SOME UNPUBLISHED EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY IRISH FINDS

By MICHAEL DOLLEY and W. A. SEABY

RECENTLY through the generosity of Dr. T. S. Agnew of Jerretspass, near Newry, the Ulster Museum was able to purchase part of a coin-collection (prior to the Johnston-Smyth sale at Ingram, Lisburn, Co. Antrim) which included an appreciable quantity of material from the Cupples cabinet. This collection was begun by the Rev. Snowden Cupples (1750-1835) who was Rector of Lisburn from 1796 until his death, and who also occupied the somewhat abstruse office of Vicar-General (C. of I.) of the diocese of Down. At this period the three historic sees of Down, Connor and Dromore were held in combination, though each diocese retained a considerable portion of its ancient internal hierarchy. It may be observed, too, that the title of Vicar-General was at no time usual in the Church of Ireland, and seems now to be in complete abeyance. In the Down diocese at least the holder was a species of ecclesiastical lawyer under the Chancellor, and never exercised the very wide measure of spiritual and administrative jurisdiction under the Bishop which is enjoyed in modern times by Vicars-General in the Roman Catholic Church where the dignity is one proper to virtually every see. The coin-collection formed by Snowden Cupples was continued for a time by one or more of the children, the most notable of whom was the Rev. Edward Cupples LL.B. who was born in 1785 and who had resided for a time in Antrim before making his permanent home at Lisburn. A Surrogate of the Down diocese before his father’s decease, he succeeded him as Vicar-General, but appears to have eschewed regular incumbencies. The men of the family in this generation would seem to have been inveterate bachelors, and the coin-collection under discussion descended in the female line to the 1966 vendor. Interest in it clearly waned in the mid-1840s, and it seems fair to regard it as essentially Snowden Cupples’, even though a number of the coins listed were added posthumously in 1839, 1841 and 1842. In this connection one may legitimately remark the absence of coins from the well-known Derrykeighan hoard of 1842, and this although the find-spot was a church-yard only a few miles from Ballyrashane where the Rev. Thomas Cupples (born 1789), Edward’s brother and later to be the rural Dean of Dunluce, had been the incumbent since 1826 and was to be for several years thereafter. The focus of interest does seem to have been at Lisburn, and it may well have been one of the unmarried sisters who made the 1839 to 1842 additions. However this may be, the inspiration was clearly Snowden Cupples’, and he was perhaps one of the first Irish numismatists to be sensitive to hoard-provenance, anticipating in this respect both John Lindsay of Cork and the Ulster antiquaries, J. Carruthers and S. G. Milligan. Unlike these worthies, though, the Cupples family did not publish their notes, and it is providential that the details here recorded should have been preserved at all.

The basis of this present account is a group of fifteen pieces of folded letter-paper on which are written details of the date of discovery and find-spot of the coins wrapped inside them. Most of the coins were seen by W. A. Seaby in the collection of the 1966 vendor more than a decade ago, and one of the finds was summarily noticed as no. 13 on p. 455 of the recent Archaeological Survey of Co. Down (Belfast, 1966); the angel was acquired by the Museum in
1955. For all practical purposes, though, the information now given would seem to break new ground, and not only Irish numismatists will be under a heavy obligation to Dr. Agnew for his generosity in making it public. The order of publication here adopted arranges the material under three main headings: (a) hoards where find spot and date of discovery are known, (b) a group of coins presumptively a hoard or parcel therefrom, and (c) single-finds. Within each grouping the finds are listed in the presumed order of their concealment or loss. Each notice is headed by a transcript of the writing which appears on the wrapper, and to four distinct hands are assigned the letters ‘A’, ‘B’, ‘C’, and ‘D’. The overall pattern they present is as follows, the dates being those that appear on the individual wrappers where the hands occur:

| Hand A | 1802 | 1821 |
| Hand B | 1802 | 1822(2) | 1833 | 1839 | 1842 |
| Hand C | 1808, 1821, 1822(2), 1827, 1830, 1833(2), 1839(2), 1841, 1842 |
| Hand D | | | 1839 |

Hand A is certainly that of Edward Cupples—the notice is signed—and Hand D might well be that of Thomas. Hand C is the critical one but cannot be identified, while Hand B not only is very distinctive but confines itself to brief notes on the actual coins. It could well be later and belong to an owner intermediate between the children of Snowden Cupples and Roger Johnston Smyth, conceivably to a nephew or niece of Edward and Thomas.

