, Customs, and Condition, of the *Irish*, proceeded from bad to worse; seldom from bad to better. Their own antient Laws were for the most Part useless, hurtful, or impracticable; and they were thrown out of the Protection of those of *England*. Political Art, feeble in Planning, and lazy in Executing, the Good of Society, is generally successful in Undertakings for it's Destruction,

tion. The Whole of this Art, for three hundred and fifty Years, in this Kingdom, was exhausted in Schemes for oppressing the Natives, without Remorse or Mercy: And this Plan was carried on with so much Rage, that all the Purposes of dividing this devoted People were, for a long Time, in a great Degree disappointed. The *Irish* re-entered most of the Countries they had lost, and reduced the *English* Pale to narrow Limits, wherein the Possessors were straitened, from the continued Hostilities of the Borderers, who became very expert Soldiers, and indeed the best in the Kingdom.

DURING this long Period, the Spirit of antient Manners shot a Gleam through the Chaos of Anarchy, in which it was enveloped, History can afford some such Examples. The Clergy and the Bards had a mighty Influence. It was impossible that they could preserve the People, nay themselves, from the Consequences of a general Degeneracy in a State of lawless Usurpations: But a Retention of some antient Manners, prevented them from sinking into absolute Barbarism, much less a State of Savageness; what (x) a very able Historian

(x) The Historian we mean, is Mr. *David Hume*, who trusted to the Accounts of avowed Enemies, and recommended the Abuse of this People, by the Vigour

Historian of our own Time has repeatedly charged them with. The Monasteries and Schools kept the Remains of Learning and Humanity alive among them. (y) Their Seminaries were unmolested in Times of the fiercest Hostilities between the Chieftains: And no Disgrace could prove more ruinous to any Party at War, than the Violation of those Sanctuaries. This admirable Prejudice prevailed over foreign Violence and domestic Depra-

of his Style, and Strength of his Colouring. *Staniburst*, a less embittered Enemy, would inform him better; not to mention many other cotemporary Writers, who are still more impartial. *Vehemens quædam* (says *Staniburst*) *et pervagata opinio, per animos multorum pervadere solet, Hibernicos istos, omnem humanitatem abjicere, fusos per densissimas Silvas ac dispersos vagari; depique ferina quadam immanitate effrenatos vitam horridam incultamque vivere. Sed qui illos his conviciis infamant, a mendacio contra verum perspicue stant, &c.*

(y) That such was the Case, with Regard to Men of Science, even in the *Heathen* Times, we are assured from the concurrent Testimonies of all our Historians. The same Custom prevailed among the antient *Scots* of *North-Britain*: And the Words of *Buchanan* are so apposite to our present Subject, that better cannot be chosen. “*Tantus eis,*” says he, “*honus in multis*” “*locis habetur, ut et ipsi sacro-sancti, et eorum do-*” “*mus pro asylo sint, et inter infestissimos hostes, ubi*” “*crudelissimè et bellum geritur, et victoria exercetur,*” “*perpetua sit eis, eorumque comitibus, ultro citroque*” “*commeandi potestas.*” *Buchan. Rer. Scotic. lib. 2.* p. 54. And he adds, (speaking of his own Time) “*Plurima ex veteribus institutis adhuc manent; nec*” “*quicquam ferè in Hibernia, nisi in ceremoniis, et re-*” “*ligionis ritibus, est mutatum.*”---*Ibid.*

Depravity, at all Times: And to it's Obstinacy we owe what still remains of their ancient History and Literature.

To conclude: We cannot, with Doctor *Lynch* and others, but lament the fatal Policy of the *English*, who, until the Reign of *James I.* took all possible Pains to destroy our old Writings, as they did those of *Scotland*, in the Reign of *Edward I.* They thought that the frequent Perusal of such Works kindled the Natives to Rebellion, from reminding them of the Power and Independency of their Ancestors. This was no groundless Idea: Yet, I cannot but observe, with the learned Sir *John Davys*, that had this People been granted the Benefit of the *English* Laws, it would go infinitely farther towards securing their Obedience, than the Destruction of all the Books and Laws ever published in this Kingdom.



SECTION XI.

CHRONOLOGY of the antient SCOTS.

WHEN a Colony of *Celtiberians* emigrated from *Spain* to *Ireland*, in an early Age, they imported hither some Knowledge of Letters. The Characters of those Letters, bearing some Resemblance to the Curvity or Flexure of certain Branches of Trees, were from thence denominated FEADHA, or WOODS. The Art remained long in it's infant State, however some Princes might have laboured to improve it. Through almost unsuspended Contentions for Superiority among the Chiefs of the Royal Line, it made but feeble Advances towards Maturity. It was often thrown into Obscurity, but was never extinguished: The Druids and Bards, making a distinct Society in the legislative Representation of the Nation, and being of great Weight in all the Determinations

tions relative to Religion and Government; they took Care to preserve a Mystery, which, of all others, answered best the Purposes of their Profession. It entered into the public Polity, and was therefore necessarily retained. The Bards have left us some Traces of those antient Times, and they ought not to be wholly rejected; since they give us some Light into the Manners and Arts of the old Inhabitants of this Island.

THE Regulations of *Ollam-Fodla* form a signal *Æra*, although not precisely ascertained. His unworthy Successors overturned the Foundations he laid; and (z) *Tigernach* pronounces our Accounts, before *Kimbaoth*, uncertain. Our earliest Reports have been transmitted down in the Pomp of Verse and Song; and participated more or less of the Exaggerations of poetical Diction. They give us a Glimpse of the Intercourses between the antient *Spaniards* and oriental Nations: They inform us of the Use of Letters among the antient Natives of *Ireland*, in virgular Forms, such as we find were originally used among the antient *Phenicians*, and other Orientals: And they set the Characters of some Princes in such a Light, as leaveth us no Room to suspect the Whole to be a Forgery,
any

(z) Ogyg. Domest. p. 258.

any more than the poetical Accounts we have left us of the *Zoroasters*, *Confucius's*, or *Minos's*, of the *Persians*, *Chinese*, or *Grecians*.

GREAT Men of this Stamp, have so far distinguished themselves in reforming civil Society, that neither the Obscurity of Time, nor License of Fable, could remove them out of Sight, even in the Infancy of lettered Knowledge. Such among ourselves was *Amergin*, one of the chief Conductors of the *Gadelian* or *Scotish* Colony from *Spain*; a Prince, a Filea, and a Legislator: Such was *Eachy Edgathack*, who first tied down the People to a stricter Subordination of Ranks: And such (to omit others) was the celebrated *Ollam-Fodla*, who adapted, as far as possible, the civil Constitution to the Manners of the People, and laid sure Foundations for reforming the one by the other, if the Perverseness of his Successors had not interposed.

THE several chronological Epochs of this Nation are tolerably stated, and furnish no small Proof of the early Use of Letters among them. The *Æra* of the *Scotish* Expedition from *Spain*, the most uncertain of all, does not want Supports from foreign Testimonies which coincide with the Fact. Our best technical Chronologers place it unanimously about a thousand Years before Christ; and this

this corresponds exactly with Sir Isaac Newton's Calculation of the Time when *Sesostris*, the *Egyptian* Conqueror, subdued *Spain*, and obliged some of the Inhabitants very probably to seek Shelter from his Arms in some northern Country : But, doubtless, it will be no Mistake to bring this *Æra* of the Expedition from *Spain* into *Ireland*, still more forward; and That without any Violence to the Traditions which the first Bards have left us of that Incident.

THE Conquests of *Sesostris*, or the *Egyptian* (a) *Hercules*, poured like a Torrent over most Countries, as *Newton* observes, They appear too rapid to take in the Extremities of the Lands he subdued. For this Reason,
we

(a) This *Hercules* built the City of *Cartheia* in *Spain*, and, from doing so, was emphatically called *Malech Cartha*, by the *Phenicians*; what the antient *Grecians* converted into *Melcertus*. *Malech Cartha*, according to *Bochart*, signified literally *The King of the City*; and in our *Gaedh.ic*, or *Scotic*, *Mal-Cathrach*, is of the same literal Import. It was in the Time of this *Mal-Cathrach* that the antient *Spaniards* must have made a considerable Progress in Arts, Sciences, and Letters.— Their Sailing into *Ireland*, in that or the next Age, is as clear a Proof as any written Record coeval with the Fact itself, had any such existed. They must have learned the Art of constructing Ships of Burden, as well as that of guiding them, by the Means of celestial Observations, before they ventured on so perilous a Voyage. And as a curious Account in Dr. * *Smith's History*

* Vol. I. p. 266, 267. Note.

we may well suppose that the Flight of the *Iberians*, or *Scots*, into *Ireland*, happened rather in the Age of a second conquering *Hercules*, called the *Tyrian*: And as most foreign Historians, according to *Newton*, have confounded the Actions and Chronology of both these Heroes, it is by no Means improbable, that the Bards of *Ireland* committed the same Mistake, and have confounded the *first* Conquest of *Spain* with the *second*. The Probability of all this will amount to a Certainty, if we agree with the Great Chronologer last mentioned, that long Voyages into *Britain*, and beyond the Streights, were not undertaken before the Age of the *Tyrian Hercules*.

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THE

History of the County of *Corke*, seems to furnish a good collateral Proof of astronomical Knowledge amongst the antient Inhabitants of this Island, I shall, for the Reader's Satisfaction, insert it in this Place.

“ *Diodorus Siculus*, (says that Writer) has preserved an Account out of *Hecateus*, a very antient Author, of a northern Island, little less than *SICILY*, situated over-against the Celtæ, and inhabited by those whom the Greeks called *Hyperboreans*. It is, says he, fruitful, pleasant, and dedicated to *APOLLO*. That God, for the Space of nineteen Years, used to come and converse with them, and, which is more remarkable, they could, as if they had the Use of Telescopes, show the Moon very near them, and discover therein Mountains, &c. They had a large Grove, and Temple of a round Form, to which the
“ Priests

THE learned *Flan* of *Bute*, *Eochy O'Flyn*, and *Tigernach*, in Conformity with all the antient Bards, make the Building of *Eamania* by *Kimbaoth*, a signal *Æra* in our Chronology; and Mr. *O'Flaberty* has established it as a Canon for ascertaining the Succession of the Monarchs of *Ireland*, for several Ages. He states it at three hundred and fifty-two Years before the Incarnation: And, although the

“ *Priests frequently resorted with their Harps, to chaunt the*
 “ *Praises of Apollo, their great Deity. He says they had*
 “ *a Language of their own, and that some Greeks had*
 “ *been in it, and presented valuable Gifts to this Temple,*
 “ *with Greek Inscriptions on them; and that one Abaris,*
 “ *who became afterwards a Disciple of Pythagoras, went*
 “ *hence into Greece, and contracted an Intimacy with the*
 “ *Delians,”* Doctor *Smith* thus judiciously remarks
 on the foregoing Account. “ The Situation of this
 “ Island opposite to the *Celtæ*, who were the Inhabi-
 “ tants of *Britain* and *Gallia*; its being compared with
 “ *Sicily* in Size; it's being dedicated to *Apollo*, i. e. the
 “ Sun, which Planet the *Irish* certainly worshipped;
 “ the Description of their Temples, which were al-
 “ ways round; and the Mention of their Harps;
 “ are all so many concurring Circumstances, which
 “ seem more than probable that this could be no other
 “ than *Ireland*: For the *Mona*, or *Anglesey*, of *Rowland*,
 “ is too inconsiderable a Spot to be meant here. And
 “ if the Learned of this Island, who were then the an-
 “ tient Druids of it, could, as with Telescopes, show
 “ the Moon nearer, it may be supposed that they had
 “ made a greater Progress in those Sciences, than is
 “ generally imagined. The nineteen Years Con-
 “ verse with *Apollo*, which is the Cycle of the Sun;
 “ the

the genealogical Lines, from the Time of *Kimbaoth* to *Concovar Mac Nessa*, and of *Hugony* to *Eochy Feylech*, are embarrassed by a few redundant Generations: And, though some Princes are named in the regal List of those Times; who, we may be assured, were the Monarchs only of their several Factions; we may, however, take this *Æra*, as stated by Mr. *O'Flaherty*, to be as exact as any in the technical Chronology of any other Nation.

THE antecedent Times, from *Heremon*, and from him to *Ollam-Fodbla*, (as *Tiger-nach* observes) are not to be brought under any equally-certain Calculation; because the Generations of Men, and Reigns of Kings, cannot be so well ascertained. *Ollam-Fodbla* shone out in a dark Age; nor can the Genealogy of that Legislator; any more than that of his cotemporary Princes of the *Heremonian* Stock, be depended upon. Their Inconsistency with the Course of Nature is evident; and this very Inconsistency shews that Art had no Share in the Account, and

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that

“ the Notion of the Moon's Opacity, and of it's
 “ Mountains, Rocks, &c. argue them to have been
 “ no bad Astronomers. I have seen Schemes of the
 “ *Ptolemaic* System in some *Irish* MSS. of very great
 “ Antiquity. It is also very remarkable, that they
 “ have a Tradition at *Lismore*, (which was formerly a
 “ celebrated School) of several *Greeks* having studied
 “ there in former Times.”

that the Traditions of the Bards were not departed from. History was yet in it's Infancy ; and Credulity in this, as in most Cases, received the True, without Doubting, and the False, without Examining. The Building of *Eamania* formed a more certain Epoch : The *Hugonian* Partition formed another : The Establishment of the Pentarchy by *Eochy Feyloch*, a third ; and the Legislation of *Tuathal Teachtmar*, a fourth, three Ages before the Reception of Christianity. And this last *Æra* is, upon many Accounts, the most signal of all ; as it introduced the best civil Constitution, and, in Consequence, a Succession of the ablest Men, good and bad, that the History of this Island ever exhibited.

THE antient *Scots* were, of all Nations, the most exact in the Preservation of the genealogical Descents of the several Branches of the royal *Gaedelian* Line. It became a necessary Part of their civil Polity, as the Rights of Blood were considered indispensable, before any other were canvassed. The old genealogical Tables, therefore, became extremely useful to the technical Chronologers of these latter Ages, particularly to the learned Mr. *Roderic O'Flaherty*, of *Moycullen*, in *Iar-Connaught*. This worthy Guide I have followed faithfully, in the first Draught I gave

gave of the present Work. On a second Review, I have discovered, that, in some Places, his usual Sagacity failed him, and that a little more genealogical Criticism was necessary, in ascertaining some Epochs, which he endeavoured to establish.

THE Liberty he has taken, in cutting off some Generations, (owing partly to the License, partly to the Inaccuracy, and partly to the Errors, of the transcribing Bards) is very judicious; a Liberty not grounded on gratuitous Conjectures; but supported by collating the genealogical Table of one royal Branch of the *Gaedelian* Line with that of another, and making that which held the Reins of Government longest, and with least Interruption, a Standard for rectifying the rest, and for rectifying Chronology, in a considerable Degree, by all.

As the same excellent Chronologer made it a Rule, not to depart in any Instance from the early regal Lists preserved by *Gilla Moduda*, *Gilla Caombain*, and others of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth Centuries; he could not possibly get clear of some Embarrassments. Where there were frequent Contentions for the supreme Authority in an elective Monarchy, a regular Succession, such as we find established in our own Times, could not

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take Place. Of the eighty-five Monarchs
reckoned by *Flan*, the learned Lecturer of
Bute, from *Heremon* to *Eocky Fcyloch*, some,
as we observed above, were the Kings of
their own several Factions; some reigned at
the same Time, each over the Party which
elevated him to Power; and the Senachies
who succeeded, received all on the Footing
of supreme Monarchs. They made cotem-
porary Rivals in Power, in some Instances,
Successors to one another. And though this
Inaccuracy of the earlier Bards was very ac-
ceptable to those of future Times, who in-
dulged the Vanity of swelling the Antiquity
of their Monarchy; yet, in our own, it em-
barraffieth us much. Of the eighty-five Kings
in Question, there might be more than a third
Part, who enjoyed the Title only, very little
of the real, and still less of the legal Autho-
rity. The Obscurity which this throws
over our antient Chronology will, however,
in a good Degree, be dissipated by a Collation
with the genealogical Tables. That of
Ollam-Fodbla, we may be assured, was the
best preserved in the earlier Times; as he
was the first Legislator of the Nation, and as
the supreme Government remained more than
one hundred Years in his Family. He is
placed in the fifth Generation from *Heber*,
the Son of *Ir*, who was one of the Leaders
of the *Scotic* Colony from *Spain* to *Ireland*;
and

and this will place the Commencement of his Reign one hundred and fixty Years, or thereabout, after that *Æra*. From *Ollam-Fodbla* to *Kimbaoth*, the Builder of *Eamania*, the old Bards reckon eight Generations; which will form a Series of about two hundred and fifty Years, and place the *Eamanian* *Æra* at about four hundred and ten Years after the Expedition of the *Scots* into *Ireland*; and these Sums, added to the three hundred and fifty Years before Christ, when *Eamania* was erected, will amount, in the Whole, to seven hundred and fixty Years, from that Expedition to the Birth of Christ; and it cannot be much more or less.

THE Building of *Eamania* was followed, soon after, by the *Hugonian* Legislation; and *Royney Roscadbach*, *Hugony's* Son, is distinguished for his Judgments in Jurisprudence. The Bards, who succeeded to this *Eamanian* *Æra*, are more to be depended upon, than those who preceded it: And yet the Revival of former Contentions about the supreme Power, (upon the Accession of *Mogha-Corb*) has thrown a considerable Degree of Darkness over this second historical Period, from *Hugony* to *Tuathal Teachtmbar*; notwithstanding the Efforts of *Concovar Mac Nessa*, and other Princes, to improve the national Sciences. The genealogical Redundancies in

the *Rudrician*, in the *Degad*, and even in the *Heremonian* Line, are sufficient Proofs of the Want of Precision. The *Attacotic* Wars, which overturned the whole national Oeconomy, and put all Power into the Hands of a furious Rabble, in the latter End of the first Century after Christ, have contributed chiefly to this Obscurity. We have but few authentic Fragments of the Times, from the *Ea-manian* Æra to the *Tuathalian* Legislation, in the second Century: But the Bards of After-ages, who gleaned up those Fragments, endeavoured to supply Deficiencies, from their own crude Inventions, dressed up in the Ornaments of Poetry. They wrought upon fair Out-lines, and have exhibited Pictures, wherein the Features of Nature are in some Parts distorted, and in others outraged. This appears evidently in some Details of the *Tan-Bo-Cualgney* War; to mention no other. All this will account for Mistakes in the genealogical Tables before the Days of *Tuathal-Teachtmar*, when a new Legislation gave Lustre to the native Sciences; Accuracy to History; and Precision to Genealogies, down to the End of the Monarchy; what makes a Period of a thousand and forty Years.

WHEN we behold the vast Confusions in the Chronology of the *Egyptians* and *Greeks*, it will be Matter of Wonder, indeed, to find
so

so few Mistakes in the Accounts of the northern People we speak of. The Lights of Truth break out through the far greater Part of the Chaos; and from the Days of *Tuathal Teachtmar*, the Thread of History is carried on, down to the Reception of Christianity, with very little Embarrassment. Such Accounts discover, in several Gradations, the Origin of useful Arts, the Progress of Civilization, and the Cultivation of Knowledge in this western, and almost unknown Country. They demonstrably discover the early Use of Letters among the Inhabitants, who, if they could not arrive to the Perfection of other Nations, have, perhaps, excelled all, who have been confined, solely, to their own Lights and Inventions.

THE negative Arguments of Mr. *Innes*, on this Subject, must not be over-looked. This Priest of the *Scotish* College in *Paris*, * published his Labours in two Volumes, wherein he has endeavoured to demolish much, and yet established Nothing, but what was already done to his Hand. After confessing, that what has been delivered on the *Scotish* Antiquities by his own Countrymen, anterior to the Times of *Fergus Mac Eirc*, were no better than mere modern Inventions, he sate down to shew that the Pretensions of the old Bards of *Ireland* were equally ill-grounded.

Like

* *Lond. A. D. 1729.*

Like the ingenious Father *Hardouin*, (who endeavoured to show, that several of the finest classical Writings of antient *Rome* were modern Forgeries) his Arguments are plausible, not solid; gratuitous, and therefore destitute of Proof. Among other negative Reasonings, he objects to the *Irish* Chronologers, as bungling Impostors, in making Use of the *Roman* Cycles, with other Marks of the *Julian* Year; and adapting them to Events which long preceded the Knowledge of the *Roman* Kalendar, in this Country. He well knew that this Objection has been anticipated by * *Mr. O'Flaherty*; and is so unfair as to start it anew, though a full Solution of the Difficulty was long since given. After the Reception of Christianity in this Island, some of our Chronologers, in a retrospective View, endeavoured to accommodate some Epochs of the antient Bards to the *Julian* Year, and persuaded themselves, that, by the Accuracy of their retrograde Calculations, they pointed out the Year and ferial Day of the Epochs they wanted to establish. Thus stands the Fact; and the Reader is left to judge what Stress is to be laid on the Objections of a Writer, who, hardly, through all his Works,

brings

* *Ogyg.* in Prol. p. p. 35. 36.

brings a better than this before us, against the Antiquities of this Island.

THE Truth is : Computations by the Years of *Christ*, were not in Use any where, until several Ages after the Establishment of the *Christian* Church. There were various Schemes of that sacred *Æra*, in various Countries: The People of *Ireland* had theirs ; nor did the vulgar *Dionysian* take Place universally among them, until the (a) Reign of *Malacky II.* These different Schemes produced Inaccuracy in our Dates, through Inattention to the luni-solar Cycles, by which alone our seeming Inconsistencies might be easily reconciled. The referring these Things to their proper *Dionysian* Integrity, has been reserved for Mr. O'Flaberty. He has settled the Chronology of the *Christian* Ages, in *Ireland*, with the greatest Accuracy ; and even that of *Scotland*, (from the few Materials which fell into his Hands) so precisely, that he may justly be esteemed the first Chronologer of the Affairs of that Kingdom. The technical Chronology of the preceding Ages, up to the Establishment of the Pentarchy, under *Epochy Feyloch*, he has also settled with sufficient Exactness for us, at this Distance of Time ; nor can we be too express in our Obligations

(a) Ogyg. in Proloq. ad lect. p. 40, et reliq.

Obligations to that worthy Gentleman, for the Pains he has taken, amidst many domestic Disquiets; the Loss of his paternal Estates, and the Neglect of the Public.

OUR antient Bards computed from Epoch to Epoch, by the solar Year. The learned *Flan of Bute*, and others, endeavoured to digest the regal Successions into one accurate numerical System: Yet their Numbers have, in the Course of Time, been greatly corrupted by various Transcribers; and the *Four Masters*, who were Compilers, not Critics, followed the Copies before them, with very little Examination or Selection. One Anachronism produced another: And the learned Sir *James Ware*, disgusted with all, gave up our whole Heathen History, as a Fardle of Truth and Fable, unworthy of Notice. In the same Fit of Laziness, he contents himself with giving us only a bare Catalogue of the *Christian* Monarchs of *Ireland*, although he had many excellent Materials for their History, which are now lost. It appears plainly, that he had little or no Knowledge of the Politics or Manners of those antient Times; being a Stranger to the Language of our old Writers, and destitute of any good Interpreter. He lived not long enough to avail himself of the Knowledge of *Duald Mac Firbis*, the best Antiquarian of
his

his Age, whom he entertained at his House, some three Months before his Death.

ON our present Subject, we have, it is hoped, laid such Foundations for ascertaining our technical Chronology, as will be deemed sufficient; particularly from the Commencement of the *Eamanian* Æra, down to the Legislation of *Tuathal Teachtmar*. Even before that Æra, as we have already shown, there are some Characteristics of Truth, which ought not to be wholly omitted: But from *Tuathal*, down to the Reception of Christianity, Certainty is more and more opening upon us. The more remarkable Epochs we have arranged under the following Heads: They may serve as Points of View to future Enquirers, and are therefore extended to the End of *Henry* the Eighth's Reign.

I.

From the Foundation of the SCOTISH Monarchy, under HEREMON, to the HUGONIAN Constitution.

This includes a Period of about four hundred and twenty Years. Arts were in their Infancy: We read of Improvements made by *Uchadun* of (b) *Cuala*, by *Eachy Edgathach*,

(b) Now the Country extending from the *Liffey* to *Wicklow*, and somewhat beyond.

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thach, Ollamb-Fodbla, and others. The
Building of Eamania, and the Establishment
of the Ultonian Oeconomy by Kimbaoth,
close this Period.

II.

From the HUGONIAN Constitution, to the Le-
gislation of TUATHAL TEACHTMHAR, and
to the End of the second ATTACOTIC War.

This Period takes in a Space of four hundred and sixty Years. The Lights of History open upon us with more Force. The Efforts and Success of the South-Heberians, and of the Rudricians of Eamania, against the Heremonians, are strongly marked. The Establishment of the *Degads* in Munster. The Re-establishment of the pentarchical Government by *Eochy Feyloch*. The *Tain-bo-Cualgne*y War between *Connaught* and *Ulster*. The Wars of the Scots with the Romans in Britain. Finally, the *Attacotic Wars*, which retard the Improvements of Science, and throw the History of that Age much into Shades.

III.

From the Legislation of TUATHAL TEACHT-
MHAR, to the Death of DATHY, the last of
our Heathen Monarchs.

This forms a Period of two hundred and ninety-eight Years, the most useful and important

portant in our whole Heathen History. The Legislation of *Tuathal*. The Establishment of the *Boromean* Tribute. The Alliances and Feats of *Con-ked-cathach*. Wars with the *Romans* in *Britain*. The Settlement of *Carbry Riada*, and of the *Dal-Fiatachs* in *Ulster*. The Legislation of *Cormac O'Cuinn*. The Reduction of *Connaught* under the Power of the *Heremonians*, and, soon after, of *Ulster*, by the Destruction of *Eamania*. The Feats of *Niall the Great*. And the Abolition of the *Tuathalian* Constitution, in Favour of *Niall's Family*.

IV.

From *LAOGARY*, the first of the Christian Monarchs, to the Commencement of the Northern War.

This Period includes three hundred and eighty-seven Years. It commences with the general Conversion of the Natives to *Christianity*. The *Heremonian* Settlements in *Connaught*, in *Tyrone*, *Tireconall*, &c. The Erection of a new Monarchy of *Scots* in *North-Britain*. *Ireland* instructs the *Saxon* and *Pictish* Nations, and, finally, becomes the chief Seat of Learning to *Christendom*.

V.

From the Commencement of the Norman Ravages, to the Death of *Brian Boromey*,
A. D. 1014.

A Period of one hundred and ninety-five Years. *Ireland* invaded by a great Army, under the Conduct of *Turges*, the *Norwegian*. His Cruelties in the Provinces he subjected. Brave Resistance of the *Hy-Niall* Princes. Death of *Turges*, and Ruin of his Army. Fresh Invasion of the *Normans*, under *Amlaff*. Revolt of some provincial Princes, and Junction with the common Enemy. Long Reign of *Flansinna*, and War with *Cormac Mac Culinan*, King and Archbishop of *Munster*. Domestic Factions, and Advantages gained by the *Normans*. Destruction of the Colleges and Churches. Battle of *Killmosamog*, near *Dublin*. Exploits of *Murkertach*, Son of *Niall Glundubb*. Succession of *Congalach Mac Maolmitby*, and Usurpation of *Roderic O'Cananan*, Prince of *Tir-Conall*. Unfortunate Reign of *Domnal O'Neill*. Succession of *Malachy II*. Intrusion of *Brian Boromey*, and the End of the *Hy-Niall* Monarchy.

VI.

From the Battle of Clontarf, to the End of the Monarchy under Roderic.

This Epoch takes in one hundred and fifty-six Years of domestic Contentions among rival Princes, and concludes with the Invasion of the Island by *Henry II*. King of *England*.

VII.

From

HISTORY of IRELAND. 161

VII.

From the Invasion of Henry II. to the End of Bruce's War.

A Period of one hundred and forty-five Years of great national Calamities, and of vain Efforts to establish Law and Liberty.

VIII.

From Bruce's War, to the Commencement of the REFORMATION under Henry VIII.

A Period of two hundred and sixteen Years of domestic Confusion, and barbarous Civil War.

IX.

From the Commencement of the ecclesiastical Reformation, to the SETTLEMENT in 1691.

A Period of one hundred and fifty-nine Years, full of very important Events.



S E C T. XII.

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION of
IRELAND, *deduced from the earliest Times,
and compared with the Accounts of Foreign
Geographers.*

THE Names of some antient Tribes, and Persons of Note, who were established in *Ireland*, before the Arrival of the *Iberian Scuits*, or *Scots* from *Spain*, have not been lost in the Current of Ages. For the greater Part, they were old Colonies from *Britain*: Oral Tradition alone was sufficient to preserve their Memories, and even retain some Traces of their Manners. It could hardly suffice for any other Purpose; and Invention, busy in all Ages to supply its Defects, serves, in general, but to lessen its Authority. Relatively to our present Subject, it is certain, that Tradition could not retain the Names of smaller Districts, of Mountains, Plains,

Plains, Rivers, Harbours, &c. for any long Time, after those Names were changed for others, by *recent* Colonies, who conquered the *old*, and introduced a new Language: Nor can we easily suppose, that future Bards would forge Names of Districts, Towns, &c. for one Age, and alter them for another, merely to fill up the historical Void of the earlier Times, or serve the Purposes of some historical Hypothesis of more modern Times: It would be a needless, and indeed a desperate, Undertaking; while readier Materials were at Hand. One Set of Names would be sufficient for all the Purposes of historical Fraud: And, if one (*a*) modern Instance can be produced of its aiming at more; the Author exposed only his own Error, in adopting a Scheme which his Art did not want. In Truth, all that we can know in any Detail, of the History of the antient *Scots*, must be from the Remains of the antient Senachies of *Ireland*. To these Fountains Bishop *Elphin-*
M 2 *ston*,

(*a*) The Author of the Poems of *Fingal* and *Temora*, mentions *Tura* and *Mury*, in the Country of *Ullin*; Names absolutely unknown in any antient or modern Record of *Ireland*. The same may be said of *Laura* and *Atha*, which the same Author places in *Connaught*. To give those Poems a Colour of Antiquity, it would be highly proper to make Use of the Names celebrated in the Country, where the Scene is laid.

ston, Chancellor of *Scotland*, referred (*b*) his Countrymen, in the Reign of *James V.* when they were forging that historical Hypothesis, which has, since his Time, disgraced the *Scotish* History, and which the Pen of *Buchanan* could not preserve from Destruction.