(A) HOARDS


Nine English silver pennies of Edward I and II are wrapped in a piece of paper endorsed as follows:

Recto (Hand A): Ancient coins—
(Hand B): Supposed Ed. I

Verso (Hand A): These coins were found in the year 1802 under a loose Stone at an ancient Cairn 2 miles north of Newry, called Carnbane. They appear to me to be coins of the first Edward: on the reverse the inscription is Civitas Londini. / Probably deposited there by some English settler at the irruption of the Bruces. Robert Bruce lan: ded at C:fregus and penetrated as far up the count: / ry as Dundalk, where he caused himself to be / crowned.

Edw. Cupples

The reverse legend, of course, should have been read CIVITAS LONDON, and there is confusion between Edward Bruce and Robert Bruce, but the tenor of the note is clear enough. The coins are in poor condition, appear clipped, and are marred by patches of a reddish corrosion. A listing is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fox Class</th>
<th>North no.</th>
<th>MINT OF CANTERBURY</th>
<th>Grains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>IIIc</td>
<td>1018</td>
<td>(Edward I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>IXb</td>
<td>1037</td>
<td>„</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Xb</td>
<td>1039</td>
<td>(Edward I or II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>1065</td>
<td>(Edward II)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The latest coin in the hoard is the class XIV penny of Canterbury which it would be difficult to place before 1318 even if it had been in mint condition and not sadly clipped and worn. To be contrasted is the find of very similar size from Annagassan in the next county which ends with a London coin of Fox class XIII (Co. Louth Archaeol. Journ. VII, 1 (1929), pp. 42-45: Inventory—: though the attributions cannot be accepted). Here Mahr has recorded weights uniformly between 22'0 and 22'5 grains, and the coins stand out from his plate as sharp and uneclipped. In the case of the Annagassan find there is little doubt that the occasion was the Bruce "irruption" (cf. U.J.A 3, XXII (1959), p. 113) but the Carnbane find just cannot be so early, and a date well into the second quarter of the fourteenth century would seem demanded. The cairn at Carnbane, we are informed by Dr. Agnew, was demolished at the beginning of the nineteenth century to provide materials for the construction of a new lock on the near-by canal (See W. A. McCutcheon, The Canals of the North of Ireland (1965), pp. 27-28).

Co. Down, 1821.

Seven English and Scottish silver groats were found wrapped in a piece of paper bearing the following endorsements:—

**Recto (Hand A):** Coins
David 2d.
Edwd. 3d.

**Verso (Hand C):** Found in the Coy of Down 1821

The paper is creased and rubbed at the critical point of the reverse inscription, and hence the "Bog of Down" of the Archaeological Survey of Co. Down volume cited earlier. Examination at leisure and in daylight has now convinced us that the word should in fact be read "Coy" (County) and not "Bog". On the other hand, the same more leisurely scrutiny of the paper and of its contents prompts us to endorse an observation jotted down by W. A. S. in 1955 when he remarked of a groat of Henry VI and of another of Edward IV:—

"Owing to their worn condition as opposed to the others it seems unlikely that they were part of the original hoard".

Unfortunately the warning was disregarded for the purposes of the 1966 Survey, for in strong daylight the coins can be seen to be quite differently patinated. It should be noted, too, that the endorsement of the wrapper ignores the presence of both the coins in question. In the case of the Edward IV groat it might conceivably have been argued that the Cupples family were unable to distinguish groats of Edward III from those of Edward IV, but the legend on Henry VI clearly begins hENRic.

The seven groats may be listed under two heads as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fox Class</th>
<th>North no.</th>
<th>MINT OF LONDON</th>
<th>Grains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Xa/IXb</td>
<td>1038/1037 (Edward I)</td>
<td>15'6 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Xd</td>
<td>1041 (Edward I ?)</td>
<td>18'9 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Xd/e</td>
<td>1041/1042 (Edward I or II)</td>
<td>17'1 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 9</td>
<td>XIa</td>
<td>1060 (Edward II)</td>
<td>19'7, 19'0 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(a) coins probably from the find

ENGLAND

EDWARD III

(1) Fourth coinage London groats: Lawrence class C, North 1147: annulet stops on obverse only.

(2) As preceding coin, but annulet stops both sides.

(3) 'Treaty' coinage London groat: Lawrence series (f), North 1252: double annulet stops on obverse and double saltire stops on reverse.

SCOTLAND

DAVID II

(4) Third ('intermediate head') coinage Edinburgh groat.


(b) coins that are probable interlopers

(a) Henry VI, annulet coinage Calais groat: North 1423—no fleur on breast: clipped and worn.

(b) Edward IV, 'light' coinage London groat: Blunt & Whitton class VIII, North 1571: i.m. crown/sun and quatrefoils beside neck and on breast: clipped and worn.

The three groats of Edward III can be dated to 1351/1352 (bis), and fairly early within the limits 1361–1369. Their Scottish counterparts belong c. 1364/1365 and c. 1365–1367. In other words the concealment of the find cannot fall much, if at all, before c. 1370, and might well be later, especially if the Cupples coins are only a parcel from a more substantial find; but it must be pointed out that the Treaty groat is in excellent condition. However this may be, the dissociation from the hoard of the fifteenth-century element means that we are given a most useful addition to the well-defined grouping of Irish hoards which are listed in British Numismatic Journal, XXXIII (1964), pp. 100–102.

LISWATTY, Ballyrashane parish, Co. Derry, 1839.

Seven of the base Anglo-Irish groats of Philip and Mary and of Elizabeth are wrapped in a piece of paper inscribed:—

Recto (Hand C): Coins
Mary + Eliz.

Verso (Hand D): Found (1839) in a cove in the townland of Liswatty parish of Ballyrashane near where there was formerly (according to tradition) an abbey founded by Queen Mary of England.

The coins may be listed as follows:—

IRELAND

Billon groats

PHILIP & MARY

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>1556: REGINA.ANGEL / i.m. wanting</td>
<td>cf. Coffey 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>1557: ethnic wanting / NOSTRI. i.m.?</td>
<td>Coffey –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>1557: REGINA.A. /NOSTRI. i.m. rose</td>
<td>cf. Coffey 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>1558: REGINA.A. /NOSTRI. i.m. rose</td>
<td>Coffey 2-5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The cove may be presumed to be a souterrain, as Liswatty is flatter country well inland from the sea, and cove can have that sense in Ulster dialect (information from Mr. Brendan Adams of the Ulster Folk Museum). There is, too, some evidence for such comparatively late secondary use, and it may be supposed that even a largely collapsed complex could provide concealment and shelter in an emergency. The find would seem to date from the early 1560s, and the possibility of a highly significant regional grouping is discussed below. That the coins are in poor condition would seem due to the poorness of their alloy rather than to wear in circulation. It is not impossible that the find is the same as the next, two parcels having reached the Cupples family in Lisburn through different channels and with discrepant stories.

Coleraine, "field near", Co. Derry, 1841.