IN this topographical Essay, as in our other Dissertations on the early Use of History in *Ireland*, we will confront the antient Senachies with the old Writers of *Greece* and *Rome*, particularly with *Ptolemy*, an Author of the second Century. If there be an evident Conformity between them, we need
not

(*b*) *John Fordun*, *Hector Boece*, *John Major*, with several Writers of *Scotland*, in the fifteenth and sixteenth Centuries, have pretended that the Monarchy of the *Scots*, in the *Highlands*, commenced several Ages before the Incarnation. They have deduced it from *Fergus*, the Son of *Ferquard*, the first of their Kings, who, they say, led the first Colony of *Scots* from *Ireland*, and whose Successors have been supported against the *Picts*, by frequent Succours of Auxiliaries (if you believe them) from the parent Country. *Buchanan* took up this Subject, recounts the Exploits of these fictitious Kings before the Days of *Fergus*, the Son of *Erk*, and recommended their History by the Energy of his Style. Finally, Sir *George Mac Kenzie*, as King's Advocate for *Scotland*, pronounced it a Species of High Treason in the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, and others, to dispute this Antiquity of the royal Line in the *Highlands*. He has published two Volumes, in Defence of that *Utopian* Scheme; and his Performance
proves

not require a stronger internal Mark of the Authenticity of the Accounts we have left. — Here we meet with an additional Proof of the early Use of Letters in *Ireland*.

WITH such Marks of Authenticity, we have no Room to doubt of the Fidelity of these old Senachies, relatively to Places omitted in the Descriptions of foreign Writers: The latter have their Use, only in confirming a considerable Part of the native Accounts. In every other Respect, the old Topographers of the Country are to be preferred; and particularly, when we consider the Difficulties a

M 3 foreign

proves how far an able Writer, warm with his Subject, can push an Argument, so as to give it a temporary Currency. But the Antiquarians of *England* and *Ireland* proved the Whole to be a Forgery, and that the Monarchy of the *Scots*, in the *Highlands*, did not commence, until the sixth Century; when the Sons of *Erk*, under the Favour of the King of *Ireland*, *Lugadh*, the Son of *Laogary*, led thither a Multitude of Adventurers, and strengthened the *Dalriada* Power to such a Degree, as enabled them to lay the Foundations of a Monarchy, which, in a future Age, became very powerful. Thus has the Forgery of the *Fordonian* Monarchy of *Scots* in *Britain* been detected; the Endeavour to translate thither all that has been said in foreign History of the antient *Scots*, either as Warriors, or learned Men, ridiculed. The Contenders were obliged to abandon a Fort that was no longer tenable, and Mr. *Innes*, their own Countryman, has blown it up effectually; but yet, without any Attempt to erect any other

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foreign Author must encounter, to obtain
any satisfactory Account of so remote an
Island, and the Necessity he must lie under
of trusting to the crude Accounts of Mari-
ners, who, from Time to Time, might have
landed on our Coasts. What Credit such
Informers merit, we may collect from the
Relations of our first *European* Voyagers, in
latter Ages, to the *East* and *West Indies*. They
have, no Doubt, delivered several useful
Truths: But future Voyagers detected them
in many Forgeries, as well as many Falsi-
ties, injurious to the Nations they visited.

PROLOMEY

other on its Ruins. That Attempt has been reserved
for Mr. *Mac Pherson*. He has discovered another Mo-
narchy of *Scots* in the *Highlands*; such as neither *Fordun*,
Buchanan, nor any other Writer of *North Britain*, who
ever published a Page on *Scottish* Affairs, could get the
smallest Glimple of. *Ireland*, with him, is no longer
the proper Country of the antient *Scots*, and he deno-
minates *Bede*, and his own Countrymen *Boece*, *Major*
and *Buchanan*, mere Ignorants for asserting it. The
Highlands are with him the original Hive which peopled
Ireland with *Scots*, and erected their Monarchy in that
Island. But by whom was this Monarchy of our *Pa-*
rent Country in the *Highlands* established? He answers,
by the Ancestors of *Fingal*, who was King of *Scotland*
in the third Century. And what Authority have we
for this? He gravely replies; that of *Ossian*, *Fingal's*
own Son. And who was *Ossian*? He answers; an
illiterate Bard of an illiterate Age. What has preserved
that Bard's Works, through so many succeeding Ages,
in

PTOLOMEY of *Alexandria* is more minute in the Topography of remote Countries, than any other of the *Greek* Geographers. That he was ill-informed, in several Accounts he had of *Ireland*, is certain: Some of the most noted Places, even in his own Time, are not inserted in his Chart; and other Names of Tribes and Districts, are so corrupted by various Transcripts, that their Conformity with the domestic Accounts, cannot be made out, without restoring some Letters that have been omitted, and giving their proper Places to others, that have been transposed; a Liberty not to be taken, but in very obvious Cases, that the Temerity of Conjecture may be guarded against. In other Parts of *Ptolomey's* Chart, we meet with Names utterly unknown to our antient Topographers, and indeed such as want the

M 4

Radicals

in their genuine Form, without the Use of Letters; when the Records of the Nation have been lost, notwithstanding that Use? He replies again: They were preserved through the Channel of oral Tradition. And what Successors have future Bards given to *Fingal*, King of *Scotland*? We shall wait for a Reply to the last Query, till Mr. *Mac Pherson* himself gives it. We only here present a little Sketch of what an able Writer may do, when swollen with the Lust of System. He may trifle with Imagination, he may trifle with credulous Readers, as he pleases, to create a new Monarchy of Scots in *Britain*, on the Ruin of that invented by *Foreigners*. But we have not yet done with him,

Radicals of the *Celtic* Tongue, to give them a Colour of Authenticity. We may safely conclude that these were the Interpolations of future Transcribers.

THE more general Names, by which *Ireland* was known to the Learned of foreign Nations, were *Hibernia*, in antient Time, and *Scotia*, latterly; the one, as (c) *Ware* justly observes, denoting the *Iberian*, and the other the *Scythian* Original of the Nation, which made the principal Figure in the History of the Island. Any further Disquisition seems unnecessary; and yet the Conjectures of the (d) King of *Munster*, and of *Bochart*, are ingenious. The first derives *Hibernia* from *Hiberoe*, and *Nayon*, two *Greek* Words, which, when compounded, signify the *Western Isle*:—The other takes it from the *Phoe-*

(c) *War. Antiq. Hib. Cap. 1.*

(d) *Hibernia* Etymon e Græco Idiomate deducit *Cor-macus*, Episcopus et Rex *Momonie*, ut *Hibernia*, sit *Hiberoe*. i. e. Occasus, et *Nayon* Insula, quasi Insula Occidentalis: unde ob Situm, Occidentalis *Europa*, ab incolis passim vocatur. *Ogyg. Insul. p. 18.*

Inter varia nomina vernacula *Crioch-fuinidh*. i. e. *terra sineles* appellabatur. Quod nomen favet *Bocharti* Conjecturæ, *Hiberniam* a voce *Phœnicia* derivantis *Iber-nae*. i. e. *ultima habitatio*, quia ultra *Hiberniam* versus occasum veteres nihil noverant, præter vastum mare: unde infert *Hiberniam Phœnicibus*, Navigationibus in oras remotissimas, olim clarissimis non fuisse ignotam. *Ibid. p. 19.*

Phoenician Ibernae, which, in that Language, imports the *remotest Settlement* or *Habitation*; there being no Country known to the Antients *beyond* the Western Coasts of *Ireland*: And hence that very learned Antiquarian makes no Doubt of *Ireland's* being known to the *Phoenicians*, the first Discoverers of remote Countries, and the Instructors of the Western Nations in the Arts of Navigation, Letters and Handicrafts. Some Writers, from an Idea of the Antiquity of the Inhabitants, think this to be the famed Island of *Ogygia*, celebrated by *Homer*, and placed by (e) *Plutarch* to the West of *Britain*. In a former Observation, we assigned a Reason, why this Island might have obtained the Name of *Ogygia*, as well as that of *Æria*, in common with the antient Kingdom of *Egypt*.

THIS Island, being famous, on the Score of its Knowledge in the druidic Theology, obtained, very probably, its Name of *Ierne*, or *Sacred Isle*, from the antient *Grecians*.—The Poet *Festus* alludes to this, in the following Lines.

Asſt

(e) Non immerito hæc insula Ogygia. i. e. perantiqua
a *Plutarcho* dicta fuit. *Camden. Britan.* p. 622.

Ast hinc duobus in sacram sic Insulam
 Dixere prisca, Solibus cursus rati est :
 Hæc inter undas multum cespitem jacet
 Eamque late gens *Hibernorum* colit ;
 Propinqua rursus Insula *Albionum* patet.

THE *Romans* likewise made Use of this
Greek Name of *Ierne*, as we may see in the
 Panegyrics of *Claudian*, who boasts of the
 Victories obtained by his Countrymen over
 the antient *Scots*, in the following sounding
 Lines.

—Incaluit *Pictorum* Sanguine *Thule*
Scotorum Cumulos flevit glacialis *Ierne*.

And again :

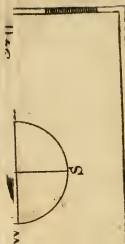
— Totam cum *Scotus Iernen*
 Movit, et infesto spumavit remige *Thetis*.

THE vernacular Names of *Ireland* were
 many ; some descriptive, as *Fiodh-Inis*,
 the *woody Isle* ; *Innis Fail*, the *Isle of De-*
stiny, from the famous Stone *Lia-Fail* ;
Innis-Ealga, the *Noble Isle*, &c. The
 Names of *Ere*, *Fodbla*, and *Banbha*, are de-
 rived by some of the Bards, from three
 Queens, who, it is said, lived here on the
 Arrival of the *Gaodbals*, or *Iberian Scots*, from
Spain. But this Account has not the Air





Dunkermna ©



of Truth, and seems to be invented to cover the Ignorance of those Bards of *Spanish* Extract, in the Etymology of some *Celtic* Words, that were purely *British*. *Ere*, however, became the common vernacular Name of the Island, and continues so to this Day.

THE most noted of those *British* and *Gallie* Tribes, who inhabited *Ireland* in the earlier Times, are come down to us under the Names of *Nemeths*, *Belgians* and *Danans*. These Names are clearly preserved in the (f) *Nemethæ*, *Belgians* and *Damnonians*, mentioned by *Ptolomey* and others, as Inhabitants of *Gaul* and *Britain*. The *Fomorian*s (according to the Etymology of the Word) were properly the piratical Tribes, who antiently infested *Ireland* from the *Scandinavian* Provinces. They are not distinguished by any particular Names of their several Tribes.

THIS Island being from the earliest Times distributed into five Provinces, we must of Course attend to that Division in our present Survey, though not noticed by *Ptolomey*. It subsisted (g) nominally, in the Time of
Roderic,

(f) The *Nemetes* were Inhabitants of *Worms*, *Spire* and *Mentz*. *Universal Hist.* Vol. 18. p. 577.

(g) On the Invasion of the *English*, under *Hen. II.*
Ireland

Roderic, the last Monarch of the *Irish*, and continues still; with the Difference only, that *Munster* is considered, at present, but as one Province.

ON the Subjection of *Ireland*, by a Colony from *Spain*, the Northern Province was given by *Heremon*, the first King of *Scots*, to his Nephew *Heber*, the Son of *Ir*. What Name it bore in those Days, is not known. In *Ollam-Fodla's* Time, or soon after, it got the Name of *Uladh*, in Memory, it is said, of that Legislator: It continued under that Appellation until the fifth Century; when it was dismembered by the *Hy-Nialls*, and when the Name was confined solely, to the present County of *Down*, and some adjacent Districts.

The *Scotish* Inhabitants of this Province, in the extended Sense, bore the general Name of *Irians*, or Northern *Iberians* (*Sliocht Ir*,

Ireland was, in Fact, subdivided into several independent Provinces, of which the seven following were the principal: *Desmond*, under the *Mac Carthys*; *Thumond*, subject to the *O'Brians*; *Hy-Kinsellagh*, or *Leinster*, under the *Hy-Kinsellagh* Line of *Cahir* the Great; *Uladh*, under the *O'Dunlevys* and *Mac Mahons*; the South *Hy-Niall*, or *Meath*, under the *Clan-Colmans*, otherwise the *O'Malachlins*; the North *Hy-Niall*, under the *O'Neills* and *O'Donalls*; and *Hy-Brune*, together with *Hy-Fiacra*, otherwise *Conaught*, under the *O'Conors*.

Ir, and *Sliocht Ebbir Mhac Ir*) On that Account, I have given them the Name of *Iberi Australes* in the annexed Map. The old *Ernaids* of the *Belgian* Race, inhabited this Province, and were long a considerable People under the *Irian* Race. *Ptolomey* calls them *Erdini*; a small Variation from the true Name *Ernidi*; owing to the Transposition of Letters. In that Geographer's Time, and long before, there were Tribes of *Cruthneans* in this, as in other Provinces.

IN Process of Time, the *Irian* Race took the Name of *Clanna Ruraigde*. Their chief royal Seat was in the County of *Ardmacha*; and as their Power extended over the whole North, there is no Error in *Ptolomey's* placing them in the County of *Antrim*. He or his Transcribers call them *Robogdii*: But this is evidently a Corruption of the true Name, which should be rather written *Rorogdii*.

THE several Tribes of this Province, both *Scotish* and *British*, had the general Name of *Ultaidh*, a Name in Use to this Day among the native *Irish*, and which the old Monks latinized into *Ultonii*. In *Ptolomey*, they are denominated into *Voluntii*, and, according to him, (but mistakenly) a distinct Tribe.

THE more noted Places of this Northern Province were *Oleach Neid*, *Dun Sobarky*, *Eambain*, and *Craove-roe*, adjoining to *Eambain*. (b) This latter Place, the Habitation of the Kings of *Ulster*, for more than six hundred Years, was, next to *Teamor*, in *Meath*, the most celebrated Place in the Kingdom.

THE

(b) Had the Author of *Fingal* and *Temora* been an *Antient*, he would not omit celebrating the most noted Names in *Ireland*, from the first to the fourth Century, in which it is supposed he died. He would not confound the Times of *Cochuillín* with those of *Fin Mac Cumhail*; nor erect a Castle in *Tura*; many Ages before the Natives built any. *Eambain*, *Cruachain* and *Alimbuin*, are not once mentioned in those Poems; though the two first were the Seats of the Kings of *Ulster* and *Conaught*, and the last, *Fin Mac Cumhail*'s own Seat in *Leinster*. As a Poet, it must be confessed, that he merits our highest Praises; as an historical Guide, he is the blindest that any Age ever produced. His chronological Errors, can be excelled only by such as are geographical. *Teamor*, near *Dublin*, and the Seat of the *Irish* Monarchs until the sixth Century, he places in the Province of *Ulster*. The Heath of *Lena* (famous for its two Battles, one fought A. D. 190, and the other in 907.) he removes from the *King's County* into the same Country. Names, unknown through all the Ages of antient *Scotish* History, are inserted in those Poems, through Ignorance of those, which would best serve the Purposes of passing them for antient Compositions. Thus is the Seal of modern Invention stamped on those Performances, and the Translator's Presumption on our Credulity is amazing; when he asserts, that the
Omission

THE Province of *Leinster* was originally called *Galian*, from its *Galenian* Inhabitants of the *Fir-Bolg* or *Belgian* Race. About two hundred and seventy Years before Christ, it took its present Name, *Lagean*; a Name imposed by *Labbra Loingseach*, chief Prince of the *Heremonian* Line, after his Return from *Gaul*, at the Head of a *Gaulish* Colony. In *Carman*, near *Loch-Garman*, (now *Wexford*) was the chief Residence of the provincial Kings; a Place greatly celebrated by the old Bards, as the frequent Conventions of the States of *Leinster* were held there. It had originally the Name of *Port-Kaelranna*; in some Time after, that of *Inver-Slaine*; and since *Labbra's* Time, that of *Loch-Garman*: Here it was, that he established his *Gaulish* Colony. *Ptolomey* calls them the *Menapii*, and their Place of Residence *Menapia*: And here I must retract my former Censure of that Geographer, for inserting those Names instead of *Garmani* and *Garmana*. The learned
Dr.

Omission of religious Rites, is no Exception to their Antiquity.--He indeed accounts for the Poet's Silence in such Matters, by advancing, "that all that had any Knowledge of the Religion of the Druids, became extinct (in *Fingal's* Time) and that the Nation fell into the last Degree of Ignorance of their Rites and Ceremonies."----But we must take Mr. *Mac Pherfon's* own WORD for this, against the Faith of all ancient History, foreign and domestic.

Dr. O'Sullivan has happily reconciled both the Accounts. The *Menapii* of the Continent were settled in *Flanders*: They were a Tribe of the *Belgians* established in the North of *Gaul*, and were (according to *Cæsar*) of *German* Original. The Colony of *Menapians*, therefore, who settled in and about *Wexford*, or *Inver-Slaine*, were very properly denominated *Garmans*, (or *Germans*) by the Natives of *Ireland*. *Labhra Loingseach*, who gave a new Name to the Province of *Leinster*, from a Weapon used by those Auxiliaries, strengthened the Memorial by a new honorary Name for the Harbour they first entered, *Loch Garman*; the Harbour of the *Garmans*.—The *Menapians* were therefore evidently the *Garmans*: One Name was retained by Foreigners, the other by the Natives.

To this Province belonged the Districts of *Dublin*, in the Country of *Cuala*, *Buidh Cloch*, *Ard-Cloch*, *Nas*, *Almuin*, *Geshil*, &c. and North of those Districts lay *Breagh*, *Teamor*, *Kenanus*, *Taltion*, *Teffa*, *Cualgney*, *Murtbemny*, *Dun Dalgan*, &c.—These latter, with some other Districts, were, in *Ptolomey's* Time, taken from the five Provinces, and erected into a new patrimonial Province, for the Support of the future Monarchs of *Ireland*, by *Tuathal Teachtmair*.

THE two Southern Provinces took the Name of *Mumba*, from *Eochadb Mumba*,
King

King of *Ireland*, several Ages before the Incarnation. It was inhabited by the South *Iberians*, (by *Ptolomey*, named *Juvernii*) who took their Name from *Eber-Finn*, the eldest Son of *Golamb* of *Spain*, the common Father of the *Milesian* Race. In this Province were also planted the Race of *Lughadh*, the Son of *Ith*, who, on Account of its Descent from a celebrated Prince, by the Name of *Breoghain*, were denominated *Clan Breoghain*, and therefore properly called *Brigantes* by *Ptolomey*. I have given them the Name of *Lugadii*, in the annexed Map.

SOME Time before the Birth of Christ, the *Ernaidhs* of *Ulster* (the Race of *Olioll Aron*) obtained great Power in *Munster*, under their Leader *Deaghaidh*, who afterward became King of the Province. His Posterity succeeded to his Power, in *West-Munster* particularly, and were well known by the Denomination of *Clanna Deaghaidh*, and *Ua-Deaghaidh*. A Tribe of these *Ua-Deaghaidhs* were planted on the South Coast near *Dun-Kermna*. There *Ptolomey* places them; and, as in the usual Manner of the antient *Scots*, (who suppressed most of the Consonants in the Pronunciation) these *Ua-Deaghaidhs* were pronounced *Uadaei*; and they are not very improperly called *Vodii*, or *Vedii*, by that Geographer.

OF the noted Places in *Munster*, in *Ptolomey's* Time, the Chief were *Port-Largey*, *Dunkermna*, *Luachair*, *Dirree*, *Moy Fembin*, *Luimneach*, &c.

THE Western Province of *Ireland*, called *Olnegmacht*, and afterward *Conaught*, was in the second Century inhabited by several powerful Tribes, namely, the *Olnegmachts*, (strangely corrupted into *Nagnatae*, by *Ptolomey*) *Fir Craibii*, *Damnonians*, *Cathragians*, *Gamanrii*, *Corannii*, *Taideni*, and the *Cruthnidhs* of *Moy-Nai*. Their several Countries were denominated, *Tuatha Taidbean*, *Maonmoy*, *Aidney*, *Moy-Nai*, *Coran*, *Galeng*, *Irrus*, &c. In *Coran* lay the River *Muadh*, which *Ptolomey* mistakenly places in *Leinster*; and by a like Mistake it must be observed, that he places the *Corannii*, (the Inhabitants East and West of that River) to the South of the *Shanon*, by the Name of *Coriondi*.

IN *Moy-Nai* stood *Drum Druid*, famous for its great Cave and druidic Rites. Long before *Ptolomey's* Time, it obtained the Name of *Cruachain*, where *Eochy Feylogh* erected the celebrated *Rath-Cruachain*, and where the States of *Conaught* assembled, to hold their Conventions, and inaugurate their Kings. This, and several of the aforementioned
Places,

Places, as well as Tribes, are not to be found in *Ptolomey*, while others are inserted in his Chart, utterly unknown to the old native Topographers. Thus he gives the Name of *Ausona*, or *Ausoba*, to the River *Gallimb*, and that of *Auteri* to the mediterranean Inhabitants of the Province.

THE present Description, and Map annexed, may suffice for a Dissertation: They are Outlines of what we hope to see properly executed by an abler Hand. We have designedly omitted any Account of the *Attacots*, as it was a general Name for many *Tuathas*, or Tribes of *British* Extraction, dispersed over all the Provinces, until the Time of *Tuathal Teachtmar*. In the Extracts I have seen from the old Book of *Glendalough*, I find an Account of some Tribes of *Cruthnids*, who had Settlements in *Ulster* and *Conaught*. As those of *North Britain* were often in Alliance with the *Scots* of *Ireland*, it is probable that they sent, at the Request of the *Irish* Kings, and at several Times, Auxiliaries of their Nation hither, to keep the rebellious *Belgians* in Awe: They have certainly done so in the Time of *Tuathal Teachtmar*, and very probably remained here, for Defence of the *Scotish* Government, which they contributed to re-establish, in Spite of the Power of the *Belgians* and *Rudricians* united.

WHILE we allow *Ptolomey* all the Merit that so remote a Collector could well obtain, in an Age when the Affairs of *Ireland* were so superficially known to the learned Nations, (i) yet it may be worth observing, that Sir *James Ware*, who, without any Knowledge of our Language, wrote professedly on our present Subject, follows that Geographer
blindly

(i) *Ad Prædeceffores Loegarii quod attinet, eos certe confilio omifi, quia pleraque quæ de iis traduntur (ut quod sentio dicam) aut fabulæ sunt, vel fabulis et anachronismis merè admixta.* *War. Antiq. Cap. 4.*-----This bare Opinion of Sir *James Ware*, Mr. *Mac Pherfon* has magnified into a Proof of the Want of true History in *Ireland*, until the sixth Century.--But *Ware* himself deduces the Accounts he declares authentic from an earlier Century.--In one Instance, he gives an Opinion; in the other, he gives the Fact.--We would therefore gladly know upon what Principle it is, that Mr. *Mac Pherfon* rejects the Fact as a Falshood, and embraces the Opinion as a Truth?---Indeed his own Hypothesis of a *Scotish* Monarchy in *Britain*, so early as the first Century, requires, that the *Scotish* Records of *Ireland* should be destitute of all Marks of Authenticity. On the Certainty of that; he might, like his Predecessors in *Scotish* History, establish a temporary System, and would have none but himself to contradict: In one Page he tells us, that the Events of the War of *Temora*, seem to have their Foundation in true History: In the next Page, they seem not to have this Foundation: For he asserts that, “ of the Affairs of *Scotland* Nothing can be depended upon, prior to the Reign of *Fergus*, the Son of *Erc* ;”---a Prince who, according to *Tigernach*, *Usher*, and all our Antiquarians, died in the sixth Century.

blindly, and receives the Whole of his Performance as a genuine Picture of *Ireland* in the second Century. Ignorant of what the native *Senachies* have delivered on this Head, he gives up all their Accounts before the Reign of *Laogary*, the Son of *Niall* the Great, as deficient in Chronology, and corrupted with Fables. But in this Supposition, and it is no more, he should pronounce his Sentence with more Reservedness, and take a little more Pains to separate the Periods of true History, and Fable. The technical Chronology of this Nation, from the Building of *Eamania* to the Reign of *Tuatbal Teachtmair*, is the most accurate we have left of any Northern People; and what we have left of their History, from that Monarch to *Leogary* his Successor, in the eleventh Generation, is sufficiently authentic. It bears all the external and internal Marks of the early Use of Letters in *Ireland*: And, it is hoped, that we have given sufficient Proofs of this, in the preceding Dissertations.

OF *Ptolomey*, it has been long since observed by the Learned, that he has taken into his Work too wide an Extent of Countries; that his Longitudes and Latitudes are ill ascertained; and that, while he appears equally minute, and crowds his Charts with Tribes, of which History has left no Traces, there is

much Reason to suspect his Veracity, as well as Correctness. This Remark of the Critics must have the greater Force, when applied to so remote an Island as *Ireland*. It is enough, that his Description is sufficiently genuine, to confirm the Accounts our Senachies have given of the Topography of the Country before his Time: Nor is that Geographer, in any Degree, to be equalled with *Strabo*, who trusted little to the Reports of Travellers, but viewed, on the Spot, most of the Countries he describes, and who, as a Philosopher, and judicious Writer, has left few Equals in his own, or in any other Age.

IN the present Essay on our antient Topography, the Mistakes committed in the first Draught are avoided. Some Additions are made also, and I take great Satisfaction in acknowledging, that what Improvements I have made, I entirely owe to the Lights communicated to me on this Subject by the learned Dr. *O'Sullivan*.

S E C T. XIII.

IDEA of the SCOTISH HISTORY, *from the Tuathalian Constitution, to the Introduction of Christianity.*

IN the foregoing Sections, we have crayoned out the Original of Government, Arts, and Letters, in this Kingdom: Their Progress and Effects deserve Attention. Soon after the Building of *Eamania*, History emerged out of Obscurity. The *Hugonian* Constitution gave Vigour, for some Time, to the Monarchy. *Royney* gave Lessons of Jurisprudence. *Angus-turvy-Teamor*, *Rudruid*, *Eochy Feyloch*, *Concovar Mac Nessa*, figured in Science and War. *Guculand*, *Fergus Mac Roy*, *Conall Kernach*, *Ferdia Mac Daman*, performed great Exploits in the *Cualgnean* War: And *Meabha*, who kindled that War, was no less remarkable for her great Abilities, than her great Failings. These and other

Characters are strongly marked in the Fragments we have left of those Times. The *Attacotic* War which succeeded, put Power into the Hands of oppressed Men, who, in Turn, became public Oppressors. They were headed by a Person of obscure Birth, at least of obscure Original, who usurped the Throne. FEREDACH *the Just*, and Moran, his Justiciary, re-established the Monarchy and the Laws: The second *Attacotic* War overturned both. Private Calamity, and public Misrule, grew intolerable; and the Nation shook off its Oppressors, by recalling TUATHAL TEACHTMAR, the Son of FEREDACH *the Just*, from his Exile in *North Britain*, to the Throne of *Ireland*.

THIS happy Revolution forms a principal Æra in the History of our Country. *Tuathal Teachtmar*, assisted by the Voice of the Nation, and the Power of his Grand-father, (King of the *Picts*, or (*k*) *Cruthneans*) landed
in

(*k*) This Nation of the *Cruthneans* are frequently made Mention of by the antient Bards, on the Score of their Intercourses, Alliances, Commerce, and Wars, with the People of *Ireland*. They had the Name of *Cruithnibh*, (i. e. Painters) from the Custom of painting their Bodies, like other northern Nations, to render themselves the more terrible to their Enemies. *Bede* says they first arrived in *Ireland* from *Scythia*; (i. e. from *Scandinavia*) and *Cormac Mac Culinan*, Archbishop of *Munster*, places their Arrival (mistakenly, I think) as early
as

in *Errus*; defeated the Enemy in various Conflicts; and, proving decisively victorious in

as the Reign of *Heremon*, the first King of *Scots*: And both those Historians agree that, having been refused a Settlement in *Ireland*, they transmigrated into *Alba*, or *North-Britain*; where they remained a distinct Nation until their utter Conquest, under *Kineth Mac Alpine*, in the ninth Century. *Bede*, who lived in their Neighbourhood, when they were a flourishing People, affirms, that they spoke a different Language from the *Scots*, *Saxons* and *Britons*; although, no Doubt, the Ground of their Tongue was *Celtic*, as is evident from some *Pictic* Names of Men and Places, still preserved in our antient Writings. Mr. *Mac Pherfon*, as great a Dreamer in Etymologies, as in History, affirms that *Bede*, and all our old Writers on this Subject, are mistaken, and that the *Picts* spoke not only the same Language with the antient *Scots*, but were the same Nation, under different Appellations. But what Authority has Mr. *Mac Pherfon* for all this? His own, and his own only, against all the old Accounts we ever had of the *Pictic* Nation!---*Eumenius*, a Writer of the third, and *Claudian*, a Writer of the fourth Century, make the *Picts* and *Scots* two distinct Nations: So do all antient and modern Antiquaries, from *Nennius*, who lived in the ninth Century, to Primate *Usher*, who lived in the seventeenth. Through a Series of more than fourteen hundred Years, a Cloud of the most credible Witnesses, unanimous in their Evidence, appear against Mr. *Mac Pherfon*.---The second-sighted *Mac Pherfon* deposes against them all, on his own bare Authority!--nor doth he give better Quarters to Writers of his native Country, from the Middle of the fourteenth, to the Beginning of the present Century!--In a more proper Place, we propose to show how much the learned World is indebted to this Gentleman's new Revelations in *Scotish* Antiquities.

in the Battle of *Acoill*, he mounted the Throne, and established the Monarchy on firmer Foundations than ever.

THE States assembled at *Teamor*, co-operated with the most (l) *acceptable* Monarch that was ever elected in *Ireland*. (m) MEATH was granted to him and his Successors, for the better Support of the regal Dignity, which before depended too much on the ordinary Tributes from the provincial Governments: And in this Convention was renewed that Part of the *Hugonian* Constitution, which excluded for ever the *Heberian* and *Hebero-Irian* Families from any Right of Succession to the Throne.

No Law was ever more solemnly recognized than this, in Favour of *Tuathal's* Family. It shows how sensible this People were of the Evils attending an elective Form of Government, although their Manners and Customs would not admit of any other. It ended finally in the Ruin of the Nation, very naturally; as this Species of Government requires Wisdom in the Prince, and Virtues in the

(l) From his being the Deliverer of the Nation from the Tyrants of the late Oligarchy, he obtained the Sobriquet of *Teachtmar*; the *welcome* or *acceptable*.

(m) *Leb. Gabal.* par. 1. --- *Ogyg. Domest.* p. 304.

the People, which our human Nature very rarely exhibits.

ALTHOUGH the Establishment made by *Tuathal* throws great Lustre on the Period before us: Yet, the Imposition of the (n) *Boromean* Tribute on the Province of *Leinster*, for the personal Crimes of its Prince, was an Act of Tyranny. What is still more wonderful; the whole Legislature joined in rendering it perpetual. It was, doubtless, a wanton and infamous Law, which enriched Individuals, and agitated the Public, at Times, by frequent Distress and cruel Hostility. In Truth, a Legislation of this partial Nature is a Conspiracy; it excludes innocent Men from Protection; it perpetuates Punishment, after the Extinction of the Guilt; and, by robbing the Body politic of the Co-operation of its Members, it necessarily creates a political Languor, which is ever in Proportion to the Numbers which Law renders useless to the Public.

AFTER the Death of *Tuathal Teachtmar*, what a strange Contrast do we meet with in the History of the *Scotish* Monarchs! *Mal*, King of *Ulster*, broke through the *Tuathalian* Constitution, usurped the Throne, and

(n) Ogyg. Domest. p. 305.

and was divested of Life and Diadem at the End of four Years. *Tuathal's* Son succeeded according to Law, and approved himself a wise and equitable Legislator. *Tuathal's* Posterity reigned to the Preaching of Saint PATRIC, through ten lineal Descents. Each Son reigned, and each was interrupted in Turn, by a Rival who obtained the supreme Sovereignty. No History, antient or modern, can produce a Parallel of such an alternate Succession, in a Land of Law; and That mostly contrary to Law. In such Deviations, the public Good is the Pretext; and when the Purposes of Ambition are served, the public Good is sometimes produced,

FROM the Establishment of *Tuathal Teachtmar*, to the Succession of *Laogary*, we have a Period of three hundred Years, pregnant with Revolutions and Events, the most important in the Heathen History of this Nation.--(o) The Exclusion of the *La-genian* Line from the Throne.--The Intrusions of the *Heremonians* into the Government of *Ulster*.--The Exile, Return, and Ambition of *Mogha Nuadbat*.----The great Actions and connubial Alliances of *Con-ked-Cathach*.---The Elevation of the *Heberian* Line to the Government of the two *Munsters*.

sters, in the Person of *Oliol Olum*.---The Ambition and Misfortunes of *Mac Con*.--The Succession of *Conary* the Second, to the Throne.--The Legislation of *Cormac O'Cuinn*. The Abilities of *Fionn Mac Cumbal*, as a Warrior and a Civilian.--(p) Settlement of *Carbry Riada* in *Ulster*, and soon after in *North Britain*.---Migration of the *Desies* into *Munster*.--Revolt of the *Basgnean* Army, on the Death of their Commander, *Fionn Mac Cumbal*.--The Battles of *Moy-lena*, *Kinfebrat*, *Mucrovev*, *Crinna*, *Gabbra* and *Dubb-eomar*.--The Reduction of *Conaught*, and End of the *Bolgian* Power in that Province. The Destruction of *Eamania*.--Actions of *Niall* the Great, and of his Nephew *Dathby*, against

(p) When the first Settlements of the *Gaedhals*, or *Scots*, took Place in *North Britain*, cannot be well determined: That they were inconsiderable until the Beginning of the sixth Century, we are certain. So our domestic Annals say; and such as are curious to be more particularly informed, may consult *Primate Usher*, *Dr. Stillingfleet*, and *Mr. Ennis* in his *Essays on the Antiquities of Scotland*. In the Reign of *Crinthan nia nair*, King of *Ireland* in the first Century, as in the Reigns of his Successors, down to *Niall the Great*, we read of several Expeditions of the People of *Ireland* into *North Britain*, as well to support their Allies the *Picts*, as to extend their own Power there, in Consequence of their assisting that People against the *Romans*. That they have therefore made some Settlements in the Parts contiguous to *Ireland*, several Ages before the sixth Century, we have no Reason to doubt.

against the *Romans*, in *Britain* and *Gaul*.—The Conquest of *Ulster*, and the Partition of the greater Part of that Province between the Posterity of *Niall*, &c.—These are Events, from which an Historian will draw useful Instruction; such as will afford abundant Proofs of what People may be brought to suffer, in a civil State, when they want true Information, or are prejudiced against it; of what Governors are capable of doing, on the other Hand, when they want to draw the Advantages of the Few from the Peoples Ignorance, or the Advantages of the Whole, from their Knowledge.

IN a Review of the foregoing Events, we will find the *Tuathalian* Line growing more and more superior to all Opposition. *Meath*, *Conaught* and *Ulster*, reduced under its Power: The *British Dal-Riada* established: Jurisprudence published for the Use of the People: Druidism canvassed: Several Systems of Philosophy and Theism cultivated: Domestic Contentions disturbing and wasting the Public: The State of *Ireland*, in those Days, resembled, in a great Degree, that of *Europe* in modern Times. A Succession of kindred Princes warred on each other, without Regard to the Ties of Nature, or the true Interests of the Public. No Period in
antient

antient History can display Instances of greater Glory, or greater Infamy.

NIALl the Great, and *Datby*, his Successor, have put a Period to our Heathen History, by Actions, which unthinking Mankind call heroic. They secured their Power at Home, and strengthened it by foreign Alliances, particularly with the *Saxons*, who still remained in *Germany*. No two Monarchs of *Ireland* can be equalled with them in this Particular, as none ever carried the Glory of the *Scotish* Arms farther: Both opposed the *Romans* in *Britain*: Both pursued them into *Gaul*, now almost torn from their Dominion by the Irruption of the northern Nations, who dismembered their Empire, and put a Barrier to their Pride and Tyranny. *Niall*, crowned with Laurels, was assassinated on the Banks of the *Loire*, by one of his own Subjects. *Datby* forced his Way to the Foot of the *Alps*, where a Flash of Lightning put a Period to his Life and Triumphs.

THE military Operations of Ages so distant, are not now interesting: Those which regard the human Mind, are more worthy of Attention. The Druids gradually gained an almost unlimited Authority: They were Dogmatists, and interested in the Dogmatism.

tism. (*q*) Some enlightened Men of the first Rank, sought to reform their College. They were deemed useful, as Ministers of the public Worship; not as uncontrollable Dictators. (*r*) *Conla*, Judge of *Conaught*, opposed their Superstitions and Encroachments. (*s*) *Cormac O'Cuinn* carried on the Controversy in Favour of Theism; and several Fileas, emulating their reforming Predecessors, proposed new Schemes of Truth. The Druids and their Followers were Bigots to Superstition, and lost Ground. The Philosophers were Bigots severally to some favourite Hypothesis, and could not gain in Proportion as the others lost. What is very remarkable; domestic Warfare took little Share in these Contentions; because Dogmatism was not the Cause of Faction; and because Freedom of Debate was the Cause of all. Disputes, carried on for a good End, endless however in their Nature, fatigued Mankind: But the Spirit of Enquiry had a good Effect, as it prepared for the Reception of the Gospel. It could find no lasting Repose in any other Scheme of Truth.

NOTHING

(*q*) Vid. *Ogyg. Domest. Cap. 22. p. 201. 202. 203.*

(*r*) Ibid. *Cap. 30. p. 218.*

(*s*) Ibid. *Cap. 69. p. 340.*

NOTHING could flatter the human Mind more, than to receive a Conviction that the Author of all Being, who partly revealed his Will in the Works of Nature, partly in a Covenant with the Race of an Eastern Patriarch, condescended to come down on Earth, to converse with Man, and render this Revelation complete. The wiser Men of the Nation, finding this World a Scene of seeming Inconsistencies and real Mysteries, made no long Opposition to the Mysteries of Christianity. Those who believed the Whole to be the Work of ONE omnipotent Being, were humbled by the Idea, that Man, who would grasp at more than is knowable, is graciously, as well as necessarily, retained to what is immediately useful in an intermediate State. That what is concealed is Part of our Happiness; and that Faith in what is revealed, is not the less our Duty, because a Part of it is, at present, incomprehensible. Thus was the Theism of the Filleas put into the right Track.

S E C T. XIV.

*From the Reception of Christianity, to the
Commencement of the Norman War.*

THE fourth and fifth Centuries were productive of great Revolutions in Ireland. The Race of *Tuathal Teachtmair* wrested the Province of *Conaught* from the *Damnonians*, it's old Inhabitants. They wrested the greater Part of *Ulster* from the *Rudricians*; settled the Province of *Munster*, to their Liking, in the Posterity of *Olioll Olum*, and contracted Alliances with the Northern Nations.

SUCH Revolutions were not common: Because the Monarchs of *Ireland* were greatly limited in Power; and because the Crime of Rebellion affected the Heads of Parties chiefly; but very seldom their Offspring, or the Body of the People, whose antient Possessions

Possessions were deemed inalienable.— Power, in certain Conjunctions, may overrule inveterate Custom. It will recal the Custom, when it finds no better Means for its own Prosperity.

FROM the Time that *Conaught*, the largest Province then in *Ireland*, was conquered by (i) *Muryach Tireach*, the national Monarchs removed their Court to *Cruachain*. They wanted to awe and to reconcile a brave, but fierce People, newly subdued; by their Residence among them. When that End was obtained, *Laogary*, the Son of *Niall* the Great, transferred the Seat of Government back to *Meath*.

WHILE these Changes were making, and while each contributed to establish the regal Succession in the *Hy-Niall* Family alone; the Christian Religion was introduced by (k) *Kiaran* of *Saighir* and others; Captives in a foreign Land, but set free on their receiving Baptism and Holy Orders. They proselyted Numbers to the Faith, and happily pro-

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cured

(i) K. of *Ireland*, A. D. 331.

(k) This Missionary, and his Countryman *Dechlan*, after being consecrated by the *Roman* Pontiff, returned to *Ireland*, about the Year 400, and converted Numbers to the Faith in the Country of the *Deffies*, and in *Offory*. Vid. *Ogyg.* p. 398.

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cured secure Retreats for the foreign Missionaries sent hither by Pope *Celestine* the First, and his Successors.

THE chief Planter of the Gospel in *Ireland* was by Birth a *Briton*, but a *Roman* by Education; and he is known at present by his honorary *Roman* Name, PATRITIUS. If we should judge by the Writings ascribed to this Missionary, he was vastly inferior to his Contemporaries, *Hierom* the Monk, *Ambrose* of *Milan*, and *Augustine* of *Hippo*; but to judge of him by his Success in Preaching, he excelled the Three, and appears to be as successful a Missionary as lived since the Apostolic Age.

SOME Conversions in the King's Domains, and even about his Person, gave great Alarm; and human Policy united, on this Occasion, with a contemptible Superstition to oppose the Progress of the Gospel. Men in Power knew that Novelties, such as turn the Minds of the lower Sort from a Reverence to established Maxims, are generally attended with Consequences dangerous to the public Quiet, ruinous to personal Interests, and shocking to local Prejudices; which, however absurd, are often more dear to Numbers than any real Interest whatever. These Consequences many laboured to prevent. Judging by
their

their own Interior, they could not easily be gained to acknowledge, that such a Change as the Missionaries promised, could be produced in our common Nature; or that the Self-denial they preached, could be practicable among Multitudes. These Politicians discovered their Mistake, in the peaceful Conduct of the new Converts; but they could not so easily be brought to confess it. Human Pride, wounded by any Information which detrudes a favourite Error, is often base enough to repay its Informer with Treachery and Cruelty. Insurrections were excited in some Places against the Missionaries, and the Monarch himself seemed to countenance Persecution, by summoning their Chief before him, and urging the Temerity of his Conduct, in labouring to unsettle the Minds of his People. (1) The Confessor replied, that he entered the Island under the Banners of Love and universal Benevolence, to raise him up a new People, through a Warfare merely spiritual; and that his Labours had no other Object, but the rendering his People better Men and better Subjects.—The King, who reigned over Numbers, Enemies to his Family and Succession, was, very probably, pleased with such Tidings: He, however, did not dismiss

(1) Ex. MSS. Vit. S. *Patrit.*

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the Missionary, without interposing some
cautionary Rules for his future Conduct.

IN Process of Time, *Leogary* himself yielded to the repeated Sollicitations of the Queen, and others about him, to conform to the Christian Faith. It had a happy Effect, in preventing any public Persecution from the Adherents to Druidism: And yet, if this Monarch was ever sincere, it is certain that he apostatized. His Hostilities against the *Hy-Kinfellach* Family proved fatal to him, and at this Distance mark a Character branded with Impiety and Perjury.

THE Progress of Christianity was so considerable, that, so early as the fifth Year of the general Preaching, PATRIC was summoned to sit, and assist in the great Senate of the Nation, called the FES of TEAMOR. (m) He was appointed one of the famous Committee of Nine, to whom was intrusted the Reform of the antient Civil History of the Nation; so as to render it instructive to Posterity: It was intituled, (n) THE GREAT ANTIQUITY, and was, no Doubt, the most authentic Body of History then extant. Few Fragments of it are come down, through the Ravages of the *Norman War*.

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(m) Annal. Quat. Magist. Ad Ann. 438.

(n) Annal. Quat. Magist. Ibid.

THE Missionaries necessarily introduced the *Latin* Tongue into this Country; but without Purity or Elegance. They confined the Use of it to the Study of the Holy Scriptures solely; and they appear to be Strangers to Criticism, or the Art of Composition. The Writings of the Natives in their own Language, we find formed on the Models of the old *Fileas*; and whatever Language they wrote in, hardly a Period transpires which betrays any Acquaintance with the *Greek* or *Latin* Classics. Notwithstanding this Disadvantage, many of their poetical Compositions are sublime and nervous. Where true Genius appears, we find a Language equally copious, concise and flexible; furnishing a Choice of Words, through such a Variety of metrical Cadences, Correspondencies, Elisions and Extensions, as combine Elegance with Harmony, and Dignity of Expression with Force of Sentiment. This Species of Literature is utterly neglected in our own Age; and the Posterity of another will doubtless reproach us for the Loss of it.

No Missionary was ever invested with more ample ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, than PATRIC, on his quitting *Rome*. It remained many Ages with his Successors in the See of *Ardmacha*; and was very seldom recalled, until a

Variety of Liturgies, and a Relaxation of Discipline, rendered a Reformation necessary, in the twelfth Century. Nothing in ecclesiastical History is more remarkable, than the inflexible Adherence of the Nation to the Doctrines by which it was originally converted; unless it be the unanimous Resignation of their antient ecclesiastical Immunities to the *Roman* See, after an almost undisturbed Enjoyment of seven hundred Years.

AFTER the Conversion of the Court, that of the Nation was rapid: And, if it be true, as undoubtedly it is, that Christianity got the least Opposition from the learned and civilized Nations; its great Progress in *Ireland* will, on that Principle, be the less to be surprized at. The obscure Taper of heathen Theism, was extinguished in the Light of the Christian, and druidic Superstition, once separated from the civil Establishment, disappeared by Degrees.

As soon as the Christian Religion got Footing enough to be interwoven with the civil Government, the Missionaries, attending chiefly to the spiritual Department, left the civil Constitution to its own Workings. And, though Government receives a reflex Light from Religion, which has itself an inherent one; yet the Preachers thought, that Schemes
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of political Legislation belonged properly to the civil Power alone. Even in this Infancy of the Church, the legislative Powers concurred in giving the civil Constitution a Wound, of which it never was cured. They pulled down the best Support of the Monarchy, by sequestering from it the Province of *Meath* to aggrandize the Sons of *Niall* the Great. It threw the future Kings of *Ireland* into the old State of Dependency, which the *Tuathalian* Constitution so wisely provided against, and extended the Foundations of the aristocratical Power; which disturbed the Nation as it grew up, and in the End ruined it. To this Change for the worse, the Converts to Christianity readily conformed: To a Change for the better, they would conform with equal, or, properly speaking, with greater Readiness. Happily the Christian Religion is adapted to every Form of civil Polity, and to none more profitably, than to one the best constituted.

THE Spirit of this Religion, teaching Men how to govern, and how to obey, from the Conviction of eternal Rewards in a better Life, for Uprightness of Conduct in this, must have great Influence on good Government: Far from countenancing Persecution or Sedition, it is abhorrent of both: And, although Christians have, undoubtedly, in several

veral Ages, fallen into the one and the other ; it was because their Iniquity availed itself of the Mask of Religion ; or, because the Honesty of Mistake drew false Consequences and false Conclusions, from the best of Principles.

BE it legislative Despotism, or false spiritual Zeal, each proposes ultimately a good End, by very inadequate Means ; by the preposterous Application of Rewards for Apostasy, and of Tortures for Sincerity : But the good End of Religion and Government must be sought by other Means, or can never be well attained. By quite different Means was Christianity planted in *Ireland* ; and this Circumstance alone should recommend its History, as one of the best Lessons of Edification, to Numbers, who find Crimes and Criminals at Discretion, and punish without any.

WHEN Christianity was incorporated with the civil Constitution, under the admirable Administration of *Olioll Molt*, the Abettors of the druidic Superstitions were not thrown out of the Protection of the Legislature. In those Days, neither occasional, nor local, Worship, was a Standard to determine how far Men ought to enjoy, or forfeit, the civil Rights of Civil Society. The Honesty of religious Error was pardoned : The civil
Crime

Crime alone, was punished; and the casual Influence of the first, on the second, was detected, by the Application of those Tests which Government can never be at a Loss to provide, when there is no latent or crooked Intention of opposing public Security, to that of innoxious Individuals.

THE Bishops Sees erected here in the first Age of the Church, were very numerous. The Monks spread themselves over the whole Face of the Land, and edified every-where by the Sanctity of their Lives. They fixed their Habitations in Deserts, which they cultivated with their own Hands, and, in the Course of Time, rendered the most delightful Spots in the Kingdom. Those Deserts became well-policed Cities; and, it is remarkable enough, that to the Monks we owe so useful an Institution in *Ireland*, as bringing great Numbers together in one civil Community; what creates and extends the useful Arts, promotes Civilization, and obliges to an Observance of those natural Laws which the Spirit of Persecution, and Party-Laws would exclude.

IN these Cities, the Monks set up Schools, in which they educated the Youth, not only of the Island, (o) but of the neighbouring Nations.

(o) Bed. lib. 3. Cap. 3. et 6. et 25.—Diploma *Carol.* Mag.—Camden, in *Britan.* &c.

Nations. They sent their Missionaries in Shoals into the Continent, converting its heathen, and confirming its Christian Inhabitants; set up Schools in those Parts; and laid the Foundations of the most flourishing Universities in *Europe*. They taught the *Saxons* and *Normans* the Use of Letters, and they converted the *Cruthneans*, or *Picts*, to *Christianity*, by the Preaching of *Columbkille*, who quitted his Right of Succession to the Throne of *Ireland*, to reign over the Hearts of a foreign People, Enemies to his own Nation.

WHEN *Europe* groaned under the Servitude of Gothic Ignorance, *Ireland* became the prime Seat of Learning to all Christendom. Hither the Sciences, such as they were in those Ages, fled for Protection; and here their Followers and Professors were amply supported. For the converted *Saxons*, the Nation erected, in the West, the College of *Mayo*, to this Day called MAYO OF THE SAXONS; and here it was that the Princes ALFRED and OSWALD received their Education. In the City of *Ardmacha*, it is affirmed, that no fewer than seven thousand Scholars studied, at the same, Time within its University; although the Kingdom, at that Time, contained several other Academies equally celebrated, if not equally numerous. On such
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Foundations did they cultivate Christianity and Knowledge, at Home and Abroad; and thus did they fulfil the glorious Commission of our Saviour to his Apostles; *(p)* *Go ye, and teach all Nations.*

ALTHOUGH this Nation kept up a Correspondence with *Rome*, by whose Missionaries it was converted: Yet our episcopal Clergy never applied to that See for Bulls of Ratification, Provisions, or Exemptions. The whole ecclesiastical Jurisdiction resided in the *(q)* See of *Ardmacha*, and there *Rome* generally left it, as it was originally granted to Saint PATRIC. In Process of Time, however, the remote Situation of this Country, and the intervening Distractions of *Europe*, cut off all Communication between the two Churches. After the long Interval of one hundred and fifty Years, it was again opened: A Schism ensued. It was found that the *Scots*, either failed in the due Time
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(p) *Matt.* 28. 19.

(q) The Legatine Power originally granted to the Bishops of this See, was very seldom recalled, or conferred on the Bishop of any other. In the Reign of *Turlough* the Great, (A. D. 1152) through many Abuses in Church Discipline, the Monarch and Clergy submitted to a Reformation, under Cardinal *Paparo*, in the Pontificate of *Eugene III.* Four Archbishoprics were then established, and the primatical Jurisdiction of *Ardmacha* was regulated by a new Constitution.

of keeping *Easter*, or knew Nothing of the synodal Decrees of *Rome*, in the Observation of the paschal Festival: The Church of *Ireland*, after much Contention, submitted at last to the *Roman* Ordinance. This, one should think, was a trifling Dispute; but it has its Use at this Day, by letting us see that there was no Dispute of Doctrine. Were there any such, *That* about *Easter* would never be heard of, or but lightly touched upon: And, it is greatly for the Honour of this Country, that, on the Renewal of its Intercourses with the *Roman* See, the latter could charge it with no Change in dogmatical Points. Right or wrong, an Identity of Faith was found in the two Churches. In the sixth and eighth Centuries, the same Doctrines prevailed in both: And a Fact of this Notoriety is well worthy of Consideration among rational Enquirers, who study ecclesiastical History for the best Use it can be put to, that of drawing their own Religion from the purer Fountains of Antiquity, and trying it by those Facts, which, in their Nature, can admit of no Controversy.

IT would be writing the History of this converted Nation, not Dissertations upon it, to give a Detail of the Number of Bishops and Abbots, who established religious Seminaries at Home and Abroad, from the Reception

ception of Christianity, to the Commencement of the *Norman* War in the ninth Century. It would be equally out of the Way to mention the Number of Battles fought, the provincial Factions which started up, and the Contentions of the North and South *Hy-Nialls*, during this Period. It will be enough to run over some of the principal Events which mark out the Strength and Weakness, the Wisdom and Folly, of this People.



S E C T. XV.

The same Subject continued.

ON the Death of *Laogary*, no Prince had fairer Pretensions to the Throne, than *Olioll Molt*, King of *Conaught*. His Kindred, the Sons and Grand-sons of *Niall*, not yet sufficiently established in their several Principalities, consented to his Election. He held several Conventions of the States at *Teamor*; and was the more formidable, as he had a legislative Sanction for all his Acts. The *Hy-Nialls*, headed by his Successor, cut him off in the Battle of *Ocha*; (a) an Event which forms a memorable Æra. The elder Branch of the *Tuathalian* Line was set aside, and confined to the provincial Government of *Conaught*. The *Hy-Nialls* got Possession of the supreme Government, and held it, uninterruptedly, for five hundred and nineteen Years.

IN the next Reign, the *Hy-Nialls* raised the Glory of the Nation, by assisting the *Dal-Riada* Race to erect a new Sovereignty of *Scots* in *Britain*. It was conducted by the
Sons

(a) A. D. 483.

Sons of ERK, and swelled to a mighty Kingdom, in the ninth Century, under *Kineth Mac Alpin*. From this Race sprang (a) the present

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(a) KINETH MAC ALPIN, the first King of SCOTLAND, (as known by it's modern Dimensions) was Father-in-law to two of our Monarchs of Ireland, AODH-FINLIATH and FLANN-SIONNA. From that conquering Prince his present MAJESTY is descended, in the thirty-first Generation; as appears by the following authentic Table.

<i>Kineth, I.</i>	A. D. 800	<i>Robert de Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and Ld. of Annandale.</i>		<i>Elizabeth.</i>	A. D.
<i>Constance.</i>	862			<i>Sophia.</i>	
<i>Donald.</i>	895			<i>George, I.</i>	1714
<i>Malcolm, I.</i>	946	<i>Robert, I.</i>	1306	<i>George, II.</i>	1727
<i>Kineth.</i>	971	<i>Margery.</i>		<i>Frederic, P. of W.</i>	
<i>Malcolm, II.</i>	1004	<i>Robert Stewart, II.</i>	1370	<i>GEORGE, III.</i>	1760
<i>Beatix.</i>		<i>Robert Stewart, III.</i>	1395		
<i>Donchad, R. S.</i>	1034	<i>James.</i>	1406		
<i>Malcolm, III. R. S.</i>	1058	<i>James.</i>	1437		
<i>David, R. S.</i>	1125	<i>James.</i>	1460		
<i>Henry, E. of Huntingd. & P. of Scott.</i>		<i>James.</i>	1488		
<i>David, E. of Huntingd.</i>		<i>James.</i>	1514		
<i>Isabel, Countess of Annandale.</i>		<i>Mary.</i>	1542		
		<i>James.</i>	1565		

present Royal Family of *England*, through the Daughter of JAMES the Sixth of *Scots*; who, on the Demise of Queen *Elizabeth*, became the first sole Monarch of these Kingdoms.

THE four Monarchs, who immediately succeeded *Olioll Molt*, received the Diadem in *Teamor*. It was a Place set apart by the Wisdom of the Constitution for the Inauguration of the Kings of *Ireland*; as well to put an End to elective Controversies, as to inform the People what Prince they should recognize. (b) This Seat of the Monarchy and Legislation of the Glory and Infamy of our Predecessors, was pronounced accursed in the Reign of *Dermot Mac Kervall*, at the Instigation of *Ruan of Lotbra*, an able and pious Man, who exposed the vile legislative Spirit of that Age. TEAMOR was no more. Other Places were appointed hence-forward, discretionally, for conferring the royal Dignity, and for holding the national Conventions.

THE next more interesting Period of these Times, commences with the Reign of *Aod*, Son of *Anmirey*. (c) He assembled the States of

(b) Vid. *Cler.* in *Disceptat. cum Bruvd.*

(c) *Aidan*, King of the *Albanian Scots*, took his Seat in

of the Kingdom at *Dromkeat*; and, among other Grievances, he laid before them that of the Fileas, who, like their Predecessors in the Days of *Concovar Mac Nessa*, inflamed the People by factious Libels and Panegyrics. He purposed to set aside the whole Order of these Incendiaries; what engaged his Kinsman, *Columb-Kille*, to quit his Retreat in the Island of *Hy*, and make a Voyage to *Ireland*, for preventing so barbarous a Resolution. This holy Man presented himself at the Great Council, and prevailed there, to reform, not to abolish, an Institution connected with civil Liberty, and so interwoven with the Manners of the People, that setting it aside thoroughly could have no End, but that of universal Confusion. What an Idea must we not entertain of that Great Man!

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Columb

in this Assembly; and, having obtained an Exemption from paying any Homage or Tributes to the Crown of *Ireland*; his Kingdom in *Britain* was declared, for the future, free and independent. This was a noble Concession to the Instances of *Colum-Kille*, who pleaded for this Exemption; of which, however, *Domnall Breac*, the Grandson of *Aidan* and K. of the *Albanian Scots*, made a very impolitic Use, by turning his Arms against the Mother Country in the Year 637. *Domnall*, King of *Ireland*, defeated him in the Battle of *Moyrath* in *Ulster*, and he returned to *Britain* in so weak a Condition, that a great Part of the Kingdom of *Scots* in *North Britain*, became a Prey to the *Saxons*, and continued so till the Days of *Adamnan*, who left us this Account in his Life of *Columb-Kille*.

Columb Kille renounced to the Throne of *Ireland*, and retired into private Life. He quitted that Retirement, when the Interest of his Country demanded his Presence in it's Councils. He corrected the Intemperance of a King and Legislature, whose Provocations were great, and whose Passions, intending Good, could produce none; because they were pushed to an Extreme.

WHILE the Fame of this Nation was spreading through foreign Lands, the Factions among the *Hy-Nialls* disgraced it. Divided among themselves, they united only to disturb the neighbouring Provinces, *Leinster*, particularly; over which they held a cruel Hand, by the Exaction of the *Boromean* Tribute. The great Council of *Dromkeat* provided no Remedy for this Injustice; and *Brandubb*, Governor of that Province, resisted bravely, to defend by the Law of Arms, what the Iniquity of the Legislature left exposed too much to arbitrary Will. The Monarch himself, (*Aodb*, the Son of *Anmirey*) suffered by this Partiality of the States to his Ambition and Resentments, having lost his Life at the Head of his Army, in the Battle of *Dunbolg* in *Leinster*; a signal Victory, gained by *Brandubb* over the *Hy-Nialls*, and a memorable Event, which closes the sixth Century.

THE Blow given at *Dunbolg* to the Royal Family, united for some Time the North and South Branches of that Race, under the joint Administration of *Colman Rivey* and *Aodb Slaney*. They assisted *Aidan*, King of the *Albanian Scots*, then at War with *Ethelfrid*, King of the *Northumbrians*, while themselves meditated a cruel War against *Brandubb*, *Aidan's* Half-brother. They pulled that heroic Prince down in the Battle of *Slabbry* in *Leinster*, and thereby established the *Hy-Niall* Power over all the Provinces.

ON conquering the common Danger, the *Hy-Nialls* revived their old Animosities, and satiated their Revenge, either in the open Field, or by private Murder. They considered Insurrections, and even Assassination, as a Right by natural Law, when that of the Land covered the Guilt it ought to punish: And they deemed themselves acquitted before God and Man, if they inflicted that Punishment on Criminals, which a regular Course of Justice would certainly have executed in open Day. An Idea which opened a Door to many Abominations, and prevented but few Evils! There was indeed something so base and cowardly in private Assassinations, that we rarely find Instances of them during the Days of the Monarchy.

Crimes, to which the Manners of a Nation annex the greatest Infamy, are less frequent, than any forbid by the Laws themselves.

AN Instance of this, we have before us. *Conall Guthbinn*, Prince of *Meath*, who plotted and executed the Murder of the two reigning Monarchs, *Aodb Slaney* and *Colman Rivey*, was set aside, as unworthy of sitting on the Throne; and his Posterity were excluded from any Share in the Succession, for the Space of a hundred and thirty-eight Years.

The Treachery of *Conall Guthbinn* gave the Nation an utter Dislike to the South *Hy-Nialls*. The North *Hy-Nialls* obtained the Throne, and did not deserve such a Preference. *Malcoba*, a pious Prince, was cut off by his Successor *Subney Meann*: He, in Turn, by *Congal Claon*, a Prince of the *Rudrician* Race of *Ulad*, the determined Enemy of his Family. *Domnall*, the Brother of *Malcoba*, and Son of *Aodb*, the Son of *Anmirey*, ascended the Throne, and began his Administration with an Act of extreme Justice; that of taking Vengeance on the Murderer of his Predecessor. *Congal Claon* he defeated in the Battle of *Dunkebern*, and obliged him to fly into *Britain*; the common Asylum of the domestic Mal-contents.

CONGAL CLAON remained nine Years in Exile: And as this Parricide bid fair for the Destruction of his native Country, he merits particular Notice in History. In Power he possessed some Virtues, and in Adversity wore the Semblance of all. Although an Outcast in a foreign Country, divided by different Languages and Interests, he retained a Dignity of Conduct which often throws a Lustre about Adversity itself. He kept up his Party at Home, who (by defeating *Connad Kerr*, King of the *Albanian Scots*, and Lord of the *Irish Dalriads*) supported his Interests. Among Strangers, he had the Iniquity of his Conduct to justify, and the more cruel Slights, which persecute unfortunate Princes, to manage: He did the one with Plausibility; he conquered the other with Patience and Dignity. Able, active, perseverant; no ill Fortune could depress his Spirit, no Disappointment fatigue his Ambition. He exerted every Talent which could win Esteem from the Great, and every Art which could turn that Esteem to his own Advantage: At Home, formidable to his Enemies, popular among his Friends; Abroad, brave, without Insolence; flexible, without Meanness; he gave the Nation a very important Advantage over him; *That* of guarding against the Greatness of his Genius, and of uniting against him,

him, although otherwise much divided within itself. This he balanced, by reconciling the most opposite Interests in *Britain*, when his Cause became an Object of Consideration. *Saxons, Britons, Albanian Scots, and Picts*, flocked to his Standard. His domestic Partizans prepared for his Reception, and he landed with Safety on the Coast of *Down*.