Six of the base Anglo-Irish groats of Philip and Mary came to light in a piece of paper inscribed:

**Recto (Hand C):** Philip + Mary  
&  
Elizabeth

**Verso (Hand C):**—Philip + Mary — and Elizabeth  
— / Found in field near Coleraine / about a spade deep from the surface. / 137 found in a little vessel, damaged / made of sally wood— / May—  
1841—

The Elizabeth element would appear to have disappeared between 1841 and 1955, but the Philip and Mary coins may be described as follows:

**IRELAND**  
Billon groats

**Philip & Mary**

(1) 1555: Regina Ang. / Nostvrm. i.m. porteullis  
cf. Coffey 3 & 4 49-8

(2) 1555: Regina Ang. / Nostvrm. i.m. porteullis  
cf. Coffey 6 var. 42-6

(3) 1555: Regina Ang. / Nostvrm. uncertain i.m.  
cf. Coffey 3 & 4? 45-0

(4) 1555: Regina Angli. / Nostvrm. i.m. rosse  
cf. Coffey 1 46-0

(5) 1557: Z Regina – i.m. rosse / Nostvrm. i.m. rosse  
cf. Coffey 10–12 38-6

(6) 1557: – Regina. i.m. rosse / Nostvrm. i.m. rosse  
cf. Coffey 9 & 10 32-0

Of the willow-wood container there is unfortunately no trace. Had it not been for the Cupples statement that coins of Elizabeth were present, one might well have remarked the presence of 4 of the 1555 groats, a date absent from the Liswatty parcel, and suggested a date of concealment prior to Elizabeth's accession, but they must at least be subsequent to her first Irish issue in 1558/9. There could be in fact no better example of the danger of arguing beyond the evidence where small parcels from minor hoards are concerned. Whether the "Coleraine, 1841" and "Liswatty, 1839" finds are one and the same hoard under two different descriptions may never be known, but the pattern of hoarding in Ulster at this period suggests that they could well be distinct. A card-index in the Ulster Museum has notes on another
find from Coleraine, 5 from Co. Antrim (Ahoghill, Belfast, Carrickfergus (2) and Glenarm), 4 from Co. Down (Downpatrick, Grey Abbey, Mountstewart and Newry), and 1 from Co. Donegal (Inishowen). All are composed of these billon groats and all may be supposed to have been concealed in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth. It is difficult not to connect their pronounced Ulidian distribution with the ending of the threat to Ulster of conquest by the so-called “redshanks”, mercenary colonizers from the Scottish Isles.

Kilroot, nr. Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim, before 1845?

Four English and Scottish silver coins are wrapped in a piece of paper with the following endorsements:

*Recto (Hand B):* Jas. I & Elizabeth

*Verso (Hand C):* Found at Kilroot near Ck. Fergus

They are as follows:

**ENGLAND**

**ELIZABETH I**

(1) Sixpence, third coinage, i.m. crown, 1569 (North 1997) 44-8

**JAMES I**

(2) Shilling, second coinage, third bust, i.m. lia (1604/1605), North 2099 90-4

(3) Shilling, second coinage, fifth bust, i.m. key (1609/1610), North 2101 91-8

**SCOTLAND**

**JAMES VI**

(4) Twelve shillings Scottish, coinage of 1609-1625, i.m. thistle, Burns 985 85-2

Unfortunately we are not told if this is the whole hoard or only a parcel. The apparent absence of coins of Charles I might suggest a date towards the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The admixture of Scottish and English coins at this period is very much to be expected, owing to the settlement of so many lowland Scots in this region (see Seaby, *Ulster J. Archaeol.* 3, XXI (1958), p. 99).

Lisburn, Magheragall Road, Co. Antrim, July 1833.

Two Irish copper halfpence and an English silver sixpence are wrapped in a piece of paper inscribed:

*Recto (Hand B):* Wm 3rd

*Verso (Hand C):* Found in a Bog at the West end / of Lisburn, on the new road / to Magheragall— / July 1833 —

They may be listed as follows:

**IRELAND**

**WILLIAM AND MARY**

(1) Halfpenny, 1693, 14 strings to harp, Coffey 3 & 4 89-6
WILLIAM III

(2) Halfpenny, 1696, 12 strings to harp, Coffey 2 & 3

ENGLAND

WILLIAM III

(3) Sixpence, 1697, Chester mint, Jackson Kent 32

This may be supposed to represent the whole find which reflects presumably private misfortune rather than public calamity. (For a similar group see Seaby “Two small late seventeenth century hoards from Co. Tyrone”, BNJ, XXXIII (1964), p. 173).

(B) PROBABLE HOARD OR PARCEL FROM HOARD (UNPROVENANCED)

Six of the base Anglo-Irish groats of Philip and Mary lie in a piece of paper inscribed:

Hand B (?): Silver
Philip & Mary
Old Coins

They may be listed as follows:

IRELAND

Billon groats

PHILIP & MARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Legend</th>
<th>Initial Mark</th>
<th>Weight</th>
<th>Coffey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1555</td>
<td>REGINA.AN : / NOSTRVM i.m. rose</td>
<td></td>
<td>42-4</td>
<td>var.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1556</td>
<td>REGINA.ANG. / NOSTRVM i.m. portcullis</td>
<td></td>
<td>45-1</td>
<td>1 var.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1556</td>
<td>REGINA.A. / NOSTRVM i.m. portcullis</td>
<td></td>
<td>41-5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1557</td>
<td>ET.REGINA. (?) / NOSTR i.m. rose (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td>42-3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1557</td>
<td>ET.REGINA.A. i.m. rose / NOSTRVM i.m. rose</td>
<td></td>
<td>47-2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1558</td>
<td>Z.REGINA.A. / NOST i.m. rose</td>
<td></td>
<td>46-7</td>
<td>2-5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is not impossible that these coins are a selection from either the “Coleraine” or the Liswatty finds just described, but equally the frequency of occurrence of this type of hoard in a N.E. Ulster context may suggest that there is no connection with either, and we might further draw attention to the pattern of incidence of the different dates and initial marks, and to the comparatively close bracket of the weights. Patination, unfortunately, is of no assistance, and for the present at least it seems preferable to maintain an open mind.

(C) SINGLE-FINDS

ASKEATON, Desmond Castle, Co. Limerick, 1830

An English penny of Edward II is wrapped in a piece of paper inscribed:

Recto (Hand C): at
Askeaton

Verso (Hand C): Dug out of the old Banquett: / ing
Hall of the Castle of / the Great Earl of Desmond
at Askeaton, Co. Limerick / 1830 —
The coin is of Fox Class XIa (c. 1310), North 1060, and weighs 19.4 grains. It is disfigured by a reddish stain (ferrous oxide?). Since the Desmond stronghold only dates back to 1299 this coin may represent a relatively early loss unless it survived into the latter part of the reign of Edward III or Richard II, as did so many Edwardian pennies in Ireland.

CARRICKFERGUS, "behind the walls", Co. Antrim, 1808.

An angel of Henry VII was enclosed in a piece of paper inscribed:—

Recto (Hand C): Gold An:
    g —
Circiter 1422

Verso (Hand C): This coin — called an / Angel temp. / Henry VI / was turned up by / a Flow behind / the / walls of Carrickfergus / ann. 1808.

The coin, acquired by exchange for the Belfast (now Ulster) Museum in 1955, weighs 78.1 grains and belongs to Brooke Group III. The i.m. is pansy (cf. North 1696), which suggests a date within the bracket 1490–1504, and the stops saltires. In a footnote on p. 344 of BNJ, XXX, ii (1961), the year of finding inadvertently appears as 1608, and as written the date on the wrapper is ambiguous. However on p. 375 of E. J. M’Crum’s 1909 edition of S. McSkimin’s The History and Antiquities of the County and Town of Carrickfergus, there appears the following:—

"In 1808, a gold coin of Henry VI called an angel, was found near the town wall".

Those words purport to be taken over directly and without alteration from the editio princeps of 1812, but in fact derive from p. 376 of the 3rd edition of 1829 where it appears among Additions and Corrections. This is one of very few pre-Stuart English gold coins to have been found in Ireland.


An English sixpence of Elizabeth I has been folded into a piece of paper with the following endorsements:—

Recto (Hand B): Elizabeth

Verso (Hand C) Found at the Plantation / near Lisburn / June 1822.