DOMNAL, King of *Ireland*, was not unprepared. He had Wisdom in his Councils, and Troops, who proved a Match for equally-gallant Troops raised within his Kingdom, and for those of the four Nations who joined them. He immediately encamped near the Enemy at *Moyrath*, and began as bloody a Battle as can be found in the Records of that Age: It continued with various Success for six whole Days, until (*d*) Victory declared for the Nation on the seventh. *Congal Claon*, the Soul of the Enemies Army, was defeated and slain at the Head of the Troops of *Ulad*. The foreign Troops were soon broke with great Slaughter; and *Domnal Breac*, King of the *Albanian Scots*, hardly escaped to *Britain*.

(*d*) This Engagement, so decisive for the Nation, in the Year 637, rendered *Moyrath*, ever since, famous in the *Irish Annals*. It retained the Name down to our own Time, and was rendered memorable of late by giving a Title to the present learned and worthy Possessor, Sir *John Rawdon*, Earl of *Moyra*.

Britain, with the sorry Remains of a fine Army, which should be employed for the Defence of the People he so wantonly attacked. This Contradiction to every Principle of sound Policy, was foreseen by *Columb Kille*, who laboured so much to reconcile the Interests of the *British Scots* to those of the parent Country: "A Prediction," says Saint *Adamnan*, "which was completed in our own Time, in the War of *Moyrath*; *Domnal Breac*, the Grandson of *Aidan*, having, without any Provocation, laid waste the Country of the Grandson of *Aumirey*: A Measure, which, to this Day, has obliged the *Scotish* Nation to succumb to foreign Powers; and which gives our Heart Grief, when we consider it." This is the Account of a cotemporary Writer, who was Abbot of the Island of *Hy*. It is one of the most important Events in the *Scotish* History; and yet, through the Destruction of Records in the Time of *Edward* the First, the latter Historians of *North-Britain* were Strangers to it.

It is certain, that *Ireland* was never in greater Danger, from the first Entrance of the *Scotish* Nation, than in this War raised against it by *Congal Claon*: But the civil Constitution being found in the mean, resisted

sisted the Disease, and shook it off in one great Effort. In a future Age, the Posterity of this very People abandoned their King, their Country, and their own Independence, almost without a Show of Resistance, to a Handful of foreign Freebooters.

IN the War of *Moyrath*, the Provincialists of *Ulad* attempted the Destruction of their Country: The *Hy-Nialls* saved it, and joined great Popularity to great Power. In Security, they quarreled among themselves: In Danger they united; but particularly against the ill-fated people of *Uladh* and *Leinster*, whom they persecuted, from old Animosities, and punished, from recent Injuries. The Disaffection of those Provinces appeared in frequent Insurrections, from Age to Age: Because, by the Constitution, it was not admissible to disarm them; and because they were frequently and wantonly provoked to Insurrection. In the seventh and eighth Centuries, of which we are writing, they made many noble Struggles for their Liberties; and whatever Peace they obtained, it was mostly from the Points of their Swords. At several Times, (*e*) they brought the *Britons* and *Saxons* to their Succour. *Adamnan* and *Moling*

(*e*) Vide Annal. *Quat. Magist.* passim. Et *Bed. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 4. cap. 26.*

Moling mediated for their Country ; the one, by his several Embassies to the *Saxon* Nation ; and the other, by prevailing with the Monarch, *FINACHTA the Hospitable*, to abolish the *Boromean* Tribute : But the Efforts of these two great Men brought only a temporary Relief to the Provincialists. After the Expulsion of the *Saxons* and *Britons*, *Conall Kinnaghar* forced them to accept of his new Regulations ; and *Fergall*, his Successor, pushing them still farther, lost his Life and the Flower of

In the Year 682, *Cathusach* and *Ultan*, Princes of the *Cruthneans* of *Dal-Araide*, leagued with the *Britains*, to invade *Ireland* ; and having joined their Forces at *Rathmore* in *Moyline*, they were defeated by the *Hy-Nialls*. In two Years after, *Egfrid*, King of the *Northumbrians*, sent an Army to invade the South *Hy-Niall*, where his General, *Bertus*, committed great Devastations ; not sparing the Churches and Monasteries. The King of *Ireland*, *FINACHTA, the Hospitable*, came up with the *Saxons*, and cut off some Parties. *Bertus*, however, made a good Retreat, and carried off most of his Plunder on board of his Ships. *Bede* censures very strongly this Violence and Sacrilege of his Countrymen. "*Bertus*," says he, "*miseré vastavit gentem innoxam, et natione Anglorum semper amicissimam, &c.*" In the Year following, the famous Abbot *Adamnan* was sent on an Embassy, from the King of *Ireland*, to *Elfrid*, who, from a Principle of Fear or Justice, made Reparation for the Damages committed by his Army, the preceding Year, in the Conuntry about *Teamor*. In 710, *Keallach*, King of *Leinster*, brought over a fresh Army of *Britons*. *Conall*, King of *Ireland*, defeated them in the Battle of *Silgy*, wherein *Kellach's* two Sons were slain, and a great Slaughter made amongst the *Britons*. We have several Accounts, in the old Annals, of these Invasions from *Britain* in this Age.

of his Troops against them, in the Battle of (b) *Almuine*. *Aodb Allan* took severe Revenge in the Battle of (c) *Uchbadh*, and the Provincialists were obliged to submit to the Conqueror, on his own Terms.

It is certain that the eighth Century did not produce two greater Events, than the Battles of *Almaine* and *Uchbadh*, if we consider only the great Preparations that were made, or the Obstinacy, the Fierceness, and the Loss of Men of all Ranks in these Engagements. In any other View, they are Events of little Importance, at this Distance of Time. The Exclusion of the *Slanian Hy-Nials*, who disgraced the History of those Times, and of the *Tirconall Hy-Nials*, who adorned it, is more worthy of Notice. The Causes which concurred, and the Means that were used, to erect a new Royal Family, to balance that of *Tyrone*, equally challenge Attention. They were very inadequate Efforts for limiting the aristocratical Power, which stole in by Degrees, ever since the Sequestration of *Meath* from the reigning Monarchs. Weak as those Efforts were, (d) *Flaberty*, the Son of *Long-seach*,

(b) Fought on the 11th of December, 722.

(c) Fought the 19th of August, 738, in the fourth Year of *Aodb Allan's* Reign.

(k) King of Ireland, from the Year 727, to 734. He died at *Ardmacha*, (where he led a religious Life) A. D. 765, in the thirty-first Year after his Abdication.

feach, yielded to them, from an Elevation of Mind uncommon in that, or in any Age. He resigned the Crown to a *Tirone* Prince, over whom he was victorious in the Field, and sacrificed the future Grandeur of his Family to the Prospect of serving his Country, by lessening the Number of Competitors for the Throne.

ON *Flaberty's* Abdication, in the Year Seven Hundred Thirty-four, a new Order of Government took Place, by alternate Succession in two Royal Families, for Two Hundred and Sixty-eight Years, in the Race of the *Clan-Colmans* newly established, and in that of the *Kinel-Eogans* newly restored. The Establishment began with *Aodb Allan*, Son of the late Monarch *Fergal Mac Malduin*. This Man, of Courage, of Genius, and good Sense, accused of Mal-administration, was cut off in a (*e*) Battle near *Kells*, to make Room for *Donnall*, his Successor, a very worthy Prince, who governed the Kingdom happily during twenty Years. To him succeeded (*f*) *Niall Frossach*, the Son of *Aodb Allan*, a pious Man, who, unable to repress the Factions in the Provinces, resigned, like his

(*e*) Fought in the Year 743.

(*f*) He resigned in the eighth Year of his Reïgn, and died at *Hy*; where he was buried, A.D. 778, in the Tomb of the Kings of *Ireland*.

his Predecessor *Flaberty*, and died in the Island of *Hy*. *DONCHAD*, the Son of the late Monarch *Domnall*, took the supreme Government, according to the Order of alternate Succession. He subdued by Arms the rebellious Provinces, which his Predecessor could not reclaim by a milder Administration. *Aodb Ornidhe* succeeded to him. Among his many Regulations, he drew up an (g) Order in the Convention of the States, for exempting the Clergy from any future military Service; what they were obliged to, in the Reigns of his Predecessors. His other Regulations had not equal good Effects. The Provinces were extremely factious through his whole Reign; and the Obedience he got was obtained from the Superiority of his Arms. During these civil Combustions the *Normans* made their first (h) Incursions into this Island: A cruel heathen People, who drew more Advantages from the divided State of

(g) Annal. *Quat. Magist.* ad Ann. 799. et. MSS. in Biblioth. Sti. *Sepulchr.* DUBLIN.

(h) First, by pyratrical Invasions, A.D. 798, on the *Hebrides*, and the Coasts of *Ulster*. In 807, they made Incursions into the Heart of the Country. In 815, *Turges* wasted the Kingdom with a mighty Army; and soon after, (through the Dissentions among the native Princes) they made fixed Settlements in various Places near the Sea Coasts. About the same Time, they obtained from the Force of their Arms considerable Settlements in *France*, *England*, and *Scotland*.

of the Nation, than from their own martial Skill, which, no Doubt, was great. We will give some Account of their Progress, and of the Effect which their Settlements here had on the Manners of our People, in another Section.

IN this which we are concluding, it may not be improper to take a Retrospect of the Times we have passed, from the Reception of *Christianity* to the End of *Aodb Ordnodhe's* Reign.—In the Beginning of this Period, we have seen the People changing their Religion for the better, and their political Constitution for the worse. The Family of *Niall* the Great, excluded the provincial Princes from the regal Succession, and intended, no Doubt, to strengthen the Monarchy, by confining it to one Royal House: But wise Men saw, and the Public experienced, that they only exchanged one political Evil for another; especially, since the Dismemberment of the royal Domain of *Meath*. Under the Denomination of *North* and *South Hy-Nialls*, they subdivided into four principal Families; disturbing the Nation by their several Pretensions, and deciding them but too often, more by military Elections, than by the Rules of the Constitution. More valiant or heroic Princes, no History can produce; were Success in ambitious Purposes to imply, what we generally

generally denominate, *great Actions*. But, setting aside those Prejudices, which the Weakness of Men has entertained in all Ages; we shall find the Actions of those Princes stripped of most of their Lustre, and but too often connected with Motives which are never avowed, because they are equally shameful and detestable.

WE must, however, observe, and our Readers should not overlook it, That the *Hy-Niall* Princes, with all their Faults, were, in the general, very able and very pious Monarchs. Bred up from their Infancy among Noblemen of the same Race, whereof several were their Rivals, and all in some Degree their Equals, they were preserved from the Follies, and rescued from the Vices, which a corrupt Education, and the Manners of modern Courts, beget in more modern Princes; Vices and Follies, which, when matured by sovereign Authority, operate so lamentably against the Happiness of Mankind.—Utter Strangers to that Distance, which so easily unlearns the Equality of human Nature, and little exposed to the Adulation which deifies Wretchedness, enriches the Soil of Vice, and improves every human Weakness beyond the ordinary Dimensions, in inferior Mortals; most of the *Hy-Niall* Princes wore the Diadem with a Majesty becoming a free State, and with a
conscious

conscious Dignity becoming the Merit which purchased it. Where the Genius of the civil Constitution required this Sort of Education; where Arrogance was decent; and where a State of Subjection must be more certain, even to the most Sanguine, than an Adoption to sovereign Power; it was not difficult to convince Princes, that their Elevation to regal Authority was a Trust for public Services; and That in a Post; where the greatest Abilities must be exerted, to encounter the Dangers with which it was surrounded. Such were the Principles they must necessarily entertain; a Necessity which rendered their private Morals austere, and their public Virtues popular. This is a glorious, but true Characteristic of the *Hy-Niall* Race; from which we must not separate another, (the Cause of some great Failings) a Strain of active Courage, to which no Danger was opposed, but what offered a more than adequate Reward, and to which no Fear was annexed, but that of falling alive into the Hands of a fighting Enemy.

WITH this Intrepidity of Mind, and those other Virtues, which in a great Degree attoned for its Excesses; the Fame of our Kings spread far and near. *Europe* recognized it: And, so sensible was CHARLES the Great of their Merit, that he honoured them

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in

in a particular Manner with his Alliance and Friendship; a Memorial of which is preserved to this Day in *(i)* the Paintings of the royal Palace of *Versailles*.

WHEN *Gothic* Ignorance expelled, in a Manner, all lettered Knowledge from the Continent; the Sciences and Arts, such as they were in the sixth and following Centuries, fell into the Arms, and rested on the Protection, of the *Hy-Niall* Princes: Those Sciences existed by their Bounty, and exiled Princes existed by their Munificence; until a cruel War with Strangers altered the Face of Things in *Ireland*, and made it what it is. The Sciences fled, but were transplanted to the Continent, through the Means of *(k)* *Scotish* Professors, brought from *Ireland* by that great Emperor we have just mentioned.

WE have spoken above of the Strength and Weakness, of the Wisdom and Folly, of this Nation: We have given some Proofs; and we may wind up in a more general Observation.—Their Strength lay in their Numbers;

(i) In an antient Piece of Tapestry, in the inner Hall of Audience in M. *De Chamillart's* Apartments. Here is to be seen the King of *Ireland* standing in the Row of Princes in Amity with *Charlemagne*, and drawn with the *Irish* Harp by his Right-side. *Kenned. Genealog. Stuart.* p. 181.

(k) *Ogyg.* in Prolog. p. 30.

bers; in their Love of Liberty; in their Discipline, and in their Courage. Their Weakness arose from a Monarchy, hurt in the Head and Feet, and too much controled by aristocratical Principles: It arose from their remote Situation, which lulled them into a false Security; and from an Opinion that no foreign Nation could much injure them: It arose, also from the State of *Europe* in those Days, when the feudal Establishments cut out too much Work for inward Operations to admit of foreign Conquests; and this gave the *Normans* the Lead in the western Countries of *Europe*.

THE Wisdom of this People appears in making the Improvements of the human Mind a necessary Qualification for obtaining the first Dignities in the State; but their Improvements were partial and limited. Their Folly lay in not ascertaining many Points of human Knowledge, which it is fatal to leave problematical; and in admitting any political Power to grow up to a Size, which, in the End, must annihilate every other that the Wisdom of antient Legislators provided for the Security of the Monarchy.

Private, public, religious Morals, are originally grafted every where on sound Principles: They mix with foul Streams in their

Courfe: Local Manners, local Interests, and inveterate Prejudices, give them a Colour of their own; and every complex Question is decided through the Medium of an arbitrary Solution, until Time decides through another, and until new Notions repeal all.—In Truth, the Revolutions in human Opinion have given us hitherto no advantageous Idea of the Wisdom of Mankind: And perhaps we are still at a Distance from the Criteria, which alone can render us useful to one another in Society. If this be so, we indulge Censure too much relatively to our Predecessors in this Island: We style them Barbarians, very justly; and for Reasons which must influence Posterity to give *ourselves* the same Denomination; since, like them, we retain Manners and Customs, which right Reason cannot approve, and which the Barbarians in Question would absolutely reject, in the Days we have described. In our own Days, Disputes seem to multiply upon us, in Proportion to the Labours of Investigation: And, however great our Erudition may be, plain it is, that human Knowledge is hardly yet out of its Infancy.

S E C T. XVI.

*From the Commencement of the Norman War,
in the ninth Century, to the Death of
MALACHY, I.*

WHEN *Ireland* was first visited by the
(1) *Normans*, the Island was spread
over with populous Towns, and flourishing
Colleges, wherein the Sciences were taught,
and useful Arts were cultivated. The civil
Government

(1) *Normans* and *Gauls* were the general Names given
in *Ireland* to this People; the one implying Men from
the North; the other signifying Foreigners, or Stran-
gers. They were also called *Lochlons*, or *Pirates*. Their
more particular Names of *Dubb-Galls*, *Fingalls*, *Dan-
fbir*, or *Danes*, are likewise frequently found in our An-
nals. The *English* called them *Oestmen* and *Danes*. In
France, they got the Name of *Normans*. They con-
quered *England* under *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, A.D.
1066; and, in a little more than a hundred Years after,
they made a Conquest in *Ireland*, under *Henry II.* the
first of the *Plantagenets*.

Government was in the Hands of the *Clan-Colman* and *Tirone* Families, by alternate Succession, and was consequently exercised by alternate Faction. The two excluded Families of the same *Hy-Niall* Race were discontented, but not weakened; and the aristocratic Power of the Provinces was gaining Weight very fast, as the Monarchy was losing it. Notwithstanding such a State of feeble Administration, (*m*) the Colleges and Universities enjoyed perfect Security, and they reaped the Advantages of it. Hither foreign Princes fled for Refuge, as others sojourned here for cultivating Knowledge; and the fiercest Rivals for Power did not contend more by Arms, than by a generous Struggle, who should appear foremost in protecting those Seminaries, or in doing Honour to the illustrious Exiles. Happy the People, who can substitute a political Counter-weight to the Evils of a bad civil State; a Counter-weight, which necessarily produces the most glorious Effects of good Government, amidst the Confusions of Contention and domestic Warfare!

THIS State of Things, which arose more from Manners than from any established Law,
received

(*m*) The University of *Ardmacha* alone entertained at this Time 7000 Students.

received a mighty Check, and gradually approached to that Period which generally concludes in Barbarism. The *Normans*, who issued forth from the same *Gothic* Hive with the old *Saxons* and *Franks*, infested this Kingdom, first by their Incursions, and shortly after by actual Settlements. They carried on a general War, at the same Time, on the Coasts of *France*, *England*, and modern *Scotland*; and spread the Terror of their Arms through all the Countries contiguous to them. In the Reigns of *Aodb Ordnidhe*, and *Concovar*, his Successor, they gave, and received, Defeats. In the Reign of *Niall Caillne*, they invaded the East of *Ireland* with a Fleet of a hundred and twenty Ships; set *Turges* at their Head, and spread Desolation everywhere between the Sea and the *Shannon*. *Turges* fortified himself on the Lake of *Rive*, in the most commodious Place possible for mastering the two Provinces of *Conaught* and *Meath*: He proved a most cruel Tyrant, and covered those Countries with murdered Carcasses. The Monarch of the Island, a brave and good Man, stopped his Progress from the North; *Feidlim*, the Son of *Crimthan*, King of *Munster*, a very able Man, covered the South; but, through interested Views, he basely enjoyed the Miseries of the rest of his Countrymen.

FEIDLIM could have preserved his Country; but did not. *Niall Caillne*, the Monarch, would have done it; but wanted sufficient Power. He invited *Feidlim* to an Interview for compounding their Differences, and acting in Concert against the common Enemy. They met at *Clunconary* in *Meath*, concluded upon no salutary Measure, and *Turges* availed himself of their mutual Enmity.

THE Character of this King of *Munster* unfolded itself by Degrees; and very unusual Conjectures brought into Exertion some great Qualities, to which the Public, and to which, perhaps, himself would be otherwise a Stranger. He felt the Superiority of his Genius, and trusted too much to it. Trusting likewise too much to the inferior Abilities of co-eval Princes, he hoped to get the Mastery over all, and entered into Negotiations with two Monarchs of *Ireland*, with no better View than to render himself popular, and their Administration contemptible. He studied, and often mastered, various Tempers, by a judicious Application to the predominant Passions of Mankind: And, when he failed, it was generally through the Necessity of exposing Measures, over which Diffimulation throws a Veil, until the Time of Execution. With a seeming Ductility

tility of Nature, he was the most determined of all Men in his Resolves. Brave in Action, generous in Success, unbroken in adverse Fortune; he secured the Co-operation, and retained the Fidelity, of the two great Provinces wherein he governed: Munificent, insinuating, amiable; he, for a considerable Time, gained Friends in all the other Provinces. Religious, not pious; he occasionally made the Clergy the Instruments of his Ambition. He harassed them, in Turn, when they would not go all his Lengths: And, in this Instance, more, perhaps, than in any other, did his ruinous Politics fail him. His Inaction and Operations proved equally fatal to his Country: The one was treacherous; the other were oppressive. And after Disappointment in his grand Object, that of being called to the Government of the whole Kingdom, he fell into contemptible and odious Measures: Such as foreclosed all Hopes of Reconciliation with Enemies, who unwillingly admired his Talents; and such as deprived him, on the other Hand, of the real Affection, though not of the Fidelity, of Numbers, who proved steady to their Leader; because they derived greater Advantages from his bad, than from his good Qualities.

(n) He was the great Patron of Arts and Letters,

(n) He obtained the distinguishing Title of *Doctissimus SCOTORUM*, &c. See the Annals of the *Four Masters*, and *Mac Dary's Reply to O'Clery*.

Letters, in the Decay of Literature, and was himself the most learned Man of his Time. He in his last Moments died a Penitent, the shining and useless Ornament of his Age; a fine Genius, and a bad Man.

SUCH rare Characters, which History cannot overlook, may be admitted even in a Dissertation; especially as they throw Light on Times, of which we know so little at present. *Malachy*, the Son of *Malruany*, claims our Attention equally; as he delivered his Country by Stratagem, what *Feidlim* neglected to do by open Force, when not permitted to do it in his own Way. *Niall Caillne*, the Monarch, gained a signal Victory over the *Normans*, in *Tirconall*, at the Time that *Turges* was seized at the Lake of (o) *Uar* by *Malachy*. *TURGES* was put to Death, and the *Normans* were thrown into such a Panic, on the Loss of their Chief, as made them an easy Prey, for some Time, to the exasperated Natives. *Feidlim* died: The Monarch *Niall* was unfortunately drowned in the River of (p) *Callen*: And *Malachy*, according to the Rule of alternate Succession, mounted the Throne;

(o) Loch *Uar*, near *Mullingar*, in the County of *Clan-Colman*.

(p) Near *Ardmacha*.

Throne; which he so well merited, by a Series of worthy Actions, before his Accession.

THIS Monarch pursued his Blow, for two Years successively, against the *Normans*; and, after many Victories over the Enemy, he piously resolved on a Journey to *Rome*, to give God Thanks. With this View, he sent Ambassadors and rich Presents to *CHARLES the Bald*, King of *France*, requesting his Friendship and a Passage through his Dominions. But he was frustrated in his Resolutions, through the fatal Distractions which arose among his own Subjects, as soon as he relieved them from foreign Bondage.

MEAN Time, the *Normans* invaded the Kingdom with a (*q*) Fleet of an hundred and forty Sail at one Time; not long after with an hundred and sixty, and struck Terror through every Quarter of the Kingdom. Some of the mal-content Princes joined them. The King of *Ireland* convened the States at *Ardmacha*, and they broke up without coming to any Resolutions worthy of them. All was Sedition and Faction within; from without, *Amlaff*, the Son of a *Norman* King, arrived in *Ireland*, and all his Countrymen united under his Standard. *Malachy*
convened

(*q*) Annal. Quat. Mag. ad An. 847 et 850.

convened the States, on the Defection of *Munster*, and brought that Province to its Duty, attended by the Primate. He convened the States a third Time at (r) *Rath Aodb*, and salutary Measures were taken. Immediately after, the Prince of *Tirone*, AODH FINLIATH, from some Provocations, real or pretended, flew into open Hostilities against the Government; and the Monarch, at the Head of the Troops of the four Provinces, marching against him, encamped at *Moydumba*, near ARDMACHA. *Aodb Finliath* surprized him at Night, and killed Numbers. The King, however, happily extricated himself, and drove off his Enemy.

AODH FINLIATH, having raised Troops more formidable than the former, was joined by *Amlaff*, and they wasted the King's hereditary Country, with Impunity. The Nation was plundered by the common Enemy; it was worried by domestic Factions: And in this State of Things, the excellent, pious, and unfortunate *Malachy*, left this Kingdom, having died on the thirtieth of *November*, eight hundred and sixty three.

MALACHY, as Prince of *Meath*, rescued his Country from Thraldom; As King of *Ireland*,

(r) Now *Rathoath* in *Meath*.

land, he distinguished himself by the Equity of his Administration, by his Skill in War, and by his Moderation after Victory. He distinguished himself still more, by the most heroic of all Virtues, that passive Courage under great Distresses, which provided equally for personal, as well as national Security; so far as it was possible to obtain either. When we consider the whole Tenor of his Life, we should, I think, ascribe his Death, rather to the common Course of Nature, than to the Grief he must feel on the Revolt we have mentioned. Annalists are too deficient, as modern Historians are often too arbitrary, in assigning Causes to Consequences. In Regard to the Prince, now under Consideration, we can, from those (*f*) Annalists, give him as good a Character, as can well be given to one in his high Station; that his Death was univervally lamented by a *factious* Nation.

(*f*) Vide Anal. Quat. Magist. ad Ann. 860.

S E C T.

S E C T. XVII.

*From the Death of MALACHY I. to the
End of the alternate Succession between the
Houses of Meath and Tyrone.*

THE Incurſions of the *Normans* continued now forty-eight Years. In the Courſe of that Time, they made Settlements on the Sea Coaſts, and began to fortify themſelves within ſtrong (*t*) ſtone Walls, Works until then unknown in *Ireland*. Through the ſame Period, they carried on their Hoſtilities (as we obſerved above) on the Coaſts of *France*, *England* and modern *Scotland*; and had they confined their Ravages but to one of thoſe Kingdoms, its Conqueſt, in all Appearance, would be inevitable.

(*t*) Before the Building of thoſe Fortifications, the Uſe of ſtone Works in *Ireland* was confined wholly to the Building of Churches; and ſome conſiderable Ruins of thoſe Times, ſtill remain.

evitable. *Ireland* was every Day ripening for Chastisement by some foreign Hand ; but that of the *Norman*, divided its Blows with other Nations ; and had it succeeded against this Island, the Condition of the Nation would not be bettered by it. The *Scandinavian* Nations of those Ages had no Scheme of Polity for bettering their own State. They were an Aggregate of heathen Barbarians ; and the greatest Advantage they could bring to a conquered People, would go no farther than to incorporate them with the Conquerors, and communicate with them in all the Security, that Victory can afford to Free-booters. In every Country where they prevailed, they gave Interruption to the established Laws, and weakened the civil Establishment, of Course : In *Ireland*, they absolutely prevented a Reform in either, tho', in every Period, their own Establishment was very precarious. Hating and hated, betraying and betrayed ; their Confederacies with *Irish* Factions were of short Duration, and the *Irish* Monarchs had generally the Advantage over them in the Field. The crazy State of the Government was their best Security. Those Monarchs, chosen, by alternate Succession, out of two royal and rival Families, could not assemble a sufficient legislative Power ; and every Attempt to do it proved ineffectual. The *Roy-*
amna

damna was generally in Opposition to the reigning Prince. Some Factions were rebellious, because they were severely treated ; others were turbulent, because they could not be chastised ; and each occasionally joined with the common Enemy, to gratify the Purposes of Revenge or Ambition. The Constitution, languishing under internal Obstructions, and struggling with itself, as well as with exterior Danger, could only barely hold out : It could not remedy itself. The Patriotism of a few served only to prolong the Disorder, and prevent that Dissolution, which, *in some Cases*, is the most desirable Event that can happen ; as Order may rise out of Confusion, and as true Patriots may then be invested with sufficient Power.

AFTER the Death of *Malachy I. Hugh Finliath*, Prince of the North *Hy-Niall*, and the Son of the late Monarch *Niall Cailne*, mounted the Throne. From being a bad and turbulent Subject, he became a good King. Possessed of all those Qualities which render Princes popular, he gained Friends ; and yet, in the general, no Monarch was worse obeyed. His legal Rights were refused to him in some of the Provinces, and he was under the Necessity of exacting them by open Force. In the Course of these civil Contests the *Normans* seized on *Ard-macha*

*mach*a, the Capital of the Kingdom, where they killed a thousand of the Inhabitants. They plundered *Munster* also; and ravaged *Wales*, with so great Fury, that *Roderic*, the King of that Country, was obliged to take Refuge in *Ireland*.

FLAN SIONNA, Prince of the South *Hy-Niall*, and Son of *Malachy* I. succeeded to *Hugh Finliath*. His Reign was long, and resembled that of his Predecessor. Devastations by the *Normans*, on the one Hand; Revolts in the Provinces, on the other. Local Rights (often ill-grounded) were contended for; the Rights of the Public, in general, were no longer the Object.

PROVINCES retained, too long a Time, the Privilege of deciding for themselves, in certain Disputes with their neighbouring Provinces. The reigning Monarchs wanted sufficient Power; and the Authority of the States, partially convened, was little regarded. The King could interpose only, by throwing his Weight into the lighter Scale; and was right in so doing, not only from Justice, which lyes more generally on the weaker Side, but from the Policy of permitting no Faction to rise high enough, to crush the other, and the Monarchy itself, in Consequence. Instances are but too com-

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mon in the antient History of this Kingdom: We have a remarkable one in the Reign of the present Monarch: *Caroll* King of *Leinster* applied to him for Redress in a Contest with *Cormac*, King of *Munster*, and the latter refused to yield to *Flan's* Determinations:—The Particulars are important, and fall properly within the Province of an Historian. In a *Dissertation*, it will be sufficient to observe, that the Monarch joined his own Forces to those of *Caroll*, and wasted the Country of his Adversary from (b) *Goran* to *Limerick*.

MUNSTER was at this Time governed by as worthy a Prince as lived in that Age, *Cormac*, the Son of *Culinan* Archbishop of *Cashel*. He was very reluctantly drawn into Rebellion by his Minister, *Flaberty*, Abbot of *Innis-Cathy*, and one of his Successors also, in the provincial Government: This Man, eloquent, artful and ambitious, over-ruled his Master's better Sense, and easily governed the Passions of a People, so lately irritated by the King's Partiality to *Leinster*.

ALL Offers of Accommodation were vain. The Troops of *Munster* marched into the South *Hy-Niall*. The Monarch met them
on

(b) A. D. 906:

on the Heath of (c) *Moy-Lena*, famous for the Defeat of the *Munster* Troops, seven-hundred Years before. In this Engagement, the King of *Ireland's* Troops were defeated; and the Provincialists made insolent Use of their Victory, by ravaging *Conaught*, and the King's own hereditary Domains in *Meath*.

FLAN made every Effort for repairing his Disgrace. *Conaught*, *Leinster*, the South *Hy-Niall*, collected all their Forces. In the next Campaign, the royal and *Munster* Armies met at (d) *Belagh Mugna* on the Plain of *Moy-Alvy*, on this Side of *Sliaw Margy*. The Troops of *Munster* were compleatly defeated, leaving five thousand of their Men dead on the Spot: The Archbishop himself was unhappily one of the Number. His Head was carried to *Flan*, who, far from enjoying his Triumph, wept bitterly over it.—At this Distance of Time, we cannot but lament the Fate of so good a Man. We must be moved, at the same Time, with the Humanity of his Conqueror, oppressed with Grief for the Loss of a Prince, who, under good Councils, would be a Support, as well as Ornament to his Reign.

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(c) *Moy-Lena* lies in that Part of the *South-Niall*, called *Feara-Keall*; a Part of the King's County.

(d) A. D. 908.

THE Days of *Cormac's* Youth were employed in improving his Mind and Virtues, under (e) *Snedgus*, the learned and pious Abbot of *Dysert Dermod*. He was a thorough Master of the Learning of that Age. Among others (equally celebrated in the Annals before us) he signalized himself in lettered Knowledge. Some of his Works have been preserved, though theirs have been lost in the long Anarchy that succeeded their Times. *Cormac's* historical Remains were inserted in the Work, intitled the *Psalter of Cashel*. They were in the Hands of Sir *James Ware*, and of several other Antiquarians of the seventeenth Century; and we trust that they may be found still in some foreign or domestic Repository.

SOON after *Flan Sionna's* Accession to the Throne, he espoused *Malmaria*, Queen of his Predecessor, and Daughter of the famous *Kineth Mac Alpine*, King of the *Albanian Scots*; who, after conquering the *Picts*, enlarged his Kingdom vastly, and extended the *Scotish* Power southward, to the Borders of *Dun-Edain*, now called *Edinburgh*, in *Loudanshire*. By her first Marriage, *Malmaria* became the Mother of *Niall Glundubb*,
Flan's

(e) Vid. An. quat. Magist. ad An. 885.

Flan's Successor, and the common Father of the Family of *O'Neill*, so celebrated in our Annals, down to the Accession of *James the Sixth, of Scots*, to the Throne of these Kingdoms.

By his Marriage with *Malmaria*, *Flan* superintended the Education of the young Princes, her Sons, and bethrothed his Daughter *Gormlatha* (by his first Consort) to *Niall Glundubb*. This Alliance, and the Consanguinity brought into the two Families, through that illustrious Princess of *Scotland*, ought, one should think, to produce their proper Effect of Concord between the North and South *Hy-Nialls*. But this Effect did not follow; and we find that the natural Affections, had as little Force among the Princes of that Age, as those of our own. *Niall Glundubb*, Roydamna of the Kingdom, flew into open Hostilities against his Father-in-Law, and was defeated. They were afterwards reconciled, and continued so. *Flan Sionna* died at *Taltion*, in the thirty-seventh Year of his Reign. He was a Lover of Justice, and gave frequent Proofs in the Administration of it. Frank, liberal and resolute, he departed from no Measures proper to be taken with Friends and Enemies. He was, in Fact, an heroic Prince, and a good Man.

NIALl GLUNDUBH succeeded. Through the happy Reconciliation between him, and his Predecessor, what still subsisted between him and Brother-in-Law, *Conor O'Malagblin*, he came to the Throne with great Advantages. These were counter-balanced by fresh Invasions from the *Normans*, to aid their Friends, already too powerful. All the Provinces were alarmed, and the most perverse Factions coalited in the Cause of their Country. The King marched to the Relief of *Munster*, and proved victorious in many Skirmishes. He avoided a general Engagement, and sent his Orders to *Ugary*, who acted against the Enemy in *Leinster*, to stand for some Time on the defensive. Whether the King was ill obeyed, or whether *Sitbric*, the *Norman* Commander, forced the *Leinster* Men to an Engagement, is not known. *Sitbric*, however, obtained a complete Victory over the Provincialists at *Kinsuad* near *Timolin*. This ill Fortune greatly embarrassed the King's Affairs.

To repair the Loss at *Kinsuad*, the King carried on the War with great Caution, until his new Levies from all the Provinces were completed, and until his Ally and Kinsman, *Constantine*, King of the *Albanian Scots*, proved so successful against their common Enemy, as to draw off, from *Munster*,
Numbers

Numbers of *Normans*, for the Relief of their Countrymen in *Scotland*. *Ivor* and *Sitbric*, Commanders of those who remained in *Ireland*, changed their Operations into a defensive War, and retired to their capital Hold in *Dublin*. About this Town, they defended themselves by strong Retrenchments, which the King attempted to force at (f) *Killmosamog*. No Operation could be more unfortunate or fatal. The King, his Nobility, his whole Army, were cut in Pieces: And thus ended the short Reign of *Niall Glundubb*, a Prince, whose Virtues exceeded his Failings; and who, with great Advantages, and great skill in War, was yet unfortunate.

CONOR O'MALAGHLIN, Roydamna of *Ireland*, being killed in the Battle of *Killmosamog*, his Brother, *Donchad*, succeeded in the Throne of *Ireland*. He was the Son of *Flan Sionna*, and signalized the first Year of his Reign, by the Defeat of the *Normans*, in the Battle of *Timacneagh* in the *Teamorian* (g) *Kianachta*. In that Engagement, he amply
revenged

(f) Formerly a Church and Parish, which lay S. W. of the City.

(g) There were several other *Kianachta's* in *Ireland*. This in *Meath*, and the other, called the *Kianachta* of *Glingiven*, in the *North-Hy-Niall*, were the most noted.
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revenged the Death of his Brother-in-Law and Predecessor, *Niall Glundubb*; he, however, soon after, put to Death his paternal Brother, *Donall*, the Son of *Malmaria* of *Scotland*. What incited him to so cruel an Action, the Annals we have perused do not inform us. However justifiable it might be, it appears to have had bad Consequences; as *Murkertach*, the Son of *Niall Glundubb*, *Roydamna* of the Kingdom, and *Donall*'s Nephew, could not be reconciled to the King for a long Time. The Dissentions of such Men, in such Times, must prove fatal to the Public.

Two extraordinary Characters distinguish these Times: Their Rank, their Birth, and their Abilities, would bring them forward, and give them the Lead in Times of the greatest Eclat: *Callaghan*, or *Cellachan*, of *Cashel*, King of *Munster*; and *Murkertach*, the *Roydamna* we have just mentioned: The one was artful, insinuating and popular; the other generous, resentful and sincere. *Cellachan* turned out an Enemy to his Country;
Murkertach

The latter, until after the Expulsion of the *Irish* out of *Uister*, was the Property of the *O'Conors* of *Kianachta*, of whom *George O'Connor* of *Ardlonan*, Esq; near *Kells*, is the only remaining Branch, as the Writer is well informed.

Murkertagh sacrificed every just Resentment to its Interests. Having taken such different Sides, the one endeavoured to ensnare the other, by Negotiation, and became the Victim of his own Treachery. *Murkertagh* seized on him, in the Midst of his own Province, and brought him a Captive to *Tyrone*. Never did one Enemy experience more Generosity in another.

(b) MURKERTAGH made Improvements in the Art of War. His Character lyes entombed in the History of a People, hardly enquired after in our own Time. He had as great a Genius for War, as any Man that this Island has, perhaps, ever produced. The Endowments of his Heart were still greater. He, for some Time, valued himself and his Party too much; but loving his Country more, he relented, and reconciled himself to his Sovereign and Brother-in-Law. Thence-forward he never relapsed into Faction. Of All Enemies, he was the most generous; of all Commanders, the most affable. He never descended from his Dignity; but reconciled
Familiarity

(b) He received the ascitious Name of *Muirkertach na Gcochall croceann*, from his Invention of Leathern Coverings, impenetrable to the Arrows and Javelins of the Enemy.

Familiarity to a Rank, which, in the ordinary Course of Things, must be kept separate from it. Elevated, benevolent, and captivating, he was unhappily taken off, at a Time when his Character put him in Possession of a Power, which probably would have relieved his Country from Bondage,



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S E C T. XVIII.

FROM the Dissolution of the alternate Succession between the *Clan-Colman*, and *Tyrone* Houses, to the End of the *Hy-Niall* Monarchy.

(i) **C**ONGALACH, the Son of *Malmithy*, succeeded to *Donchad O'Ma-lacklin*. How this Prince, whose Family was excluded from the Succession, for two hundred and seventeen Years, could be raised to the Throne, before *Flaherty O'Neill*, whose Turn it was now to govern, by the Rule

(i) *Congalach* was Grand-son to the King of *Ireland*, *Flann Sionna*, by his Mother *Ligach*, who was the Daughter of *Malmaria*, Daughter of *Kineth I.* King of *Scotland*. *Niall Glundubb* was also his Uncle, by the Half-blood. Thus did *Congalach*, through his close Relation to the *Tyrone* and *Clan-Colman* Families, find a more easy Accession to the Throne, than from his own Family he was intitled to.

Rule of alternate Succession; we cannot otherwise account for, than from his great Popularity, his military Abilities, and the Condescension of the legal Claimant, who was his close Kinsman.

WHATEVER his Merits were, (and he certainly exerted some very distinguishably) yet his Revival of an old Claim to the royal Succession, was as impolitic a Step as could be taken. The other excluded House of *Tirconnell* was at this Time governed by as able a Man as any in the Kingdom, and who set up Pretensions which he had Power to support, and did support. He indeed co-operated for some Time with the King against the *Normans*, and assisted in wasting *Dublin*, newly re-peopled. But upon some Disgust, real or pretended, he turned his Arms against *Congalach*; drove him out of his hereditary Country of the *Teamorian Meath*; got himself, by a military Election, proclaimed King of *Ireland*; and received the Homages of *Munster*, and other Provinces.—This extraordinary Man, *Roderic O'Cananan*, having no more to fear from his Rival, marched against the *Normans* of *Dublin*, and obtained a signal Victory over them. They lost six thousand Men in the Battle, without including

cluding Irregulars, or Attendants: But *Roderic* himself was accidentally slain at the Close of the Victory. And in this Manner was *Congalach* relieved from the Usurper of his regal Dignity.

ON his Return, he very unwisely hastened to take Vengeance on the Province of *Munster*, before he provided for his Security at Home. *Blacar*, Governor of *Dublin*, and Commander of the *Normans*, seized upon the Advantage left open to him, and from his Head-quarters, in (*k*) *Kenanus*, plundered the South *Hy-Niall*, without Mercy. *Congalach* returned, to drive off the Invaders; but without finishing effectually the Business he was upon in *Munster*: And those Measures drew on him the Arms of his Successor, *Domnall O'Neill*, who hitherto spared him.—This unfortunate Prince made one Effort for re-establishing his Power and Character. He held a Council of his Followers on the Banks of the *Liffey*, and marched thence against *Dublin*. The *Normans* amused him with a Shew of Submission to his Demands, and their Stratagem succeeded. They fell upon him unaware at *Toi-Gioghrana*, where they slew him, and

cut

(*k*) Now *Kells* in *Meath*.

254 DISSERTATIONS on the
cut to Pieces a considerable Part of his
Army:

THUS ended the Reign of *Congalach Mac Malmithy*; a Prince capable of rendering his Country great Service, and who very probably would do so, had he never ascended a Throne, to which he appeared to have no Right by Birth.

HE was succeeded by *Domnall O'Neill*, a valiant unfortunate Man. This Prince, whose Right of Succession was undoubted, had but little Obedience paid to his Authority; excepting what he obtained from the Point of his Sword; and this was not very considerable. *Mathgavain*, King of *Munster*; *Fergal O'Ruark*, King of *Conaught*; *Maliosfa O'Conanain*, Prince of *Tirconall*; were able Men, and distressed him. *Murchad*, the Son of *Fin*, King of *Leinster*, conjoined with the *Normans*, distressed him also; though he defeated them in several Encounters. The *Clan-Colman* Race warred upon him in Turn, and he chastised them for their Defection. Thus it was: Factions sprang up, and shed their Seeds in a Soil long prepared for them. All public Harmony became absolutely desperate. Every noble Feeling, every amiable Resignation in Favour of the Public, or of the Monarchy,

was

was confined to a few elevated Spirits, who wanted Power and Influence to preserve both, from a Destruction the more certain, as there was no Remedy, and the more grievous, as it was foreseen.

THE last memorable Action of *Domnall O'Neill*, was that at *Kilmona*; wherein he had the Misfortune of being defeated by the united Forces of the *Normans* and *Teamorian Hy-Nialls*. His worthy Successor, *Malachy*, repaired this Disgrace to him, by the complete Victory he obtained at *Teamor* over the *Norman* and *Leinster* Troops. The unfortunate Monarch himself, after a Reign of twenty-four Years, died a Penitent at *Ardmacha*, in the Year nine hundred and eighty. He was the sixteenth and last Monarch of the *Tyrone* Line, and the forty-fifth of the *Hy-Niall* Race.

MALACHY II. so well recommended by personal Merit, and so justly intitled, by the Prescription of alternate Succession, mounted the Throne without Opposition. He began his Reign as he ended it, by giving the strongest Proof that the public Good was the principal Object of his Administration. He led his Troops against the *Normans*, and forced them to accept such Terms as he imposed upon them ; particularly, that
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of giving up all the Captives in their Power, together with their several Possessions and Properties; amongst the rest, *Congal Claon*, King of *Leinster*, an inconstant seditious Man, who made the basest Returns to his Sovereign for the Services he rendered him. On this Event, the King gave Orders for a public Thanks-giving to God for this Success, in the first Year of his Reign: And the Proclamation for the Deliverance of such of his Subjects, as were in Servitude, was conceived in Words which are worthy of being given in the Original. (1) “ *Gach aon*
 “ *do Ghaodhalaibh fíl i Gcrích Gall i ndeire*
 “ *agus dochbraide: Taed as dia thir fo dbeifin,*
 “ *fri Shidb agus fri Subha.*”—I insert this, to give an Idea of the Style and Manner of that Age, in drawing up public Edicts.

THIS glorious Act of regal Authority procured but little Obedience to his other Decrees, from Provinces too long habituated to

(1) The Meaning is: “ Let all the GAODHALS, [*Irisb*]
 “ who suffer Servitude in the Countries of the GALLS,
 “ [*Danes*] set out forthwith for their several Homes,
 “ and enjoy themselves in Peace and Content-
 “ ment.”—*Shuba*, in the Original, having no correspondent Word in the *English* Language, the Beauty of it cannot be translated: It signifies *complete Enjoyment*.

to a feeble Monarchy. Instead of supporting, they improved every Opportunity of distressing the sovereign Power : Little thinking that they were sapping the Foundation of their own; they were deceived, as Mankind generally are, by the Estimation of comparative Strength, and considered Nothing before it, or beyond it. *Congal Claon*, so lately set at Liberty, raised up an Opposition to the King's Measures ; brought the Province of *Leinster* to revolt ; and called the *Normans* to his Assistance. *Munster*, governed by *Brian Mac Kennedy*, followed the Example : And *Conaught*, allied with *Munster*, resisted, upon the same Principle of pretended Grievances. *Malacky*, was under the Necessity of reducing them to a temporary Obedience, by Force of Arms. The *Normans*, taking Advantage of these intestine Disorders, renounced to their Convention with the King. He subdued them also. The North *Hy-Niall* was ill affected to the *Glan-Colman* Line, and kept to some Order, rather by Concessions, than by Force. The Fires, so lately extinguished, began to kindle anew ; and the fatigued Monarch had no Resource left, but joining with the ablest of the provincial Princes, for putting some End to the Calamities of the Nation. This was the celebrated *Brian*, King of *Munster*, afterwards surnamed *Boromy*. In Conjunction,

on, they reduced the *Normans*, and other Mal-contents, and soon after fell out among themselves.

THE King of *Munster*, led his Forces through the South *Hy-Niall*, with little Opposition, and established his Head-quarters at *Teamor*, the antient Seat of so many Heathen and Christian Kings. *Malachy* defeated him in one Engagement, and obliged him to retire: Their Forces being extremely unequal, he could not pretend to face him in another. *Brian*, renewing the War, harassed *Meath* and *Conaught*, from his Head-quarters in *Athlone*: To give, however, a good Impression of his Intentions, he proposed a Convention of the States, for settling the Nation: *Malachy* agreed. The Chiefs of the Kingdom met at *Dundalk*; but in such a Variety of Tempers, Interests, and Pretensions, their Deliberations came to Nothing. *Malachy* alone, deserted by the North *Hy-Nialls*, gave the best Turn to Affairs, that they could possibly admit. He entered into a Treaty with his Enemy; and, after having stipulated for the Government of the South *Hy-Niall*, he resigned the Crown and regal Dignity into the Hands of his Vassal. The Expedient was necessary, though not constitutional. Some Princes vowed Vengeance against *Malachy*, for so audacious a Disposal
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of a Trust, which it was the inherent Right of the Nation to transfer; without reflecting on their own Folly and Treachery, which alone could force him. But such Contradictions are common.

THE Revolution before us, deserves Notice: On the one Hand, a Prince, of the Age of seventy-six, mounting the Throne, from which his Family had been excluded for six hundred and twenty Years; and, on the other, a Prince, in the Prime of Life, resigning, for the public Good, a Monarchy, continued in his own Family for five hundred and twenty Years before.

SUCH a Sacrifice is extremely uncommon. No Necessity of his Affairs could oblige *Malachy* to make it, although that of the Public did. He gave the Title of *Brian* the best Colour it could bear, that of conferring his own upon him. He hereby preserved an able and virtuous Prince from the Odium of open Usurpation; and he supported him afterwards, as he engaged to do, by his whole Interest, which was still very considerable.—The World was amazed at such a Conduct, and may be so still; because Mankind, unworthy of so exalted a Character, seldom frame a proper Judgment of it.

BRIAN was fifty Years of Age, before he made any Figure above his Equals; and he reigned over *Munster* twenty-six, before he was raised to the chief Imperial Dignity. Although he was not born to a Crown, he gave Proofs, in every Period, of his deserving one. To the Church, he was a true Protector; to the Sciences, a Patron; to Mankind, a Friend. Brave, pious, magnificent, he conquered many enemies, more by his unaffected Benevolence, than by Arms. Discerning from Nature, knowing from Experience, he shewed himself inflexible in Nothing, but the Administration of Justice to the Injured. In other Respects, he accommodated himself to the stubborn Manners of the Times; giving the best Turn they could bear, to Things, which it would be imprudent to attempt reforming. To every Act of Concession, or Authority, he annexed a Dignity, which sequestered Meanness from the one, as well as Severity from the other; and his Wisdom was admirable in Nothing more, than the Arts by which he extended his Influence with his Power. His bodily Endowments were equal: He was so framed, as to undergo the rudest Fatigues of War at the Age of four Score; and his Example alone was sufficient to discipline, as well as animate, the Troops he raised.

raised. In a Word: He was superior to every Prince of his Time, and inferior to *Malachy* in one Instance only, that of sacrificing a Crown to the Good of his Country.

MALACHY II, well deserved the Crown he resigned, and *Brian* departed from his Magnanimity in accepting it. By leaving it where it was, he might have the Merit of establishing a more orderly Form of Government in the royal *Hy-Niall* Family, and of laying the Foundations of a new Monarchy, which might have preserved the Nation from its approaching Destruction. *Brian* had not the Glory of doing this, and, perhaps, he had not the Power. Many Difficulties, no Doubt, existed in those Days, which were insuperable to the ablest Legislator, without being invested with absolute Power for a considerable Time; wherein, through a new Course of Education, he might raise up a new Generation of Men, as it were from the Cradle. The Circumstances of the Time did not favour such an Undertaking; nor doth it appear that the King's Extent of legislative Knowledge, any more than his great Age, qualified him for new-modelling the Manners and Feelings of Mankind, were the Time ever so favourable.

ON this great Man's Elevation to the Throne, he was rather to be pitied than envied. Without the Co-operation of the Prince who resigned to him, he would probably be obliged himself to resign in Favour of some other powerful Oligarch, or reign with his Faction in the Places subservient to his Government. With *Malachy's* Assistance, he actually governed over most of the Provinces. In the fourth Year of his Reign, he obliged all, except the North *Hy-Niall*, to recognize his Title; and this last Province he subdued to his Authority (although only for a short Time) towards the Close of his reign.

THE *Normans* he kept to their Obedience, having not dared to give him or the Nation much Disturbance, during the greater Part of his Reign.—The North *Hy-Niall* he found governed by *Aodb O'Neill*, the heroic Grandson of the heroic *Murkertach*, of whom we spoke above. He was an inflexible Enemy to *Malachy*, and improved every Opportunity of Revenge, to distress *Brian* and him: For they, no Doubt, deprived him of the Right of alternate Succession to the Throne, as it had been established for several Ages in the *Tyrone* and *Clan-Colman* Houses. It was with a View of re-establishing this Right, that he fell
furiously

furiously on the Province of *Ulad*, in the Year one thousand and four: But he (b) lost his Life, though not the Victory, in the great Battle of *Craove-Tulcha*. He was succeeded by his Brother *Flaherty*; who, although once obliged to give Hostages for his Obedience to the new Government, was never on good Terms with *Brian*, or *Malacky*. *MALRUANY O'MALDORY*, Chief of *Tirconall*, was some Time in Custody with *Brian*, at his royal Seat at *Kincorradh*, and enlarged. *Brian* acted imprudently, although generously, in letting his Enemy loose against him. *Malruany* invaded *Conaught*, a Province obedient to the King's Government, and laid a considerable Part of it in Ashes. *Flaherty*, at the same Time, attacked *Malacky's* hereditary Country in the South *Hy-Niall*; while the latter was engaged with the *Normans* of *Dublin*,

THUS stood Affairs towards the End of *Brian Boromey's* Reign, when the whole Province of *Leinster* revolted, and called

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(b) He died in the fifteenth Year of his Government over *Tyrone*, and in the twenty-ninth Year of his Age. There are hardly any Instances in the *Irish* History of a Prince's being vested so early in Life with the Dignity of Government; and this Circumstance alone must raise our Idea of the Talents of this young Hero.

the *Normans* from all Quarters to its Assistance. Fires, which could never be sufficiently extinguished, flamed now with great Fierceness, from the Accession of Combustibles that were long collecting. And when we consider the Importance of the Event, the Animosity of Parties, and Numbers of considerable Persons ranged on either Side of the Contest; we will find no civil War, since that of *Moyrath*, in any Degree equal to this. *Brian* ended it gloriously, although little to the Advantage of the Nation, in the great Battle of CLONTARFE, near DUBLIN. At the Age of eighty-eight, he gained the Victory, and lost his Life there, in the Cause of his Country. His Death was lamented by Friends, who were retained by the Attractives which Virtue annexeth to every noble Accomplishment; and by Enemies, who now recognized with a relenting Sensibility the Worth which hitherto stood in their Way. A glorious Character this! which entombs personal Virulence with personal Power, and reconciles all Parties to the *Man*, although not to the *Cause*.

ON the Fall of BRIAN, *Malachy* II, resumed the Throne, which he filled with Dignity, and resigned at the End of a Reign of twenty-three Years, with a Greatness of Mind superior to any Dignity. Some
Writers,

Writers, who drew most of their Materials from modern *Romances*, accuse him of a malicious Desertion at the Battle of *Clontarfe*: But this Account being irreconcilable with the whole Tenour of his Life and Conduct, and not in the least supported by *Tigernach*, or any other Writer who lived near the Period in Question; must be deservedly rejected.

THE Battle of *Clontarfe* dissolved a Power formidable to the Monarchy and to the Nation: Domestic Contention proved the Fruit of it. The two SONS of BRIAN BOROMEY (*Donchad* and *Teige*) fell out among themselves, and the discontented Princes of *Desmond* and *Ossory* availed themselves of the public Disturbances. The Fortune of *Munster* seemed buried at once with the great Prince who governed it through a Course of thirty-eight Years: And none, but *Malachy II*, alone, could retard the Dissolution, to which the Monarchy was hastening. He began his second Administration, by improving the Advantages gained in the late Battle over the *Normans* and *Leinster-men*. By a happy Use of his Authority, he gained upon the North *Hy-Níalls*, to join their Forces to his. He

drove

drove the *Normans* of *Dublin* into the (c) *Dun*, and laid the rest of the Town in Ashes. *Leinster* he reduced by the Terror of his Arms; and he succeeded wonderfully in the more desperate Undertaking of reconciling the Provinces to their own common Interests. It was, indeed, but a temporary Concord, of which he alone was the Cement. After a second Reign of eight Years and some Months, he died at one of his royal Seats, in the Island of *Cro*, in *Lock-bannin*, in the seventy-second Year of his Age. He was a brave, wise, and pious Man, who sacrificed inflexibly every personal Consideration to the Good of his Country; and who yielded to political Evils which could not be remedied. Magnificent, sincere, compassionate; Worth in Distress never found a more inquisitive or liberal Patron, and he replaced by Benefactions all that Fortune denied to the Indigent. With him ended the *Hy-Niall* Monarchy, and the Confusions which succeeded, will be the Subject of another Dissertation.

SECT. XIX.

(c) The Castle of *Dublin* stands on the Foundations of this *Dun*.

(d) Near *Mulingar*.

S E C T. XIX.

From the Dissolution of the Hy-Niall Monarchy, to the Invasion of Henry II, King of England. A Period of 150 Years.

WHEN the supreme monarchical Power was confined, in the eighth Century, to the alternate Succession of the *Clan-Colman* and *Tirone* Houses; it was with a View of lessening the Number of Candidates for the Throne, and of repressing, in Consequence, the aristocratical Power in the several Provinces: It was but a temporary Expedient, productive of some temporary Advantages.---It rendered the Monarchy for some Time more respectable; but added very little to its Power. In the following Century, as we observed before, the *Normans* began their Incursions: They soon after penetrated into the Heart of the Country, and finally made Settlements on the Sea-coasts. From the

the Number of Victories they gained and lost, it is easy to see that the Natives were their Equals in Valour, and that Union among themselves could easily expel those Free-booters. But Union, where there existed no sufficient uniting Power, was impracticable.---The *Normans* gained Ground, from entering into the Pay of oppressed and oppressing Chieftains.----These Chieftains, particularly such as were at the Head of great Provinces, became every Day more and more independent of the supreme Authority, lodged by the original Constitution in the legislative Power of the Monarch and the States assembled. We read of provincial Assemblies, in those Days, set up against the national *Aonach*, or Senate, of *Taltion*; and we find this latter, losing its Authority gradually. Through the Course of a Century, the *Normans* became civilized much, from their Alliances and Intercourses with the *French*, the *English*, and the *Scots*, whose Languages they learned, and whose Religion they in the End adopted. They grew better; but the Natives of *Ireland*, grew worse, by so long a Communication. The provincial Kings rose in Power, through occasional Alliances with those Invaders, and the Monarchy sunk in Proportion. Literary Knowledge declined; and the Extinction of public and private Virtue, was the Consequence of the Ignorance

Ignorance and Barbarism, of which the Revolutions we mentioned were the Cause.

NOTWITHSTANDING some matrimonial Alliances, and occasional Confederacies with domestic Mal-contents ; yet the *Normans* were still a distinct and hostile Nation.---Recruited daily from their *Scandinavian* Hive, they kept our Monarchs constantly in the Field, and the Natives in a perpetual Ferment. *Malachy* II, acted greatly and gloriously against them, in several Instances ; but having generally the Contumacy of the provincial Kings to contend with, he could do Nothing decisively. The King of *Munster*, was able to do more, did more, and became very popular ; and *Malachy*, unable to bear the Burden of domestic, as well as foreign Opposition, was obliged (as we related above) to resign his Crown to *Brian Boromey*. His Resignation proved fatal to the *Normans* ; but it became more so to the Nation And we may justly date its Destruction from that Revolution, which opened to the several provincial Kings Pretensions which have lain dormant for many Ages, and which, instead of being revived, ought to be suppressed for ever.

ON the Death of *Malachy* II, in the Year one thousand and twenty-two, the best Efforts

forts of several great Men, to bring the Constitution back to the *Tuathalian*, or better Principles, were frustrated. An Inter-reign of seventy-two Years ensued; in which *Donchad*, the Son of *Brian Boromey*; *Dermot Mac Mal-na-mbo*, King of *Leinster*; and *Turlogh O'Brian*, made some Show of Royalty, by assuming the kingly Title; what none but their several Factions recognized. And these were the Times, of which (*e*) *Bernard*, the Monk, gives a horrid Picture, in his Life of our Primate, *Mal-Madbog O'Morgair*. Factions among Princes; Licentiousness among the Clergy; Immorality among the People; it is no Wonder if the holy Abbot should denominate such a People, a Nation of Barbarians. They were in a great Degree what he represents them: And, indeed, *Bernard's* own Countrymen merited no better Title, in that Age of universal Barbarism.

IN the Beginning of the twelfth Century, this Kingdom was divided between two great Men, *Donald O'Lacbluin*, and *Murkertach O'Brien*; the one, as Head of the royal *Hy-Niall* Line, claiming a prescriptive Right of Succession, from his Family; the other, claiming that of the new Constitution, which admitted the provincial Kings, so long, and, as was pretended, so unjustly excluded.

These

(*e*) *St. Bernard*, in vit. *Malach. Ep. Ardmachan*.

These two Princes contended for more than twenty Years, and the People were ground between them. The one ruled in the North; the other in the South; what contributed greatly to revive the Memory of the famous bipartite Division, made in the second Century, between *Con-ced-Cathach*, and *Mogha-Nuadbat*, as *Domnall* and *Murkertach* had their separate Governments, confined to much the same Limits: But *neither* would be content with his own Dividend, without the whole Authority, which *each* assumed. They had several furious Conflicts in the Field, and were prevented from many more, through the Interposition of our Primates and other Patriots, who endeavoured in vain to reconcile their Interests, and re-establish the Nation. At different Times, they were alternately crushed by each other's Weight, to the Verge of utter Ruin: Again, they compounded Differences, and seemed to part Friends. The Fault lay in the *Faction*, not in the *Men*. The young King of *Conaught*, **TURLOCH** the Great, following the Example of *Brian Boromey*, set himself in Opposition to those Princes, towards the End of their motley Administration. He well nigh wrested all Power out of the Hands of both; and out of the Hands of *O'Brian*, he wrested it effectually, some two Years before that Prince's Death.

ON the Death of *Domnall O'Lachlin*, no other provincial Governor was alone able to contend for the Succession, with the King of *Conaught*. He was acknowledged King of *Ireland*, by the Majority of the Nation, and for twenty Years before his Death, he was so in Fact. He met, however, with great Opposition, and the most Powerful attacked, or served him, occasionally, as their Passions or Interests, drove them into contradictory Measures. In the South *Hy-Niall*, he warred upon his Father-in-Law, *Murchad O'Malachlin*, and in the End mastered him. *Tigernan O'Ruarc*, Prince of *Hy-Brune Breffny*, ever wavering in his Politics, joined him without Affection, and opposed him without Decency or common Prudence.