The coin is of some interest, a full description being as follows: Brown fifth/sixth coinage mule, North second/third coinage mule, i.m. bell, 1583 (North 1997/2015), weight 40.5 grains (worn). The mule would seem to be unrecorded, and the piece is accordingly illustrated here from a very slightly enlarged direct photograph. The critical readings ELIZABETH and REGINA appear clearly enough.
BELFAST, "Belfast Gate", Co. Antrim, 1839.

An Irish sixpence of James I was found wrapped in a piece of paper inscribed:

Recto (Hand C): Coins
(Hand B): Jas. 1st

Verso (Hand C): Coin of James I found / at the railway, near / Belfast Gate. August / 1839 —

The coin is of the second issue, i.m. escallop (1606/1607), and corresponds to Coffey no. 4. It weighs 33.5 grains. The reference is to the construction of the first railway in Ulster, the line from Belfast to Lisburn, E. M. Patterson, The Great Northern Railway of Ireland, (1962), p. 5. The original terminus was always in the vicinity of its very early successor, the present Gt. Victoria St. Station, and hence well outside the old line of the Tudor gated embankment. The "Belfast Gate" is probably the turnpike near the modern Shaftesbury Square, and we must assume that the point indicated is one very near where the modern Donegall Road passes over the Dublin line near the intersection of Roden Street.

LAKEFIELD, near Crumlin, Co. Antrim, 1842.

An English silver penny of Charles I is wrapped in a piece of paper inscribed:

Recto (Hand B): Coin
[Copper] deleted
Chas. 1st.

Verso (Hand C): A Penny piece of Charles I st found at Lakefield / near Crumlin — Nov. 1842.

The coin is of the Tower mint, and belongs to Group D (North 2270) i.m. two pellets. The weight is 8.3 grains.

GLENAVY, Churchyard, Co. Antrim, 1827.

A Scottish turner of Charles II is folded into a piece of paper with the following endorsements:

Recto (Hand C): Coin
found at
Glenavy
1823

Verso (Hand C): Oct' 1823 / The small Bodwell of
Charles I when the liberty / of coinage was granted
(sic) found at the entrance of Glenavy Church
yard / when the (wine (?) in the avenue were (stalked (?)
(runs (straightened out / 'See Nummi Britannici Historia' / p. 103.

As will be gathered, the handwriting of the fifth line of the verso account of the find presents some difficulty, but the general sense seems clear enough. The reference is to S. M. Leake's Nummi Britannici Historia published in 1726. The coin belongs to the issue of 1663, i.m. lozenge or more correctly mascle, and weighs 31 grains. The reference to the coin in Stewart's Scottish Coins is 243. (For similar Scottish coins found at Grey Abbey in 1842 see Ulster J. Archaeol. 3, XXI (1958), pp. 99-100).

LISBURN, Castle Garden, Co. Antrim, 1822.

An Irish copper halfpenny of William & Mary is folded into a piece of paper inscribed:

Recto (Hand B): Wm + Mary

Verso (Hand C): Found in Castle Garden / Lisburn / 6th April 1822
The coin weighs 90.6 grains, and is dated 1694. It corresponds to Coffey 5, and there are 13 strings to the harp.

**Co. Cavan, 1831.**

A Manx copper penny (cast) of James Stanley, 10th Earl of Derby, who was Lord of Man from 1702 until his death in 1736, was found wrapped in a piece of paper with the following endorsements:

*Recto:* [Portion of letter in unfamiliar hand and concerned apparently with unrelated antiquarian topics.]

*Verso* (Hand C): Coins [sic] found in Co. Cavan / 1831

The weight of the coin (Atkins 1) is 94.3 grains, and it is dated 1709.

In conclusion the authors would like to repeat the expression of their indebtedness to Dr. Agnew, and to add the information that he has transferred the ownership of 49 of the above-described 50 coins, 44 silver and 5 copper, and of the letter-paper wrappers to the Ulster Museum, Belfast, on terms that can only be described as characteristically generous. The material is thus after so many vicissitudes at last safely preserved for the benefit of future generations of students, and the intentions surely of the Cupples family realized in accordance with the very different conditions of another century.