DERMOD MAC MURCHAD, King of *Leinster*, a Man detestable to his own People; had the Will, but seldom the Power, to distress this new Monarch.—The *Mac Carthys* and *O'Brians*, through their own Contentions, laid *Munster* open to his Authority, which he exerted in that Province, to the Height of his Wishes. *Donchad O'Carroll*, Prince of *Orgiall*, a very active and able Man, stuck generally to his Interests, for thirty-two Years; and, amidst all the Events
of

of Opposition, this (*f*) *Turloch* the Great (as he was styled) stood superior to all his Enemies.—Able, determined, and indefatigable, he raised the Power of *Conaught* higher than any of his Predecessors, since the Time of *Olioll Molt*, and tempered Resentment so judiciously with Placability, that he drew Advantages from Events which quite disconcert the Generality of Princes, who arise to Power, as he did, more by Strength of Genius, than Goodness of Title. As much as the Times would permit, he reformed the civil Government, and erected a Mint at *Clonmacnoise* for the Coinage of Silver. In ecclesiastical Matters, his great Piety engaged him to acquiesce in the Reformation introduced by Cardinal *Paparo*; a Reformation, which set aside the antient ecclesiastical Constitution, hitherto the freest in all Christendom, but necessarily abridged of its Immunities at this Time; as the *Irish* Church suffered enormous Abuses in latter Ages, from its Looseness of Discipline, and Variety of Liturgies.

T

To-

(*f*) He was Head of the *Hy-Brune* and *Clan-Murray* Line, and the fourth King of *Conaught*, of the Name of O'CONOR; a Surname taken by his Great Grand-father TEIGE, who was King of *Conaught*, and whose Sister, *Dubhcobhla*, was the second Wife of *Brian Boromey*.

TOWARDS the End of this Monarch's Reign, *Murkertach O'Lacblin*, Prince of the North *Hy-Niall*, and Grand-nephew to the late *Domnal O'Lacblin*, became a powerful Rival to him. They attacked each other, with various Success, by Sea and Land. The latter brought the Remains of the *Normans*, and the naval Power of *Scotland*, to support his Title; but was defeated. The Death, however, of *Turloch* the Great, ended the Contest, and delivered up to *Murkertach* the Sovereignty of the greater Part of the Island.

THIS Turn in Favour of *Murkertach*, seemed to promise well for the Restoration of the *Hy-Niall* Race. But it had no such Effect: It was frustrated by the Contumacy of Oligarchs, whose Power rose on the Ruin of that Family, and whose Depression must be the certain Consequence of a regular Monarchy. *RODERIC O'CONOR*, the Son of *Turloch* the Great, opposed the Election of *Murkertach* to the Throne; but was forced to yield: And from his Submission, the new King was invested with the Government of the whole Kingdom, in as ample a Manner, as any of his Predecessors, for several Ages. All this wore a flattering Appearance: But the Spirit of good Legislation did not exist

in that Age ; or, if it did, *Murkertach* possessed it not. A Spirit of Liberty, indeed, was predominant in all Parties ; but so allied to that of Tyranny, that each Faction who contended for equable Government, meant it only for themselves, to the Exclusion of every other from the Benefits it dispenses.

MURKERTACH was not long possessed of his high Authority, when he prevailed, or was fatally prevailed upon, to abuse it by very arbitrary and imprudent Measures. This Turn in his Administration plunged him into a very unjust Invasion of the provincial Rights of *Ulad*. Resistance was the Consequence : And, after a Reign of ten Years, he fell a Sacrifice to the Vengeance of an injured People, in the Battle of *Litter-luin*, in the Year one thousand one hundred and sixty-six. The *Hy-Niall* Interest was buried in his Grave ; and a Way was opened for the Succession of RODERIC, King of *Conaught*, the Son of TURLOCH the Great, the last, and the most unfortunate, of all the *Irish* Monarchs.

THE States of the Kingdom appeared unanimous in the Election of *Roderic*, to the Throne. He convened them in *Dublin*, the Capital of the *Normans*, and the

chief Seat of the little Power they had left, in this Kingdom; but several of those States gave their Voices at that Election with great Insincerity. They yielded to a Power, which they could not at present resist: And by a spiteful Species of Loyalty, easily accounted for, they contended who should be most forward in the Support of an Establishment, which they expected one Day to overturn. *Roderic* was inaugurated, and his monarchical Rights were acknowledged in the most solemn Manner: But he soon experienced the feeble Security of a Recognition rather exacted from the Faction, than won from the Affection, of divided Provinces.

SINCE the Death of *Malachy* II, this Nation was falling into a State of political Reprobation. Each Province set up for itself; and the Monarchy grew indifferent, the Monarch hateful, to the Majority of the Chieftains. When *Roderic* mounted the Throne, their Measure of Iniquity was full. He laboured to unite all Parties for common Defence, against a desperate provincial Tyrant and his foreign Allies; but the Oligarchs of the Time, were rather unanimous in rejecting their King, than the common Enemy: They loved their Country only in the second Place: Domestic Animosities, personal Revenge, were uppermost; and to the Gratification

fication of these Passions, they sacrificed every Consideration favourable to their native Country, or useful to their own common Safety.-- What ensued was very natural; although, on a superficial View, it appears extremely surprising. The Majority of these Chieftains, delivered up the Nation, as a Prey, to a Handful of foreign Free-booters. They deserted the reigning Prince, under whose Standard they could easily preserve their Liberties; and they certainly well deserved the Treatment they received from the new Masters they set over themselves.



S E C T. XIX.

From the Invasion of HENRY II. King of England, to the utter Dissolution of the Irish Monarchy under RODERIC. 1157.

HENRY PLANTAGENET, King of *England*, and the first of the *Anjou* Race, had long entertained Thoughts of extending his Power over *Ireland* and *Scotland*. The crazy State of the Constitution in both Countries, long rent by intestine Disorders, flattered his Ambition, which was boundless; and the Intrigues of the two Nations with *France*, his natural Enemy, alarmed him. Several Obstacles, however, prevented his Designs against *Ireland* from being put in Execution: And although any Scruple arising from the Injustice of the Cause was not of the Number; yet the Want of the smallest Pretension or Claim to this Nation embarrassed him.---There was but one Expedient; and his Friend *John* of *Salis-*

Salisbury, an intriguing Ecclesiastic, opened it to him;---an Alliance with the Court of *Rome*, from a pretended Zeal for Religion, and a real, though latent Design to violate all the Laws of it, to give this Zeal some Colour, even in that Age, dark and ignorant as it was. Although such an Alliance, by which the more effective Force of the spiritual Sword came in Aid of the secular Arm, was the *surest*, yet it was not, in several Respects, the most *eligible* Expedient, to such a Prince as HENRY: Since that in this Case, the Iniquity must be compounded, and the greatest Share of the Profit go over to the Party, without whose Concurrence no Share could be obtained; or, if obtained, must operate with little Advantage and less Security.

ALTHOUGH *Henry* hated the Court of *Rome* heartily; yet he submitted to the Mortification of soliciting this Alliance, and still to the greater Mortification of submitting to the Terms which it imposed: And yet possibly he foresaw, and probably he prepared, Conjunctions, in which he might evade those Terms, and over-reach the *Roman* Court in her own lucrative Bargain.-- From their subsequent Quarrels, we have very strong Reasons for this Presumption. However it was, the Pope and he did not scruple

scruple to enter into a solemn League; by the Tenour of which, *Henry* was commissioned, like another *Joshua*, to enter *Ireland* in a hostile Manner, and put the Inhabitants to the Sword, for the Good of Religion, and the Reformation of Manners. An Opportunity soon offered for putting this Plan in Execution.

DERMOD MAC MURCHAD, sovereign Prince of *Hy-Kinsfallach*, expelled by *Roderic*, King of *Ireland*, for enormous Crimes of a public and private Nature, flew into *England*, and sued to *Henry* for Protection: He did not apply in vain. *Henry*, then in *Normandy*, was waited on by *Dermot*, whom he received with all those Marks of Compassion and Sympathy, which Princes easily assume, when they want to put the best Face on the Tyranny of others, in order to give some Sort of Sanction to their own.

NOTWITHSTANDING the natural Audacity of his Temper; yet *Henry* wisely declined espousing openly the Cause of the King of *Leinster*, or exposing too early his spiritual Patent for the Subjection of *Ireland*, lest the Alarm of an Invasion from so powerful a Neighbour might open the Eyes of of the *Irish* to their true Interests, and occasion their closer Connexion with *France*
and

and *Scotland*. Powerful as he was, an Union of those States would be an Over-match for him, and it was too formidable to be wantonly provoked by a new *French* Family raised to Royalty, who, instead of attempting so vast a Project as the Conquest of those Kingdoms, might be easily reduced to the Necessity, not only of defending their own Dominions, but of sacrificing what they held on the Continent under Vassalage to the *French* King.--*Henry* therefore, compounding with his own Ambition, or rather waiting for Time, to accomplish, by Artifice, what indeed seemed insuperable to Force; satisfied himself for the present with clandestinely commissioning such of his Subjects as Ambition might urge, or Love of Plunder prompt, to join what Force they could raise to *Dermot's*, and, under Pretence of doing Justice to the exiled Prince, encrease the intestine Divisions of the *Irish*; without which, any Undertaking for the Conquest of *Ireland* must appear wholly desperate and impracticable.—A better or safer Plan could not be laid.—The Invasion of the Year eleven hundred and sixty-nine had the desired Effect, although Appearances were strongly against it.

THE King of *Ireland*, on the Report of an Invasion from *England*, lost no Time.
He

He convened the Chieftains of *Leth-Cuinn* at *Teamor*. A Spirit was raised proportionate to the Danger ; and, however reluctant it might be in the Cause of *Roderic*, yet for the present, it appeared unanimous, and it operated in Fact, in the Cause of the Nation. At the Head of those Forces, he marched towards *Dublin*; but finding the Foreigners (the *Flemings*, the Annalist calls them) too inconsiderable to give him much Disturbance, he dismissed the Northern Troops, and led those of the South into *Hy-Kinsfallach*.—The critical Conjunction of political Wisdom, as well as of political Safety, was now in his Hands.—Without improving the one, or giving the Public any reasonable Security for the other, he yielded to the weak Counsels of some of the principal Ecclesiastics of *Leinster*, and took Hostages for the future Fidelity of *Dermot*; one whom no Principle of Religion, nor Tye of Nature, could bind; and one who, instead of being received as a Subject, in a Country which he disturbed and tormented for thirty Years together; ought to have been executed as a public State Robber and Parricide.

RODERIC, having taken the Son and Grand-son of *Dermot*, as Hostages for the Security of the late Convention, dismissed his

his Troops into their several Countries.---In those Days, when War was carried on by Armies without Pay, and under limited Periods for the Service, he could not well act otherwise: Yet by this Step he gave Strength to the secret Enemies of his Government, furnished all Parties with popular Objections to his Administration; and created that Opposition to it, which in the End proved fatal to him and them.

DERMOD, by gaining Time, gained every Thing. He strengthened his Interest at Home, by dispersing and dividing his Enemies; and he strengthened, as he multiplied, the Enemies of the Nation, by promising much, and granting a great deal. From Time to Time, he stole in foreign Troops into *Hy-Kinsellach*, and brought over *Richard*, Earl of *Pembroke*, a very considerable Person, at the Head of a small, but well-disciplined Army; who took *Waterford* by Assault, and put seven hundred of the Citizens to the Sword.

RODERIC discovered his Mistake, and did all that could be expected to repair it. Part of the South *Hy-Niall*, however, joined the Enemy, and very justly became the first Victims of their own Treachery. The *O'Brians* revolted against him. In this Situation

284 DISSERTATIONS *on the*
tuation he did but little; and, instead of
maintaining his Ground in *Leinster*, he was
reduced to the Necessity of retiring, to de-
fend his own hereditary Countries, which
were invaded.

THE King of *England*, hearing of the
wonderful Success of the Earl of *Pembroke*,
and of the Defection of so many Chieftains,
grew jealous that a Game was snatching out
of his Hands, which, if Opportunity favour-
ed, he reserved to himself the Glory of
playing. He therefore now pulled off the
Mask, and invaded *Ireland* with a well-
equipped Fleet of four hundred Sail.

HENRY was no sooner landed in *Ireland*,
than he found a powerful Party to fight his
Battles, and wreak their Revenge on the
King of *Ireland*, by whose Arms they had
been so often discomfited.---This Match
therefore, between *Roderic* and *Henry*, was
unequal: And the former was obliged to re-
tire a second Time into his own paternal Coun-
try of *Hy-Brune*, wherein he experienced
the most exquisite Affliction, from the Re-
bellion and Perfidy of his own Chil-
dren.

THUS

THUS were (*a*) four Provinces of this Kingdom surrendered up to its Enemies, without hazarding one single general Engagement in its Defence!---It is doubtless one of the most extraordinary Revolutions in the Annals of Mankind: And were it not a Presumption to recur to divine Providence, in the Punishment of a reprobate Nation, while natural Causes are sufficient; one would not scruple ascribing the Infatuation in our Councils, at this Time, to a peculiar Judgment from Heaven.

HENRY marched against *Roderic*, posted on the Borders of the *Shannon*. He, by his Deputies, fought and obtained an Interview with that unfortunate Prince; who, yielding to no Terms unbecoming the Dignity of a Nation hitherto independent, returned to his Camp, took his Measures, and chose his Situation so well, that the Enemy did not think it prudent to force him to an Engagement; but broke up and marched back into *Leinster*. The Truth is: *Henry* had Reason not to prosecute this War farther, at this Time; having received an Account of the Rebellion of
of

(*a*) Namely, the *South Hy-Niall*, or *Meath*; the two Provinces of *Munster*, and that of *Leinster*, or *Hy-Kinselach*.

of his Sons, in his Absence. It threw his Mind into a State of Distraction, and he complained bitterly of the Defection of his *French* Provinces, at a Time that he was endeavouring to strip an independent Monarch of the only Province he had left.

WHILE *Henry*, partly by fair Offers, and partly by Force, was labouring to reduce *Roderic* to his Terms; he treated the Chiefs of the Provinces, who submitted to him, not only with (*b*) repeated Promises of his Protection, but with magnificent Presents. Had he stuck to his Engagements, and secured to this People the (*c*) Form of civil Government he made them swear to uphold, no Revolution could be more happy to the Nation; no Act more glorious to the Monarch. Far from acting such a Part, he made Grants of the several Countries of those Chieftains, to his *Norman* Adventurers, and raised them to the Rank of feudatory Princes.

(*b*) *Advenientes principes, Henricus per honorificè accipit, eorum non modo salutem, sed etiam dignitati consulere pollicetur; denique illos opiparè muneratur.* Stan. De Rebus gestis in *Hib. Lib.* 3. p. 125.

(*c*) At a great Council held by *Henry*, at *Lismore*, he flattered the Chieftains with a Grant of the Laws and Constitution of ENGLAND. "*Ubi*" says *Matthew Paris*, "*Leges Angliæ sunt ab omnibus grater receptæ, &c.*" But all this was a mere Farce, as appears by the Sequel.

Princes. The Natives, disappointed of their Expectations; and stripped of Property, endeavoured to re-enter their several Countries by Force. Thus was the Kingdom reduced to a more grievous State of Warfare, and Anarchy, than it ever suffered; and *England*, which must have gained infinitely, by the Accession of such a Country, governed by equable Laws, was a real Sufferer by it, for four hundred Years, and gained Nothing, through so long a Period, but Alarm and Dishonour.

RODERIC, amidst various Afflictions, held out four Years, before his Council, particularly his excellent Chancellor, (a) the Archbishop of *Dublin*, could prevail with him to enter into a Treaty with *Henry*, and compound for his own patrimonial Province of *Conaught*. Hard as such a Measure may seem, he was reserved for a much more cruel Stroke, in the Rebellion of *Concovar*, his eldest Son. Superior to all Misfortunes, or to what the World calls such, he finally resigned his provincial Government, and reposed himself, for the remaining twelve Years of his Life, in the Monastery of *Cong*; where he died in the eighty-second Year of his Age.

IN

(a) *Lorcan O'Thuathail*, known by the Name of *aurence Toole*.

IN his Youth, *Roderic* had Failings, which were under little Controll from their neighbouring good Qualities. Arrogant, precipitate and voluptuous; the Ductility of his Temper served only to put his Passions under the Directions of bad Men, while its Audaciousness rendered him less accessible to those who would give those Passions a good Tendency; or would have rescued him from their evil Consequences. His Father, *Turloch* the Great, endeavoured to break this bold Spirit, by ordering him at several Times to be put under Confinement. He bore this Indignity, in the first Tryals, with the ignoble Fortitude which flows from Resentment: In the Second; Reflection came to his Aid, and grafted that Virtue, upon a better Stock; what engaged him to be wholly reconciled with his Father, and forget the over-rigorous Severity of his last Imprisonment. Bred up in the Camp, almost from his Infancy, he became an expert Warrior; and, although, licentious in private Life, yet he never devoted to Pleasures those Hours which required his Activity in the Field, or his Presence in Council. In a more advanced Stage of Life, his Capacity opened, and gave the Lead to his better Qualities, in most Instances of his Conduct. Affable, generous, sincere; he retained a
great

great Number of Friends, and he had the Consolation of being served faithfully by the worthiest among them, when every other good Fortune deserted him. Years and Experience took their proper Effect on him; and the Rectitude of his Measures had a greater Share, than Fortune, in raising him above all his Contemporaries, in the Esteem of the Public, when the Throne became vacant, on the Fall of his Predecessor, in the Battle of *Litterluin*. The crazy civil Constitution, of which he got the Administration, necessarily created him a Number of avowed, as well as secret Enemies. He reduced the former by his Power; and the Obedience of both had but little Force, at a Time when it ought to have the greatest. He had to do with some powerful Men, who were of that Species of Subjects, that can never be gained to the public Interest, unless they are gratified in their own Way; a hard Measure in all Conjunctions, and what, in some, cannot possibly be complied with, as in the Case before us. In his Adversity, when this Faction deserted the Nation and him, his Constancy in the public Service shone forth in all its Lustre, without any Alloy from Revenge, Temerity, or Despair; the usual Concomitants of little Minds, when stripped of Power, and left to their own natural Strength. Fortitude, Equanimity,

mity, and passive Courage, dignified the last Scene of his Administration ; independent Virtues, which have their Reward in every Condition of Life. His natural Endowments were far from contemptible ; yet he lived in an Age no Way favourable to the Exertion of great Parts, when even the greatest were smothered up in the Ferocity of prevailing Manners, or lost in the Cloud of reigning Ignorance. His Abilities were as conspicuous as the Times would permit, and, perhaps, more so, than they could appear in an ulterior Age, of less Barbarism ; when the Corruption, the Treachery, and the Meannesses of Courts, oppress but too often all the Seeds of true Genius, as well as of real Virtue.

F I N I S.

DISSERTATION

ON THE

First Migrations, and Final Settlement

OF THE

SCOTS in NORTH-BRITAIN;

With occasional Observations on the

P O E M S

OF

FINGAL and *TEMORA*.

D U B L I N :Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER, in Parliament-street,

MCC LXVI.



NOTATION

CHAPTER I

SECTION I

ARTICLE I

SECTION II

ARTICLE II

SECTION III

DISSERTATION, &c.

IN the preceding Dissertations, we have shewn, that a Colony of *Iberian Celts* have settled in *Ireland*, several Ages before the Reception of Christianity. Having arrived from a Country, wherein Commerce and Arts made some Progress, they carried the Use of Letters into this remote Island; and we have seen that, in favorable Periods of Time, they have cultivated those Elements of Knowledge much to their own Advantage.

It took a considerable Time, before the infant State multiplied sufficiently, to make new Establishments in the neighbouring Parts of *Britain*. It took a long Time also, to confirm their Power over the *British* Colonies they found in *Ireland* before them.

4 DISSERTATIONS *on the*

It was only when they grew populous and secure at Home, that they could spare any considerable Numbers for a foreign Establishment: and even in that Case, many Circumstances must concur, to prevail with such Numbers, to quit their native Habitations, and exchange a *fertile* for a *barren* Country. When these Circumstances did concur; Emigration was practicable, and in some Cases desirable. The Remains of antient History, still preserved, cast considerable Light on this Part of Antiquity. The Countries of *Britain* next to *Ireland*, were split into independent petty Governments.--Assisted by the Influence, and supported by the Power, of the *Irish Monarchs*, the *Cruthneans*, or *Picts*, became the superior Nation in *North Britain*; and the *Cruthnean* Princes established in those Parts a Sort of Monarchy over all, or most of the native Clans. Too great a Share of aristocratical Power mixed with the regal Constitutions of those Times; and Kings generally became the Victims of Faction, because their superior Rank was envied, and the Hazard of pulling them down was not great. The discontented Factions which lay next to *Ireland*, entered into Confederacies (*a*) with the *Irish Monarchs*; and thro' those Alliances,

(*a*) *Ogyg.* Par. 3. Cap. 13.

HISTORY of IRELAND. 5

ances, the ancient *Scots* have obtained, at some Times by Friendship, and at others, by Force, some Establishments in *Cantyre*, *Galloway*, and the contiguous Isles.---But these Settlements were for a long Time very inconsiderable.--The *Cruthneans* growing soon jealous of their new Guests, Hostilities commenced between them.--Overpowered by Superiority of Numbers, the *Scotish* Colonies found a secure Retreat in the parent Country. Recruited there, they recoiled upon the Enemy, and, by assisting the weaker against the stronger Factions among them, they regained, and at some Time extended, their own Power.--Thus it was: And it was only about the Middle of the (b) third Century, and under the Auspices of their wise Monarch, *Cormac O'Cuinn*, that they made a firmer Establishment in *North-Britain*, than any they had there before.

That Establishment was made in Favour of *Eochad*, otherwise *Cairbre Riada*, a very enterprizing Prince of the *Degads* of *Munster*, that Monarch's own first Cousin, and the Son of *Conary* the Second, who dyed King of *Ireland* in the Year 220.--This first nominal Establishment of *Scots*, in *North-*
A 3
Britain,

(b) *Ogyg.* Par. 3. Cap. 69.

6 DISSERTATIONS *on the*

Britain, took the Name *Dal-Riada* from the Prince (c) *Eochad-Riada*, who was the Founder of it.--His immediate Posterity succeeded to his Authority over that, as well as over the other *Dal-Riada*, which he established in the present County of *Antrim*.

The *British Dal-Riada* was exercised by frequent Hostilities from the *Cruthneans*, and, in one Period, with so good Success, that they forced almost the whole Colony to take Flight into *Ireland*, under their Leader *Eochad Munrevar*.

Eochad Munrevar found a secure Retreat for his fugitive Followers, in the *Irish Dal-Riada*. But, neither he, nor his Son *Erk*, (who, according to (d) Primate *Usher*, dyed A. D. 474) could obtain their Re-establishment in *Britain*, from *Laogary*, the reigning Monarch of *Ireland*. It was only when the *Hy-Niall* Race became all-powerful in *Ireland*, on the Commencement of the sixth Century, that *Erk's* Family was re-established in the neighbouring Isle. In the Reign of *Lugad*, the Son of *Laogary*, a considerable
Army

(c) Vid. Dissert. Historic. de Vita & Patria S. Romnald. p. 369.

(d) *Usher*. Primord, Cap. 15. p. 609. 610.

HISTORY of SCOTLAND. 7

Army was raised, and sent into *Britain*, under the Command of *Loarn*, the eldest of *Erk's* Sons.--*Argyle*, and the western Parts of modern *Scotland*, were then conquered from the *Picts* or *Cruthneans*,

Then, and not before, a new Monarchy of *Scots* was erected in *Britain*, continuing for some Time under the Protection of, and in a State of Vassalage to, *Ireland*; (*e*) the *Picts*, however, still holding the best and more fertile Parts of the Country subject to their own Laws and Government,

Thus, the Year 503 forms a memorable Epoch in the History of *North-Britain*.--*Fergus*, the Son of *Erk*, became the common Patriarch of the royal Line of *Scotland*.--The *Picts* could never regain the Country they lost; nay, their own Monarchy declined in the course of Time, and was dissolved, finally, by the Conquest of *Pictland*, in the ninth Century, under *Kineth*, the Son of *Alpin*, who was Father-in-law to *Aodb Finliath*, the King of *Ireland*, and, in Fact, the first King of the Country now extending from *Edinburgh* to *Caithness*.

A 4

When

(*e*) *Scoti montanis in locis...Picti in agris fertilioribus*. Buchan,

When the *Scots*, about the Year 850, became Masters of *Scone*, and the greater Part of the *Lowlands*, their Kings removed the Seat of Government into the South. They allied with their *Saxon* Neighbours, and soon after adopted, not only the Customs, but even the Language, of that People.--In the eleventh Century, the *British Scots* became still more powerful than they have been in any former Period, and they continued so until the Reign of *Alexander the third*, whose unfortunate End closed the royal *Dal-Riada* Succession in the male Line; and opened such a Scene of Misery to that Nation, as can hardly be paralleled in the History of any other.

In the Contention between the *Bruces* and *Baliols*, the King of *England* was most unwisely called in as an Arbiter. The Consequences are well known. For some Time he forced the Kingdom of *Scotland* into a State of cruel Vassalage.

It was in his Torrent of Success against the *Scots*, that *Edward I.* King of *England*, carried off and destroyed the antient Records of the Nation. He thought, or was made to believe, that national Ignorance of all former Rights, would soon reconcile the People
to

to national Servitude. But this brutal Policy did not succeed.

The Archives of *Scotland* were not thoroughly destroyed. Some Remains of antient History were still preserved. Such Fragments, however, not corresponding with the Policy of Men in Power, they were se-creted from the public Eye, and a (f) new Scheme was invented, to justify the Pretensions of the *Scots* to an Independency on *England*, and that under the Sanction of a Monarchy of *Scots* in *Britain*, several Ages antecedent to the Christian Æra.

The new System continued some Time in its rude Draught; *John de Fordun*, a *Scotish* Priest, was employed to give it a Form, and such a Degree of Consistency, as was sufficient for an ignorant Age. Before, however, he commenced his Task, we are told that he travelled into *Ireland*, to consult the antient Chronicles, as so many (g) Oracles, relative to what could be learned of the antient History of the *Scotish* Nation. If *Fordun* took such a Journey, it is certain that

(f) Vid. Innes's Critical Essay on the antient Inhabitants of *Scotland*. Lond. Edit. 1729. from p. 600 to 636.

(g) In *Oraculis Hiberniæ*. vid. Innes's Essay. vol 2.

that he rejected the Informations he received, as they were conformable to the Accounts still preserved in his own Country, and far from being favourable to the Plan of an History, antedated many Ages before the true Time.

Fordun's History was well received in *North-Britain*. It flattered the Vanity of a brave People, not yet broke to the Yoke which galled them, or to the Indignities, which galled them still more. The *English* founded their Pretensions to an early Antiquity, still higher than the *Scots* themselves; and the Appeals of both Nations to the Popes of those Times, make no small Part of a Farce of Folly, which would be innocent enough in itself, were it not involved with a Tragedy, which had well nigh let out most of the noble Blood in the Nation, and reduced the Survivors to a State of Thralldom. When the Law of Nations is dictated *by the Spirit*, and civil Right is governed *by the Insolence*, of victorious Freebooters, we are not to wonder much, if to rational Means of *civil* Revenge, their Adversaries should have Recourse to Expedients, which, at this Distance of Time, appear very inadequate to any Purposes of civil Liberty. Our Wonder will cease, when we consider that, in more enlightened Times,

we

we frequently find public Policy influenced more by some favourite Prejudice, which chance obtained, or Caprice started, than by the inerrable Reason of Things. Thus it is with every local Folly, which takes Possession of Nations, as well as of Individuals; and what the Wise of all ages, have seldom ventured farther with, than to extract *from it* all the Good it can bear; as violent Attempts to root it up, are *impracticable* in *most* Times, inexpedient in *some*, and dangerous in *any*. This was partly the Case in the Times we are describing. Popes were appealed to in a mere civil Controversy, not indeed that their Right to decide in such Matters, was even *then* acknowledged, but because their Sentence carried great Weight with the People.---On the Destruction of the *Scotish* Archives by *Edward I.* it was deemed good Policy to repair the Loss, by a *new* Series of History, more flattering than the *authentic* and *old*. It answered the End of preventing *Rome* from deciding in Favour of *England*, and it effectually answered the Purpose of retaining the *Scots* to the Idea they always entertained of a high Antiquity. *It drew from the national Pride all that the national Interest* required from it at *that* Time, or indeed could obtain from it *in any*; the Abhorrence of a foreign Yoke, and an equal Disdain of receiving it from a Nation they deemed their

their Inferiors in every Instance, except that of Wealth and Power. (b) Such was the Principle on which *John Fordun's* Book was published.

This innocent, but useful Fraud remained for some Time unimpeached.--On the Resurrection of Letters, the Authenticity of the Facts was called in Question.--*Hector Boece* and *John Major*, two *Scotish* Writers, of some Abilities, wrote in Support of the new System; And soon after, *George Buchanan*, one of the first Genius's in *Europe*, took up the Subject; and, however unfairly he warped it, to answer the Purposes of a Faction, he still, from the Vigour of his Expression, and Force of his Colouring, gave it Reputation in remote Countries.---With such a Leader at their Head, inferior Writers of the *Scotish* Nation fell into a Sort of historical Phrenzy.--(i) They persuaded themselves, and endeavoured to persuade others, that the *Irish Scots*, so celebrated thro' all *Europe*, in the sixth, seventh, and eighth Centuries, were Natives of the *Highlands* of *North-Britain*; and that those very *Highlands*, were the *Hibernia*, *Scotia*, and *Ierne* of the antient *Latin* Writers!

The

(b) See *Innes's* Essay. Vol. II. passim.

(i) *Usser. Primord. cap. 16. p. 575, et passim.*

The learned *Cambden*, Primate *Usher*, Dr. *Loyd*, Bishop of St. *Asaph*, and Dr. *Stillingfleet*, appeared foremost among the *English* Antiquaries, in detecting this wild Hypothesis. They gave the Public the fullest Conviction of its Forgery; but had no Success in convincing their Adversaries. These Men would not be convinced.---No Fact can afford a stronger Proof of the Obstinacy of the polemic Spirit; and certainly none should give us a greater Mistrust of it, than to find it so invincible, in a mere Point of Party-Honour, (for no Party-Interest was now concerned) so ill supported, and so ill understood, as this before us certainly was.

Writers of every Form, and Sir *George Mac Kenzie* in the highest, set themselves in Opposition to *Usher* and *Stillingfleet*.---*Fordun's* Scheme was a *Palladium*, which must be replaced, or the State could not stand: For, to such a ridiculous Extreme did the KING'S ADVOCATE for *Scotland* carry this Point, as to pronounce it a Species of (*k*) High-treason, to controvert the Antiquity given by his Countrymen to the royal Line of *Scots* in *Britain*. That Advocate published two Volumes in Defence
of

(*k*) See *Stilling*. *Origin. Britann.* in Pref. p. 4, et seq.

of their *Utopian* Schemes, and put numberless Authors, antient and modern, on the Rack, to depose in Favour of Facts unknown to Antiquity.---The finishing this literary War fell naturally on the Antiquarians of *Ireland*, as they could support, from their domestic Chronicles, what the Writers of *England* adduced from the best foreign Authorities. They soon blew up all the Forts that the modern Writers of *North-Britain* have been erecting since the Days of *Fordun*: And the new System has been so compleatly demolished, that no Expedient was left, but to erect *another* on its Ruins; with what Success we shall soon see.

Fordun's Scheme, methodized, amended, and vindicated, for several hundred Years, was finally abandoned; and (1) Mr. *Mac Pherſon*, who ſets out with a *ſecond* Hypotheſis, does not hesitate to denounce his historical Predeceſſors, even *Buchanan* himſelf, as a Set of Impoſtors, who had neither Records nor Tradition, to countenance their romantic Details of the Times before *Fergus*, the Son of *Erk*, who died King of the *Albanian Dal-Riada* in the ſixth Century.

To

(1) Diſſertat. on *Temora*. p. 7. Dub. Edit.

To throw a little Light on what has been obscured by these Writers, a few Observations upon the antient State of *North-Britain* will not be improper.---That Country was originally peopled by a Nation of the (*m*) *Scandinavian Scythians*. The Book of *Lecan* and other Chronicles mention their setting up a Monarchy there under *Gud* and *Cathluan*, their two first Kings: There is, no Doubt, much Fable mixed with the Originals of Nations; but in those of several Countries some Truths are discoverable. As on a Mountain overshadowed with Clouds, some Spots are here and there enlightened; so, in the Instance before us, tho' the Migration of those *Hyperborean Scythians*, (first into *Ireland*, and then into *North-Britain*) may not be true, or may be obscured by false Details; yet the Account of their being led by their Heroes *Gud* and *Cathluan*, seems to point out clearly their true Original: In the first Name, we see their Extraction from the *Gets*, afterwards called *Goths*; and in the Word *Cathluan*, which the *Romans* have transmuted a little to their own softer Accents, we find the true Radicals of *Caledonia* and *Caledonians*.

These *Goths*, or *Caledonians*, having, like the *Agathyrsi*, who swarmed from the same
Hive,

(*m*) Stilling. Origin. Britann. p. 246, 7, &c.

Hive, the Custom of painting their Bodies, were, on that Account, called *Cruithnidh*, by the antient *Scots*; and, on the same Score, the *Romans*, in After-times, gave them the Name of *Pi&ct*s, to distinguish them from the *Scots*, who, in the third, Century, began to have fixed Settlements in *North-Britain*.

In what particular Time the *Caledonians* first planted *North-Britain*, we know not, nor would the Knowledge now be important. It happened in a remote Age, when they split into several little petty Governments; when every Head of a Tribe became the Monarch of it. In Process of Time, and in the natural Course of Things, some Prince, endowed with Ability, and favored by Fortune, mastered the rest, and laid the Foundation of that Monarchy, by seventy Kings, which continued down to the Conquest of the *Highlands* and *Hebrides*, by the *Dalriada* Race, in the sixth Century.

For several Ages before that Conquest, the *Irish* kept a constant Communication with the *Caledonians*. The *Roman* Invasions of South *Britain* made them enter into still closer Alliances, for the Preservation of their Liberties. The Fragments of old *Scotish* History which remain, assert these
Facts,

Facts, and the *Roman* Writers confirm them.

During the Space of 170 Years, from the Entrance of *Agricola*, the *Roman* Commander, to the War between the *Irish* and *Caledonians*, in the third Century, the two Nations continued in close Confederacy against the *Romans* and southern *Britons*. But the *Irish* in all that Time made no fixed Settlements in *North-Britain*. They returned to their native Country, after finishing their foreign Expeditions, sometimes covered with Disgrace, at others laden with Spoils. In either Case, *Ireland* was the Resource of their Strength, as well as Security.

It was only in the third Century, that *Cormac O'Guinn*, King of *Ireland*, broke off all Connexion with the *Northérn-Britons*. To revenge the Protection given by the *Picts* to his Rebel-Subjects, he invaded their Country, and extended his Power over a Part of it. *Fionn Mac Cumbail*, his Son-in-law, and Chief of the *Basgnean* Clan, was then Commander of his Armies. *Carbre-Riada*, Prince of *Munster*, and the Monarch's own Cousin-german, distinguished himself signally in this War, and, in Reward, obtained not only a Territory in *Ulster*, conquered from the *Rudrician* Race, but that in *North-Bri-*
B
tain,

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tain, conquered from the *Piçts*. Each of
these conquered Countries got the Name of
Dalriada, from *Carbre-Riada*, the first Pos-
sessor.

This small Settlement in *North-Britain*,
threw the *Piçts* into just Terror of the Pow-
er and Vicinity of the Nation, who establish-
ed it; and they wisely entered into Measures
for their own Security, by united Efforts to
expel the New-comers. In that View, they
succeeded, after many Conflicts: Towards
the End of the fourth Century, they sub-
dued the growing *Scotish* Colony, and forced
the Chiefs of it to secure themselves, by a
precipitate Flight into the Mother-Country.

The Efforts of the *Scots* to re-establish,
and of the *Piçts* to defend themselves, tho-
rough the whole Century which succeeded,
are but little detailed in our old Chronicles.
We have only enough left, to inform us, that
the former did not succeed, until the domestic
Contentions at Home giving Way (after the
Battle of *Ocha*) to the superior Power of the
Hy-Nialls, a formidable Army was rais-
ed in Favor of the *Dalriada* Family, and
put under the Conduct of *Loarn*, the Head
of it. With this Army, a Descent was
made in *North-Britain*, *Kentire*, *Knapdale*,
Ardgyle, *Lorne*, and *Braidalbine*, and the
con-

contiguous western Isles were conquered.--- The Monarchy of *Scots*, in this extended *Dal-Riada*, began at this Time; not before. Our more accurate Chronologers date it from the Year 503, and the learned *Usher* concurs with them in that Epoch.---Even this Monarchy, as was but natural, continued in a State of Vassalage to that of *Ireland*, until *Aidan* King of the *Albanian Scots*, obtained an independent Sovereignty, through the Ordinances made in the great Convention of the *Irish* States, held at *Drumkeat*, in the Year 590.

Such, in brief, are the most authentic Accounts we have of the first Settlements of the *Picts* and *Scots* in *North-Britain*: And when it was proved, beyond all Controversy, that this Monarchy of *Scots*, in *Britain*, had no (*n*) earlier a Date, than this assigned by the old *Irish* Chronicles, and that the ancient *Scots*, so celebrated in the middle Christian Ages, were Natives of *IRELAND*, not of the *Highlands*; the Detection of the Forgery was a Wound which rankled in the Breasts of Numbers; as it not only stripped the Authors of all historical Reputation, but their Country of the Honour intended it, by the

B 2

Adoption

(*n*) See *Innes's* Critical Essay. Vol. 2, p. 665. 667. et reliq.

Adoption of Children, who gained so much Credit to the *true Mother*.

Such is the Spirit of our human System: It kindles into strong Resentment on the Detection of a favorite Prejudice, or favorite Error; and few Things can characterize the Impotence of the human Mind better, than the Pain it sometimes suffers from *right* Information: To this Impotence, we are to ascribe the *recent* Efforts of the Writers of *North-Britain*, to make Reprizals, and to impress an Idea, that the Pretensions of *Ireland* to the early Use of History, are as ill-grounded as *their own*.--To this comforting Period have they finally reduced the Controversy, like the sage Divine, who ended a furious Contest with the incredulous *Jew*. “ Good Sir, if you do not acknowledge the Authority of the *New Testament*, “ I absolutely renounce to the Authority of “ the Old!”

Mr. *Innes*, a learned Ecclesiastic of the *Scotch* College in *Paris*, was the first who opened this Scheme to his Countrymen. His two Volumes on *Scotish Antiquities*, contain some Facts curious and useful: But the Bulk of the Whole is employed to show, that the Pretensions of *Ireland*, to the early Use of Letters and History, are no better grounded than those

those of *Scotland*: Like the Attempts of *Pere Hardouin*, to shew that several Works ascribed to the antient Classicks, are the Productions of ulterior Ages; his Arguments are plausible, not solid; consisting of mere Negatives; which, on summing up their whole Evidence, do not amount to one positive Proof of his main Argument.---They only open a Vein of historical Scepticism, which indeed may have its Use, by engaging Writers in a more critical Examination of our antient *Scottish* Writings, than hath been hitherto entered upon.

It was from that Writer, that the Translator of *Fingal* has borrowed any tolerable Objection, to the historical Accounts still preserved in the *Gaelic* or *Scotic* Language; though he had not the Candor to make the smallest Acknowledgement to his Benefactor. It is only when he dismisses this Guide, and gives us Matter of his own, that he becomes contemptably ridiculous: But the Abbe *Innes* had a Character to support, and would go no farther than to offer his own Conjectures and Negatives; otherwise confessing himself in the Case of (o) "one travelling alone, with
 " out meeting any Person who could give
 " him any certain Directions in his Journey."

SECTION II.

OBSERVATIONS on Mr. *Mac Pherfon's* Dissertations and Notes on the Poems, intitled, FINGAL and TEMORA.

MR. *Mac Pherfon* was not as unfortunate as Mr. *Innes*, in travelling alone. ---He most confidently informs us, that he took *oral Tradition alone*, for his Guide; when all historical Scripture failed him. By this *inerrable* Compass, he sails back into remote Ages, and discovers there a *new* Monarchy of *Scots* in *Britain*, to make us Amends for the Ruin of the *old*; which *Buchanan* took so much Pains to immortalize and adorn.

A little low *Asutia* runs through the whole Game which this Writer would play upon

upon us:--(p) " He cannot say how early the
 " Monarchy of the *Gaedhil*, or *Scots*, began
 " in *Britain*; but that it flourished in the
 " first Century, under *Thrathal*, (which, by
 " the Way, is not a *Scotish* Name) he is
 " certain. The Monarchy of the *Scots* in
 " *Ireland* had still," he assumes, " a later
 " Beginning; but without Lustre or Con-
 " sequence, save only what it received from
 " the Parent-Country, (the *Highlands*)
 " which hardly could preserve this its own
 " infant Colony from being strangled in its
 " *Irish* Cradle." The same Spirit which
 possessed his Countrymen, *Dempster*, *Cham-*
bars and *Lesley*, to claim the *Scots*, celebrated
 through *Europe*, in the 6th, 7th, and 8th
 Centuries, as *Natives of the Highlands*; hath
 seized on Mr. *Mac Pherfon*, to transfer thi-
 ther the Nativity of *our Scotish Heroes*, in
 the Heathen Times: He well knew, how-
 ever, that the Errors of the former Writers
 could not be supported; and, therefore, like
 the false Mother, he would now *divide the*
Child, and support his Pretensions, from the
 Informations of (q) *Ossian*, or *Ossician*, whom

B 4

he

(p) See the Dissertation and Notes on *Temora*, by
 Mr. *Mac Pherfon*.

(q) In his first Publication of Poems from the
Erse, he calls this Bard *Oscian*, and in the later Tran-
 slations, *Ossian*: This shews his little Knowledge of
 the *Gaelic*, or *Scotish* Language. *Oisín* is the true Read-
 ing, and so written in all our ancient Manuscripts.

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he represents (*very wisely*, for his Scheme)
as an *illiterate Bard*, who lived in an *illite-
rate Age*!

John Fordun's Scheme of Monarchy was plausible, in an ignorant Age. The Scheme before us would be absolutely ridiculous, in any. It required some Knowledge in the antient State of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, to annihilate the former; the latter, leaning *solely* on blind Tradition, in its Dotage, can not stand.--Before we dig its Grave, it may not be improper to inform the Reader, previously, that the Father of the aforesaid venerable *Ossian* (famous in History, for military Skill and Jurisprudence and famous in Romance, for marvelous Exploits,) was known, and is still known, in *Ireland* and (*r*) *Scotland*, by the Name of *Fionn Mac Cumhail*. The Histories of the Learned, the Traditions of the Vulgar, gave him no other Name.—At present, our Mistake is rectified.—By *poetical Baptism*, this Prince is, in the Poems before us, called *Fingal*; and by *historical Creation*, he is dubbed (*s*) *King of Scotland*!---Stripped of his native Country, stripped of his very Name, he is made ample Amends in a Diadem!—Nor doth it im-
port,

(*r*) See Mr. *Martin's* Travels into *Scotland*, in his Description of the Isle of *Sky*. p. 152.

(*s*) See Dissertat. to *Fingal*. Dub. Edit. p. 20.

port, that no such Name as *Fingal*, can be found in the regal Lists of *Ireland* or *Scotland*, or that all antient and modern History is silent of such a Monarch.---*Ossian's* Authority is sufficient for recognizing his Majesty's Title;---and it would be historical High-treason to controvert it with his Majesty's own dear Son. With such Authority, Mr. *Mac Pherfon* may bear down upon us very triumphantly.---He may contend for it, that *Ossian's* Power over *the History*, should extend to *the Geography*, of this Island:---That *Moylena* (famous for its two Battles; one in the second, the other in the tenth Century) ought to remain in *Ulster*, where *Ossian* placed it, not in the King's County, where it lyes at present; and that Nothing but geographical Tyranny could remove (*t*) *Teamor*, (his *Temora*) the Seat of the antient *Irish* Kings, from the same *Northern* Province, into *Meath*, where it obstinately remains still; notwithstanding the Writ of Recaption, which Mr. *Mac Pherfon* took out against it, in 1764; that he might replace it on the old Foundations: He may, I say, contend for the Rectitude of all this; and, indeed, with as much Justice, as for a Monarchy of
Scots

(*t*) See Mr *Mac Pherfon's* Advertisement prefixed to the Poem of *Temora*.

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Scots, in *Britain*, full five hundred Years
before the true Time !

In Truth, there would be no End of pointing out the topographical Ignorance of *Ossian*, in omitting, as well as misplacing, some of those most noted Places of *Ireland*; which must naturally come within the Plan of his Poems: His Invention, however, is very prolific; and is particularly so, where Poetry wants it least, or is disgraced by it. In that Case, it is amazing, that Mr. *Mac Pherfon* did not set *OSSIAN* right; as he had Materials for it; as the Originals were in his own Hands; and as he might safely give *Ossian* some topographical Accuracy, in the Translation. By disarming Criticism from that Quarter, he would have weakened its Power over others, where its Sentence would be doubtful and arbitrary; instead of being decisive and fatal, as we shall soon find it.--- Thus, instead of *Eambain*, or *Eamania*, the celebrated Seat of the Kings of *Ulster*, which *Ossian* never once mentions, we have the Castle of (u) *Tura*, many Ages before a single Castle was built in the Kingdom: And, instead of *Craove-roe*, the Academy near *Eamania* for teaching the Use of Arms, he gives us *Muri's* Hall; a Name as little known
to

(u) See *Fingal*. p. 1.

to all antient Writers, as *Tura* itself.—From numberless Instances of such Forgeries, Omissions, and Misplacings, the Reader will be enabled to form a proper Judgment of *Ossian*, as well as of *Ossian's Translator*.

That the Poems of *Fingal* and *Temora* have no Foundation in the History of the antient *Scots*, is an Idea that we are very far from establishing. They are evidently founded on the Romances, and vulgar Stories of the (w) *Tan-Bo-Cualgney* War, and those of the *Fiana Ereann*.---The Poet, whoever he was, picked up many of the Names of Men and Places to be found in those Tales, and Invention made up the rest. In digesting these Poems into the present Forms, Chronology was overlooked, and the Actors of different Ages are all made Coevals. *Ossian*, an antient Bard of the third Century, is pitched upon, as a proper Author, to gain Admiration for such Compositions; and the more (it should seem) as he was himself an illiterate Bard, and that his Works ran unmixed through the *clear Stream* of oral Tradition,

(w) The *Tan-Bo-Cualgney* War, wherein *Cuchullin*, *Terdia*, *Conall Cearnach*, *Fergus Mac Roy*, &c. signalized themselves, was carried on some few Years before the Commencement of the Christian Ara. *Fionn Mac Cumhaill* and the *Fiana Ereann* flourished in the third Century. *M. Mac Pherson* or *Ossian* makes them Cotemporaries. Vid. *Ogyg.* p. 128.

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dition, through *so short* a Period as eleven
hundred Years!---This, then, is the *Founda-*
tion, and this the *Secret*, of the Poems be-
fore us; but, surely, too much of the *Secret*
is revealed, and a little *more Art* would be ne-
cessary, to gain them a Colour of Antiquity.

To *bring* Heroes together, who lived in
distant Periods of Time; and to *omit* many
of the celebrated Names of the Age, wherein
the Scene is laid, may, perhaps, be granted
to the License of Poetry; particularly to a
Modern, who ventures on a *Blast from the*
Epic Trump.--But to *supply* the Omission of
such Names, by *others*, unknown to Antiqui-
ty, and mere Exotics too, without (x) verna-
cular Cadence, is too much; and still more so,
when Manners and Customs are introduced,
characteristic of ulterior Times only.--*Oisín*,
the Son of *Fionn Mac Cumhail*, could not take
such License; since poetic Inspiration never
pretended to extend so far. He could not
case up his own Father in burnished Corselet,
or Steel Panoply, nor stud his Chariot with
costly Gems, many Ages *before* Coats
of

(x) Such as *Semo*, *Puno*, *Favi*, and numberless
other Names. *Matha* is indeed found in many old
Mss. but being the Name of one of the four Evange-
lists, it was not introduced until after the Reception
of Christianity.

(y) See *Fingal*, Dub. Edit. p. 13

of Mail, or inlaid Ornaments, were known in his native Country.--This, I say, he could not have done; but it was very easy to *Ossian*, the Son of *Fingal*: *OSSIAN*, the poetic Grandfather of Mr. *James Mac Pherson*, the poetic Grandson, could do it; and therefore did do it.

In Truth, the Absurdity of inserting into these Poems of *Fingal* and *Temora*, Customs, unknown in *Ireland*, or *North-Britain*, until long after the Decease of the supposed Author, brings a Proof not to be invalidated, that the Exhibiter of these modern Customs, is a mere modern Poet. The Omission of the religious Machinery is not indeed a Proof equally strong; but one decisive enough, as to the Poet's Ignorance of the druidic Theology. Mr. *Mac Pherson* easily forefaw, that this Omission would create Mistrust, and, unfortunately, enhances our Suspicion, by a most silly Effort to account for it. (z) "Before *Ossian's* Time, (he tells us) the druidic Religion was set aside."---But he goes on:---"The Power of the *Druids*, to elect a *Vergobretus*, was at an End."---"Upon their utter Overthrow, the Office of a *Vergobretus* became hereditary, and the established Religion was abolished."

This

(z) See the Dissertat. to *Fingal* p. 5. 6. et seq.

This is the Substance of his long-winded Detail of the Ruin of the *Druids*.--All our Remains of antient History are against him; and what Authority does he oppose to their Testimony?---His own; *his own* only!--Who, ever, before the Appearance of this *new historical Revelation*, heard of a *Vergobretus* (so called) among the *Caledonians*? or, indeed, among any other *Celtic* People, the *Ædui*, in *Gaul*, alone excepted? (a) It is *Cæsar* who gives us the Name, and describes the Office; and that in a Corner only of the extensive Country he conquered. Had *Cæsar* never wrote, we should never hear of the Name. Let it be admitted, however, that, as *Vergobretus* signifies a Judge, and that we need not dispute about a Word, when the Thing, that is, the Office of a *despotic* Magistrate, is intended: Yet, who informed Mr. *Mac Phereson* of a civil War between the *Druids* and a supreme Officer, the temporary Despot of their own Choice? Who, I say, informed him of the Doctrine of *hereditary Right's* being established in *Caledonia*, so many Ages before the *Idea* of such a Right was conceived in these Islands, or indeed, any other Northern Country? Could such a Revolution, for which we have his bare Word
only

(a) Vergobretum vocant *Ædui*, qui creatur annuus, et vitæ necisque in suos habet potestatem. *Cæsar*. *Bell. Gallic* lib. 1

only, produce, as he pretends, an utter Abolition of the established Religion of those Times?--It is superlatively absurd to suppose it. It is ridiculous to assert it.--All antient History contradicts it.

Reformation, indeed, might be useful in those Days, as in our own; and antient Anecdotes inform us, that, in the Reign of *Cormac O'Cuinn*, such a Reform was unsuccessfully attempted here in *Ireland*. Popular Superstition was too strong for that Monarch's Power, or Philosophy, to be shaken by either: Yet, with all the Success, that the Rage of Reformation, or Spirit of Tyranny, could require; can we suppose, that any spiritual Revolution, in those heathen Days, could, thus, as it were, *instantly*, produce a total Suppression of the ritual Ceremonial, and doctrinal Parts of the antient Worship? Hypothetical Folly alone, could suppose and effect it.

Mr. *Mac Pherfon* is, undoubtedly, a Man of good natural Abilities, cultivated by Reading and Reflexion: And yet, I know not from what Fatality, he appears as destitute of Commone-sense, as of Decency, in most of his Assumptions (for they are no better) on the Subject before us. He wants Decency, in the illiberal Abuse of all antient and modern

dern Writers, who endeavoured to throw
 Lights upon the antient State of *Ireland*, and
North-Britain; and he wants Common-sense;
 in Points, which his cooler Judgment would
 doubtless correct; had not the Rage of national
 Inveſtive taken absolute Poſſeſſion of his
 whole Faculties. In ſuch a Mood he muſt
 be, when he advances, that “ in the Period,
 “ when Property is *eſtabliſhed* among Men,
 “ and that they enter into Affociations for
 “ *mutual* Defence; THEN is their State the
 “ Region of *complete* Barbariſm and Igno-
 “ rance.”—The Words are to be found in
 p. 18 and 19 of his Diſſertation on TEMO-
 RA; (*Dublin* Edition) and a Man of his
 Knowledge could not betray ſuch Ignorance
 of the State of civil Society; but upon the
 Principle we have laid down.

In the long Controverſy about *Fordun's*
 hiſtorical Hypotheſis, the Writers of *North-*
Britain pretended to Authority, antient and
 modern:—Mr. *Mac Pherſon* pretends to
neither; and, were we to chooſe an Adverſa-
 ry, with no better View than the Eaſe of
 Refutation, he, doubtleſs, would be *our*
Man. But we proceed on a better Motive,
 from the *Hope* that much of our antient *Scot-*
iſh Hiſtory may yet be exhibited in a uſeful
 Light; and from the *Fear* that the prevalent
 Prejudices againſt it may be ſtrengthened,
 even

even by such an hypothetical Chimera as we have already partly exposed. In the Part we are now beginning to consider, our Adversary is exactly in the Case of one, who should draw, by Lot, for a hundred wild Notions, and hit upon the *wildest*. It must surely be so, when it comes out *for him*, and *us*, his Readers, that “ the first *Christian* Missionaries in *Caledonia*, (*b*) took Possession of “ the Groves and other lurking Places of the “ *detested Druids!* ” Doth he not here draw with the most unexampled Effrontery on the Credulity of Mankind? — Was it to recommend themselves to the *Caledonians*, that these holy Men have thus filled the Seats of Deceit and Superstition? — Was this Seclusion from Society, this criminal Adoption of the Practices of their detested Predecessors, the proper Method for preaching the Doctrine, and enforcing the Example of our Divine Master? — The Absurdity of all this is great; and what comes in the Rear of the Account is prodigious; when he informs us, that these Missionaries took the Name of *Culdees*, from sequestering themselves in the Caves and Groves of the *Druid* Fugitives! In truth, the Sequestration, here to be considered, is that of the Author of such Reports, from common Sense, or

C common

(*b*) See the Dissertat. on *Fingal*. p. 8.

common Shame; for common Knowledge is out of the Question.—*Culdee* (in the *Gaelic*, or *Scotic*, *Ceile-De*) signifies one sequestered, or espoused to God. This is so well known to every Man of common Skill in our Language, that it is not to be contended for. We are only to remark; that Mr. *Mac Phereson's* (c) *CULDICH* is not to be supported, otherwise than as an uncouth Barbarism in Language; as ill explained, as it is ill applied. In learning of the literal Sense of *Culdee* (properly *Cele-De*,) he might be well informed by some of his learned Countrymen in the *Highlands*. *Buchanan* knew the Meaning of the Word well, by calling them *Dei Cultores*, as Mr. *O'Flaherty* calls them *Colidei*. —They were, in Fact, a Society, or College, of Religious; sequestered *after*, not *before*, the *Scots* were converted to Christianity. They sequestered themselves in conventual Communities, not in the Groves or Caves of the antient Druids.

SECT.

(c) *Dissertat. on Fingal. p. 9.*

S E C T. III.

Mr. *Mac Pherfon*'s hereditary Monarchy of
Scots examined.

WHEN the Imagination is once fermented in the Depths of an Hypothesis, a Fever, and, in its Progress, a Phrenzy, of the Mind ensues. This Distemper seldom admits of any Remedy; and in this State it was that Mr. *Mac Pherfon* conceived, that the *old* hereditary Monarchy he reared on the *New* Foundations of *Ossian*, would certainly stand, could he but persuade his Readers, that the historical Writings, still preserved in the *old Scottish* Language, are no better than a crude and indigested Heap of Fables; what, no Doubt, the Interest of his Hypothesis required they should be. Argument comes little to his Assistance in this Part of his Task; but Dis-

ingenuity, Railing, and national Abuse, supply its Place. He condemns our old Authors, without any Tryal, and generously hires himself out to be their Executioner ; as if, like certain *Indian Enthusiasts*, he conceived that the Murder of his best Friends intitled him to the Inheritance of their good Qualities. But, granting, in Pity to his Distemper, what can never be granted to any other Writer, that his Conjectures (from Mr. *Innes*) concerning our antient Chronicles are just ; yet still *his* Hypothesis would gain Nothing by it.—The Proofs are coming forward.

They should not indeed come forward so readily, had he not intangled himself, or had *Ossian* not intangled *him*, in a genealogical and chronological Snare ; which a Writer, of any common Vigilance in the Art of Forgery, might easily avoid. Let us first catch Hold of him in *Fingal's* (d) War with *Caracalla*, Son to the Emperor *Severus*: a War, wherein, after remarking on the Unfairness of the *Roman* Historians, in concealing the Ruin of their Army, and omitting the Exploits of the *Caledonian* Hero who ruined it; we are to observe, in the next Place, that this War fell out in the Year 211: *Fingal*, this Conqueror of the best *Roman* Army that
Britain

(d) See Dissert. on *Fingal*. p. 10.

Britain ever beheld, was then a beardless Youth, according to our Northern Historian, and consequently, we may, without Mistake, place his Birth about the Year 191, or 192; and hence to the End of the *Temorean* War, and Death of *Oscar*, Mr. *Mac Pherfon* computes (e) precisely 56 Years, allowing nineteen Years a-piece to each Generation from *Fingal* to *Oscar* inclusive.—The Hypothesis is barely admissible, and therefore allowable, to such an Adversary as we have to deal with.—Shall we take the same License with the three other retrograde Descents from *Fingal* to *Trenmor*, who reigned, according to Mr. *Mac Pherfon*, in the first Century? No: But we must take still a much more inadmissible Liberty;—Instead, therefore, of the aforefaid Precipitation of Births, by so few intermediate Years as 19 Years to each; let us, in Favour of our Adversary, treble that Number of Years, in our retrograde Genealogy, and this will place the Birth of *Trenmor* about the Time that Mr. *Mac Pherfon*'s Scheme requires. This, then, being settled to his Satisfaction, we request the Reader to mark the glaring Absurdity of this Computation; ---each of the Princes in one Series of Descents, requiring the Patriarchal Interval, such as that between *Abraham* and *Moses*,

C 3

from

(e) See *Temora*. 225. 226.

38 DISSERTATIONS *on the*
from one Generation to another; and in the
immediate subsequent Line, *each* Prince be-
coming the Father of *another*, before he was
well of Age to mount the tall Steed, and
resign his wooden Hobby Horse!

How contrary such a Scheme is to Experi-
ence, and to the technical Canon established up-
on it, by Sir *Isaac Newton*, and the best Chro-
nologists, need not be shewn: But Mr. *Mac*
Pberfson has established a chronological Ca-
non of *his own*, resembling the Rack of *Pro-*
crustes, shortening or Stretching the genera-
tions of Men, as it best answered the Pur-
poses, and fitted the Standard, of *Ossian's* ge-
nealogical Torture?

Mr. *Mac Pberfson* is so condescending as
to grant a Monarchy of *Scots* in *Ireland*, so ear-
ly as the first Century: “ A Colony (says he)
“ of *Caledonian Highlanders* (g) established
“ themselves in *Ulster*, some Time before
“ the Incarnation; where they lay in great
“ Peril of Extirpation from the *Firbolgs*, had
“ not *Trathal*, the King, or *Vergobret*, of
“ *Scotland*, sent his Brother *Conor* to their
“ Aid--Through that Aid,” (he tells us) “ the
“ *Caledonian* Power became so superior in
“ *Ireland*, that, in a Convention of the States,
“ *Conar*

(g) See the Dissertat. on *Temora*. p. 14. et seq.

HISTORY of SCOTLAND. 39

“ *Conar* was elected King of the whole If-
 “ land. Hence the *Scotish* Monarchy of
 “ *Ireland* had its Commencement, and was
 “ established on the Principle of *hereditary*
 “ *Right*, till the Succession was interrupted
 “ in the fifth Generation by an Insurrection
 “ of the *Firbolgs*.---In this Civil Scuffle,
 “ *Cormac*, the Son of *Artbo*, a Minor-Mo-
 “ narch, under Guardianship, was mur-
 “ dered, &c.”

Let us now analyze this hopeful Account,
 ---According to our accurate Author, this
 young King *Cormac* was the fifth Generation
 from *Trenmor*, King of *Caledonia* in the first
 Century :---Let us allow 33 Years (not 19)
 to each Generation, and the Birth of this
 Son of *Artbo* (as he is called) will fall in
 the Year 165; and in Course of Nature
 it could not be much more or less. Again;
 Take in the five Reigns, from *Conar* (who,
 he says, reigned towards the Close of the
 first Century) to the Death of the Minor
Cormac, at 25 Years, one Reign with the
 other; and the numerical Total, added to
 the last 30 Years of the first Century, will
 place that young Monarch's Death in the
 Year 155; and the main Difference between
 that and 165, will place his Death in the
 Year 160. This technical Rule will not be
 excepted to, by any one versed in the Ca-
 nons

ons of technical Chronology, except in the Instance of being too favourable to Mr. *Mac Pherſon*. Now *Fingal*, who, it is ſaid, quitted his Exploits in *Lochlin*, to attack and defeat *Caracalla* in the Year 211, and who is exhibited to us as *then* in his early Youth, muſt be born about the Year 190, and conſequently could not come to *Temora* about the Year 160, to revenge the Death of his Couſin *Cormac*; unleſs we ſuppoſe it could be done 30 Years or thereabouts before *Fingal* himſelf was born.

But this ill-fated Account drags ſtill more Abſurdity along with it: For, in Fact, *Fingal*, who is repreſented as the third Generation from *Trenmor*, ſhould by the Courſe of Nature be dead, before *Cormac*, the fifth Generation from the ſame *Trenmor*, was murdered --- Nay more: Had the beardless Youth *Fingal* defeated *Caracalla* in 211; how could he be the Grandfather of *Oſcar*, who was (ex Hypotheſi) killed in *Temora*, fifty Years before that Time?

Here we diſmiſs this genealogical and chronological Analyſis, although not for Want of Matter; and Mr. *Mac Pherſon* muſt be now convinced that a great deal is left unſaid, which would throw more Sunſhine on *his* or *Oſſian's* Forgery. Indeed,

as they have contrived the Matter, it is a Womb teeming with Inconsistencies and Absurdities; which, like the Children of *Sin*, in the *Paradise Lost*, prey upon the Bowels of their common Mother.---And all this is truly the more wonderful, as a little more systematical Penetration, reconcileable with itself and with the common Course of Nature, would *so far* preclude the Triumph of an Adversary, and silence the most peevish Criticism.

His Account of *Swaran*, King of *Lochlyn's* Invasion of *Ireland*, in the third Century, is of a Piece with his other Assertions; when it is a Fact indisputable, that the *Scandinavians*, who obtained the Name of *Lochlyns*, made no IncurSIONS into *Britain* and *Ireland*, until the eighth Century, not long after the Time (as a judicious (a) Writer observes) that their Intercourses with the *Saxons* made them expert Navigators. He, however, who could assert proleptically, that *hereditary Right* was established lineally among the antient *Scotish* Monarchs, and that minor Kings conducted their Administration by Guardians, could as readily furnish *Swaran* in the third Century with float-
ing

(a) See a Pamphlet, entitled, "FINGAL a Knight-Errant." *Lond.* Edit. 1765.

42 DISSERTATIONS *on the*
ing Castles, spreading their Wings of Can-
vas, and threatening Destruction to remote
Nations,

But we had enough of Anticipation of
national Manners, genealogical Incongru-
ities, and geographical Ignorance. They
should ever pass unnoticed in a mere *modern*
Romance, had it not been believed by some
(for some have believed Mr: *Mac Pherfon*, on
his bare Word) “ that the Account is little
“ (b) interlarded with Fable, and that the
“ Compositions of *Ossian* are not less valu-
“ able, for the Light they throw on the an-
“ tient State of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, than
“ they are for their poetical Merit.” This
is the Point driven at, to gain a Monarchy
of *Scots* in *Britain* 500 Years *before the true*
Time; a Point not to be carried, unless Cre-
dulity itself was lulled into a State of Dotage,
and brought to conceive that the Language
of the antient *Scots*, still preserved in our
old Writings, ought to be set aside in Favor
of *Ossian's Erse*, a Dialect kept from Cor-
ruption *by the Salt of oral Tradition* only,
and luckily preserved from the Infidelity of
Books, or Errors of Transcribers, who, in
the Course of a thousand Years, might com-
mit such Mistakes as would set the Learned
hard

(b) See the Preface to *Fingal*.

hard to rectify. Upon this Principle, he rejects our *literary Productions*; and, to shew upon what Grounds; he doth not scruple to advance, that the antient *Gaelic*, or *Scotic*, “ (c) was preserved, from Age to Age, “ among an *illiterate* People, who were “ sunk in extreme Ignorance and Barbarism, “ ever since the *Saxons* took Possession of “ the *Lowlands*.” Thus it is, that he divides his Contempt for his Readers, between bare-faced Imposition, on the one Hand, and national Slander, on the other: But the Readers of *South-Britain* will hardly take his bare Word for it, that any Language can be preserved in its classical Integrity through many Ages, among an *unlettered* People; and the Gentry of the *Highlands* know best what is due to him, for representing their Ancestors as *the most ignorant Barbarians*, in Contradiction to *Adamnan* and *Bede*, Writers of the seventh and eighth Centuries, who represent them as a civilized lettered Nation.

We must not bear too hard on this Gentleman; and we must confess, that the Interest of his Scheme required that he should falsify all antient History, to cover some of his Paradoxes. He knew well that the *modern*

(c) See the Dissert. to *Temora*, p. 29.

44 DISSERTATIONS *on the*
dern Erse of *Ossian* would prove his Works
to be mere *modern* Poems; and in that Dis-
tress it was necessary for him to advance,
that the *Gaelic*, preserved in the *antient*
Writings, is the real Jargon, and that the
Erse of an *illiterate* Bard and *illiterate* Na-
tion, is the genuine *Classic* Dialect: The
Interest of his Scheme, I say, required that
he should advance all this; and had he done
it, without Railing, or national Abuse, his
Prudence might stand unimpeached, what-
ever became of his Honesty; but *bad Man-
ners*, mounted on the Back of *Fraud*, is too
much; and he must charge himself with
the Chastisement due to the double Provo-
cation.

Let us now listen a little to the Arguments
he brings in Proof of the Purity of *Ossian's*
Language (*d*).----“ The Manners of the
“ People, the unadulterated Recitations of
“ their Bards, and their Exemption from all
“ foreign Mixtures, preserved the original
“ Integrity of this Language through so long
“ a Succession of Ages.”---Ridiculous and
false is the Assertion!---Did not the *British*
Scots mix with the *Picts* in the ninth Cen-
tury? Were not the *Hebrides*, by (*e*) *Bu-
chanan's*

(*d*) See the Dissert. to *Fingal*.

(*e*) *Rer. Scotie. lib. 1. p. 22.*

chanan's own Confession, an hundred and sixty Years in the Possession of the *Danes*? Were not such Mixtures sufficient to corrupt the Language of a People he *wisely* pronounces the most ignorant Barbarians? Could any Art, but that of (*f*) Letters alone, preserve the antient Compositions of such, or indeed of any Nation?---But as this is not an improper Place for it, we will mention in few Words what the Truth of History warrants, relatively to the *Gaelic* spoken in the *Highlands*. Before *Malcolm Can-more's* Reign, that Language was well preserved in *North-Britain*. It was in his Days the Court-Language; when it ceased to be so, soon after that Prince's Times; and that it was no longer cultivated in Schools and Colleges, it naturally degenerated into a *corrupt* Dialect. The little which Mr. *Mac Pherson* has produced, from *Offian*, is (very unfortunately for his Paradox) mere Jargon, and below the Samples from the same Country, prefixed by Mr. *Lluid* to his *Archæologia Britannica*. It is precisely of the same Stamp with the wretched Lines he produces as *Irish* Compositions, without *Irish* Language to save Appearances; both are incontrovertibly out of the same Mint, without any Resemblance

(*f*) *Illæ linguae quotidie moriuntur, quotidie nascuntur, quæ pendent ex libidine imperitæ multitudinis.* Muret.

blance to the antient Verses of the sixth and seventh Centuries, produced in the Annals of the *Four Masters*, or any other classical Writings of the posterior Ages. In Fact, since the Days of the *Bruces* and *Baliols*, the Inhabitants of the *Highlands* do not pretend that they kept any Schools, or Academies, for the Preservation of their Language: The *Irish* kept many, and the few Manuscripts, discovered lately in *Scotland*, are confessed by (g) Sir *George Mac Kenzie* to be *Irish*, not *Erse* Compositions. In the *Mother Country* alone, has this Language been preserved in its classical Purity. The Settlements on our Sea Coasts, in the ninth Century, by the *Danes* and other *Normans*, did not effect the minutest Change in our Language. The interior Parts of the Kingdom were safe from the *Settlements*, though not from the *IncurSIONs*, of these Rovers; and before their Entrance, the *Irish* (as is confessed on all Hands) were the freest Nation in *Europe* from any foreign Mixtures. Even after the *English* Invasion, under *Henry II.* the new Comers (beyond the *English* Pale) adopted the Language of the Natives, and forgot their own. Through the Means of Schools and Seminaries, it has been preserved in
Thuomond,

(g) See his Advertisement to the Defence of the Royal Line of *Scots*.

Thuomond, in *Conaught*, *Tirconall*, and *Tirone*, down to the Days of *Queen Elizabeth*, and is at this Day preserved in our *old Books*. It is by such Means *alone* that antient Languages can be preserved; and that Man must be ridiculous indeed, who contends, that they can be preserved by any other. Let him borrow what Plumes he will from the Wing of *oral Tradition*, or from the Arrogance of a wild Imagination, yet still

————— *Movet cornicula risum*
Furtivis nudata coloribus.----

In good Truth, when one considers how *Mr. Mac Pherfon* and *Ossian* have compounded Matters between themselves, it is extremely hard to maintain any Degree of Seriousness, or forbear entering into the Humour of their Plan of a *high Monarchy of Scots*, in *Britain*, so early as the first Century.

‘ Do, *Ossian*; make you a Collection of
 ‘ our old vulgar Tales about the *Tain-B-*
 ‘ *Cuailgne*, and *Fiana Ereann*. Give old
 ‘ *Fionn Mac Cumbaill* the new Name of
 ‘ *FINGAL*, and make *Cuchollin*, who died in
 ‘ the Beginning of the *first Century*, coeval
 ‘ with him, who died in the *third*. Interpo-
 ‘ late as many Facts of your own, as will
 ‘ give us a more magnificent Monarchy in
 ‘ *Scotland*,

‘ *Scotland*, than that of *John Fordun*, which
 ‘ has been annihilated by some late Histo-
 ‘ rians and Critics.---*I* will be your Tran-
 ‘ flator and Dissertator.---*I* alone will ensure
 ‘ your Wares, and make a good Market,
 ‘ before we are detected !

‘ The Task will be difficult, Mr. *Mac*
 ‘ *Pherison*.

‘ Not at all, *Ossian*. Deal you in *Generals*,
 ‘ as much as possible : Should your *Com-*
 ‘ *mentator* mistake, in descending to Par-
 ‘ ticulars, he alone will bear the Blame. If
 ‘ *Caracuil* be not *Caracalla*, or *Caros Ca-*
 ‘ *raufius*, the Fault will be mine, not your’s.

‘ True : But should we not be very cau-
 ‘ tious as to Manners, and adopt none, but
 ‘ such as suit the Times wherein we lay the
 ‘ Scene ?

‘ No Doubt, *Ossian*, were you a mere
 ‘ modern Bard ; but as you are, or *must* be,
 ‘ an antient, the Public will take you *at*
 ‘ *your Word*. You may therefore spread the
 ‘ Circle of poetic License very wide, and
 ‘ introduce the Manners and Customs of
 ‘ posterior Time. I mean, as much of
 ‘ either, as will trim your epic Machinery,
 ‘ and give your Works all the epic Orna-
 ‘ ments,

‘ments, that we shall deem expedient for
 ‘our *secret* Design. Nay more, *Ossian*!
 ‘you may, in this View, embark your old
 ‘Heroes in Ships of magnificent Structure,
 ‘instead of the *Curachs* used in the Days
 ‘of your supposed Father; you may case
 ‘up these Sons of Renown in shining Coats
 ‘of Mail; and you may safely commit
 ‘geographical Violence, by transplanting
 ‘*Moylena* and *Temora* from their native
 ‘Country, as easily as you have done *Fin-*
 ‘*gal* himself. No Man, at this great Dis-
 ‘tance of Time, will controvert your lo-
 ‘comotive Power.

‘Ay, Mr. *Mac Pherson*; but should we
 ‘not be careful not *outrage* genealogical
 ‘Nature? And how would it look, if I
 ‘were not somewhat consistent with that
 ‘Nature, in the Account of my own sup-
 ‘posed Ancestors?

‘Be not too scrupulous, *Ossian*: If you
 ‘give *too few* Generations between your
 ‘two principal *Æras*, I will make
 ‘your Account consistent still, by *contract-*
 ‘*ing* and *stretching* the intermediate Times
 ‘of these Generations, as *Milton* did his
 ‘Devils in *Pandemonium*, and this will pass
 ‘on a credulous Public; at least until you
 ‘and I have our private Ends out of it.

D

‘ Right,

‘ Right, Mr. *Mac Pherſon*: But what
 ‘ ſhall we do with the old *Iriſh Chronicles*
 ‘ and *Language*, which ſtand in the Way?

‘ Leave that to me, *Oſſian*: I will prove
 ‘ the *former* to be no better than a Fardel
 ‘ of *crude* and *indigeſted* Tales, and the *lat-*
 ‘ *ter* a corrupt *Jargon*. Nay more: I will
 ‘ demonſtrate, (for Demonſtration comes
 ‘ not from *Demon*, the Devil, as ſome have
 ‘ maintained) I will, I ſay, *demonſtrate*,
 ‘ that all Antiquity has been groſſly miſta-
 ‘ ken, in peopling our *Highlands* from *Ire-*
 ‘ *land*, or indeed in peopling the *Britiſh*
 ‘ *Iſlands* with different Nations of *Celts*, who
 ‘ ſpoke different Languages. For, *Oſſian*,
 ‘ it is for the Intereſt of your Scheme and
 ‘ mine, that they ſhould ſpeak *but one*, com-
 ‘ mon to all. I will prove that *oral Tradi-*
 ‘ *tion* alone is ſufficient in *my Hands*, for ſet-
 ‘ ting aſide all foreign and domeſtic Accounts
 ‘ relating to our own Kingdom of *Morven*.
 ‘ With this Tradition, I ſay, we will lay
 ‘ *Lochlyn* waſte, and people *Ireland* with
 ‘ our *Highland Colonies*. Still more, *Oſſian*,
 ‘ I will demonſtrate, that your *Erſe* is the
 ‘ pure *Scotic*, or *Gaelic*, ſpoken in the third
 ‘ Century!

And

‘ And what more, Mr. *Mac Pherſon* ?

‘ What more, *Oſſian* ! Why, I will prevail with our learned Hypercritic, Dr. *Blair* (*b*), to ſummon a Cloud of Witneſſes from the *Highlands* and *Hebrides*, to depoſe upon their poetical Conſcience, that you and I are as honeſt Fellows, as ever played a firſt and ſecond Fiddle, in a poetical Concert !’

Ludicrous as this Representation may appear, and ridiculous as it is, in Fact ; yet there is Nothing fallacious or exaggerated in it ; as it exhibits the Farce, and diſplays the Intention of Mr. *Mac Pherſon*’s Scheme, in its full Extent. We now return to the Conſideration of his other Paradoxes.

He aſerts, on his own Authority, (for his System required it) that the antient *Caledonians* were of the ſame Stock with the *Gaedhils*, or antient *Scots*. Where is the Proof ? He has it ready moſt etymologically ; for Words of any Reſemblance are ſufficient for his Purpoſe. It lies (ſays he) in two ſingle Monosyllables (*i*), *Gaël* and *Dun*,

D 2 or

(*b*) See the Appendix to Dr. *Blair*’s Diſſertation on *Oſſian*’s Poems.

(*i*) See the Diſſertation on *Temora*, p. 9.

or *Don*; and hence the *Celts* of the Hills were called *Caledonians*. But, most unfortunately for this Etymology, the *Scots* never called themselves *Caël*, (which signifies a narrow Streight) but *Gaedhill*; and so their Neighbours, the antient *Britons*, named them, with very little Variation; nor doth the Word *Don* (generally a prepositive Particle) signify an Hill, though *Dun*, in the *Gaelic*, generally signified any fortified Hill, and not seldom a Fortress on low Ground: Instances are innumerable. Lame, however, as this Etymology of *Caël* and *Don* must appear, it is one of the most plausible in all his Dissertations and Notes; most of his other Conjectures being so remote from the true Radicals, that they answer no End, but that of rendering their Author ridiculous: In Truth, with such License as he has taken, no Man can be at a Loss for a Meaning to any antient Compound. It is the long-exploded Nonsense of Etymologists revived; and as he has the Merit of re-instating it, let him take the Reward, such as his Countryman *Buchanan* assigned to all Dreamers like him (*k*). “*Ipso enim modo quidlibet ex quolibet licebit effingere.*”

But

(*k*) *Rer. Scotie*: p. 3.

But what utterly ruins his Etymology of *Caledonians* from *Caël Don*, is, that those he ignorantly calls *Caël*, were not settled in *North Britain*, until several Ages after *Tacitus* had mentioned the *Caledonians* as Inhabitants of that Country. Mr. *Innes* (l), his Countryman, has shewn clearly, that the *Caledonians* were the Nation, known in After-ages by the Name of *Picts*; and (m) *Buchanan* asserts, upon the best Grounds, that *planissimè PICTI fuerunt*. To shew, however, how much these Writers have mistaken the Matter, Mr. *Mac Phereson* (*une contre tous*) advances, on his own bare Word, that the *Picts* and *Scots* were originally the same People, and spoke one common Language; and this *consciously*, in Contradiction to (n) *Bede*, a living Witness when the *Picts* and *Scots* were two powerful Nations, as different in their Language as in their Original. Shall we reject *such* an Evidence, with all Antiquity on his Side, in Favor of Mr. *Mac Phereson's* Night-mare Assumptions, and ricketty Etymologies?

This novel Word *Caël* has thrown him into a magical Circle; and it were to be
D 3 wished

(l) Essay on the antient Inhabitants of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 45, 48, et reliq.

(m) *Rer. Scotic.* lib. I. p. 54.

(n) *Histor. Eccles. Gent. Ang.* Cap. I.

54 DISSERTATIONS *on the*
 wished that some *second-sighted Exorcist* had
 conjured him out of it. Before this is done,
 we have only to remind the sober Reader,
 of one Charm in the Word, which exceeds
 any that this Writer hath hitherto been pos-
 sessed of. (o) “ From the double Meaning
 “ (says he) of the Word *Caël*, which sig-
 “ nifies *Strangers*, as well as *Gauls*, some
 “ have imagined that the Ancestors of
 “ the *Caledonians* were of a different Race
 “ from the rest of the *Britons*, and that
 “ they received their Name on that Account.”
 Who, but one *possessed*, could write at this
 wild Rate? Let the Reader, however, be
 satisfied, that the antient *Scots* never called
 themselves *Cael*, but *Gaedhil*, and that they
 distinguished all Strangers by the Name of
Gaill, or *Gauls*; all our antient and modern
 Writers, *Buchanan* himself, will prove this.
 None, but Mr. *Mac Phereson*, ever dreamed
 that the *Scots* were absurd enough to call all
 Strangers by *their own Name*!

Nothing, certainly, can be more disgust-
 ing than this Task of exposing Writers, who
 bid Defiance to all Authority and Argument,
 to support a crazy System. If they had
 not, like him we have to deal with, acquir-
 ed some Reputation, and that thoroughly
 from the Ignorance of the Public on the
 Subject,

(o) Dissert. to *Temora*, p. 9.

Subject, it should by no Means be attempted: Even in *that* Case, we are Losers by our Labor. If we do not unmask them, it will be said we *cannot*. When we *do*, we are deemed impertinent for expecting Attention to Things so easily refuted (*p*); though without the Refutation, the Forgery might pass for genuine Facts. It is some Satisfaction, however, that this Disadvantage, on our Side, will not be so great on that of the Reader. Through the Examination of some Particulars, he will be convinced how much Mr. *Mac Pherison* has imposed upon him. To examine inferior Particulars, when that End is obtained, would be to injure him; We are therefore hastening to the Conclusion.

Of the Original of the *Caël* (meaning the antient *Scots*) he gives such an Account as we are to take on *his bare etymological Word*. In the early Ages, “they were (says he) a
“ *rambling*, that is, a vagabond Nation, and
“ hence received the Name of *Scots*.” Who, but a genuine Descendant of the *old Piëts*, could give so malevolent, and yet so untrue,

D 4

a Re-

(*p*) *C'est avec grand plaisir, que je quitte la plume: on auroit continué à garder le silence, si, de ce qu'on le gardoit, plusieurs personnes n'avoient conclu qu'on y étoit réduit.* Défense de L'ESPRIT DES LOIX, p. 196.

a Representation of a Nation ; who, far from being Rovers, have been longer fixed to their several Countries, than any other *European* People ? Mr. *Maitland* (q), a *Lowlander*, and less virulent than the *Pict*, is more favorable, and derives the Name of *Scot*, from the *Scotbs*, or *Boats*, with which it was customary with them to invade *Britain*. The Reader, however, may prefer the more general Account delivered down by the *Gaedhils* themselves, that they retained the Name of *Kinea-Scuit* or *Scuits*, from their *Celto-Scythian* Ancestors.

With equal etymological Knowledge, Mr. *Mac Pherſon* deduces the Name of (r) *Cruithnidb* (*Picts*) from cultivating the Soil, and being Corn-Eaters ; because it ſo happens, that, in the *Gaelic*, the Word *Cruithneacht* ſignifies Wheat. Mr. *Maitland*, on the other Hand, deduces this Name from *Peacht*, Fighters, and with equal Juſtice. It is, in Truth, the etymological Phrenzy, on both Sides ; and the Reader will, no Doubt, prefer the Account given by the *old Scotiſh* Writers, because it is natural and obvious : They inform us, that they got the Name of
(ſ) *Cruith-*

(q) *History of Scotland*, Vol. I. p. 110.

(r) *Dissert. to Temora*, p. 11.

(*f*) *Cruithnibh*, i. e. Painters, from the Custom of painting their Bodies; and this Account is confirmed by the *Roman* Authors, who called them *Picti*, or *Picts*, on that very Account.

With Writers of this Stamp it is, *quo-cunquo modo rem*; and, for *Want of better*, such poor Shifts have been made Use of, to support an Hypothesis tottering on all Sides. To establish a Monarchy of *Scots* in *Caledonia*, in the first Age of the Christian *Æra*, it was necessary to assume, that the (*t*) *Scots* and *Picts* were originally but one Nation, who spoke one common Language; and this Assumption he would fain convert into a *Demonstration*, by informing us, that the Names of Men and Places in *Pictland* are of *Gaelic* Original. He is widely mistaken. Those antient Names are of *Celtic* Original, as most of the antient Names of Towns, Rivers and Districts in *Europe*, are, to this Day; what (*u*) *Monf. Bullet* has fully proved in his learned Memoirs of the *Celtic* Language. Will this prove that the several *Celtic* Nations spoke one common Language? Was it possible to do it, through the Course of so many

(*f*) *Ogyg.* Part III. p. 188. and *Mr. Innes's* Critical Essay, Vol. I. p. 58, 63, &c.

(*t*) *Dissert. on Temora*, p. 12, et reliq.

(*u*) *Mem. de la Langue Celtique*, Vol. I.

many Ages, Migrations and Conquests? Indeed they must, and they did, for the greater Part, make Use of the same Words, not the same Construction. Their several Syntaxes varied so, as to render one *Celtic* Nation's Dialect unintelligible to another; and all varied more or less from the *simple original Celtic*, as the modern *English* and *High Dutch* differ from the maternal *Teutonic*; as the modern *Italian* and *Spanish* from the original *Latin*. Do not Proofs croud upon this Argument? Have not three different *Celtic* Tongues prevailed in *Gaul*, even in (w) *Cæsar's* Time? But what Need of *dead* Proofs, when we have *living* Evidences of the Truth here advanced? The *Gomæraeg* spoken at this Day in *North Wales*, and the *Gaelic* spoken in *Ireland*, are as different in their syntactic Constructions, as any two such Tongues can well be. There is little Kindred, but that of Words, between them; and are we not informed by *Bede*, (as above observed) a living Witness of what he advances, that the *Pictish* Tongue differed from both? Is not *Bede* a better Informer of what happened *in the Sunshine*, under his own Eye, than a crazy Writer of our own Days, who gropes in the Dark, *a thousand Years after him*?

How

How stupidly doth this Writer endeavour to gain Credit to Forgery, by suggesting that different Countries contend about the *Birth of Ossian*, as seven Cities have formerly contended for that of old *Homer*.---“ While “ some,” says he, “ doubt of the Authenticity of *Ossian’s* Compositions, others as “ strenuously appropriate them to the *Irish*.” How well-grounded the Doubts of some have been, we have already seen ; and what the Ignorant have conjectured, it matters not ; while the Fact is glaring, that *Ossian’s* Compositions are as authentic, and as locally appropriated, as any such ever were, or ever can be. The *modern Sentiments, Manners, Customs* and *Allusions* they contain, affix them to *modern Times* ; and the Ignorance of Chronology, Geography, and antient History, shews that OSSIAN, the Son of FINGAL, was in no Degree fit to personate OISIN, the Son of FIONN, in the Description of Things to which that Prince was coeval. The Son of *Fingal*, therefore, lived near our *own Times*, and it is best known to Mr. *Mac Pherson*, whether he is not, in the *Whole*, or in *Part*, alive to this Day. Be it as it may ; be he living, dying, or dead ; intire, maimed, or interpolated ; his *Erse* Language betrays him, and gives us the Land of his Nativity with as much Precision, as the Shadow
on

on *Abab's* Dial did the Time of the Day; and Pity it is that the Parity does not hold out in the other Particular; as the Sun of History would, in that Case, go *ten Degrees back* on Mr. *Mac Pherfon's* chronological Time-Plate, to gain poor *Ossian a long poetical Day*, and establish a Monarchy of *Scots* in *Britain*, five hundred Years before it really commenced!

The Poems of *Fingal* and *Temora* lye under the Disadvantage (from the Specimens produced) of being delivered in a modern corrupt Dialect. Notwithstanding this Disadvantage, we confess, and confess with Pleasure, that they are the Compositions of a fine lively Genius, and that they exhibit a considerable Share of poetical Merit in Mr. *Mac Pherfon's* Translation. They recommend themselves, by an apparent antique Dress, and an oriental Scriptural Turn in the Expression; without any Mixture of the *fanatical Cant* of the Times. The Novelty of the Plan, and seemingly artless Construction of the Whole, are very engaging. An affecting Grace in the Sentiment, and an Imagery nobly sublime, unite in several Parts. But then, these Beauties are disgraced by a Marvellous, *injudicious, even to Puerility*; a frequent Reiteration of the same Ideas, and a *poor Mackinery*. In the Notion, however,

ever, that such Poems of the *Epic Species* are Works of a remote Antiquity, their Inequalities and Blemishes are easily overlooked, in Favor of their Beauties and wild Ornaments; when, had another Notion prevailed of their being *mere modern* Compositions, a reverse Judgment would, doubtless, be made; partly from the ungenerous Unwillingness to find much Merit in a modern Genius, and partly from the ungenerous Pleasure taken in detecting his Deformities. The Author of the Poems was well aware of such a Judgment, and, very wisely, put a supposed antient Bard in his own Place; and in Fact, had he paid any Regard to Purity of Language, and to the *Manners, Customs* and *History* of the Age in which his Scene is laid, the Fraud would be an innocent one, and, perhaps, pass for a long Time, for what it was intended it should pass.

It is Time to come to a Cessation with Mr. *Mac Phereson*, at least for the Reader's Sake, of whose Indulgence we stand greatly in Need, for so long an Attention to a few only of his capital Impositions and Paradoxes. We may claim some Right to this Indulgence, as we have left untouched many more; some, for which he has been sufficiently chastised by others; and some, which come within the Refutation of the *common*
Vulgar,

Vulgar, who speak the *Gaelic* Language in both Isles. But, as to most of his Reasonings on the Authenticity of oral Tradition, through so many Ages as elapsed from the third to the fifteenth Century; we had the Discretion not to meddle much with them. They happily share the Fate of *Cadmus's* Earth-born Host, and no sooner start out of the Mud, than they encounter and kill one another. Had he been a little more sparing of national Invektive, and less petulant in his Fastidiousness of all antient and modern Writers who treated on *Scotish* Affairs before him, he would be intitled to the Treatment due to pardonable Ignorance, and superstitious Partiality to a novel System. A quite different Treatment is due to illiberal Abuse, and aggressing Insolence; I might add, *conscious Untruths* also, (that meanest Guilt of a Man of Honour) if Decency did not forbid our making so vile a Charge to a Gentleman, who had a liberal Education, and has Talents to adorn it.

We would, however, gladly be rid of all Suspicion, by an Information from himself, whether he was unconscious of a glaring Untruth, when he asserts, that (x) we of *Ireland* call the *Erse* emphatically a *Chælic*, and our own Language *Cælic Erinnaeh*? It
is

(x) See the Dissert. on *Temsra*, *Dub.* Edit. p. 29.

is a Distinction that never yet was made, either in written Records, or among the Vulgar. Whether, again, he is unconscious of a great Untruth, when he tells us that *Cælic Erinnach* signifies the *Caledonian Irish*? Has he not told us, in a Note to the Poem, entitled, *The Death of CUCHOLLIN*, that it was no Anachronism to make that Hero coeval with *Fingal*, and that he gave us the Reasons, in the Dissertation prefixed to the Epic Poem of *Fingal*? Was he not conscious of an Untruth, *in this Instance*, since he did not favour us with a single Line, in *that* Dissertation, to clear up the Anachronism?

This Writer vauntingly tells us, that all Objections to his System (so he calls it) can give him no Concern, as he can easily set them aside. Why was he not as good as his Word? Why did he not, in this Course of two Years, set aside the Animadversions of the learned Author, who so abundantly detected his Forgeries, as well as Ignorance, in the *Journal des Sçavans of Paris*? What now will his Patrons say? Will they not complain that he imposed on their Credulity, and construe his Silence into a premeditated Scheme, to seduce them out of their Coin, and pay them in Counters.

As

As the Writer of the present Remarks on the Books of *Fingal* and *Temora*, hath written some Differations on the antient History of this Kingdom, with which that of *Scotland* had been for many Ages connected, he found himself under this Necessity of shewing, that whatever Objections might lye against what he has collected, yet, that none offered by Mr. *Mac Pherfon* can affect him. Far from writing with an Intention to deceive, *the Author of the Dissertations* is always open to Correction, and will be thankful for it. Much is still to be investigated on this Subject, and by abler Hands; not indeed from the low Principle which gratifies silly Curiosity, or a sillier Vanity; but from a Desire to discover as much as can be discovered, of a People, who had Arts of Civilization *of their own*, and Manners, which, however barbarous *to us*, yet inferred, and produced also, a Cultivation of the human Mind.

It now occurs, and, though out of its proper Place, it may be proper to remind the Reader, that near a third Part of Mr. *Mac Pherfon's* prolix Dissertation on *Temora* is taken up in quoting, and ridiculing also, some putrid Lines which he ascribes to *Irish Bards*.——Silly Man! The Ridicule re-
coils

coils doubly on his own Head. Since he was engaged in a System of Forgery, why did he not throw some Sort of Veil over it, to pain an Adversary, and hoodwink Criticism? Should he not give us those Lines in the *Irish* Language, instead of the *vulgar Erse*? Is not this hiding the Bird's Head, while the Tail hangs out? But we have done. Thus far have we pushed him, with *Justice*. To push him further might be deemed *Severity*. Let us rather soften our Charge, and, after making every possible Allowance for the Goodness of the Intention, let us confess, that no Gentleman, or Sharp-er, ever knew less of the Trade of an able Impostor, than *the most memorable Mr. JAMES MAC PHERSON*.

March 24, 1766.



THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME
IN TWO VOLUMES
BY NATHANIEL BENTLEY
OF THE BARR



