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THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
DIOCESE OF KILMACDUAGH

THE
History and Antiquities
OF THE
DIOCESE OF KILMACDUAGH

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

BY
J. FAHEY, DD.,VG.

DUBLIN
M. H. GILL & SON
50 UPPER O'CONNELL STREET
1893

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Gift of
James Byrne
of
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TO
THE MOST REVEREND
Francis Joseph Mac Cormack
BISHOP OF GALWAY AND KILMACDUAGH
AND
APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR OF KILFENORA
THIS VOLUME
IS RESPECTFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED
BY THE AUTHOR

PREFACE.

THERE are few parts of Ireland of the same area that contain so large a number of memorials of the past, as the portion of South Galway comprised within the diocese of Kilmacduagh. Rath and dun, and frowning castles and crumbling churches, are to be met with everywhere; and there, too, our ancient "pillar towers" have kept watch over Christian cemeteries for over a thousand years.

I felt that those monuments, Christian and pagan alike, must have had a history; but I found that that history was for the most part unknown. The fortresses spoke of conquerors and of conquered, but the names of victors and vanquished were alike forgotten. And what was true of the monuments of the Norman aggressors of the remote past, and of their brave Celtic opponents, was for the most part true of the Saints whose names lived on only in the names of their ruined churches.

There was at least one exception—a notable one—in the case of Kilmacduagh; for the personality of the holy patron of the diocese survived in the hearts of the people. His name was venerated and his memory cherished with a singular affection. And yet, even of the history of St. Colman Mac Duagh there was but little known outside of the vague and the undefined.

A little patient study convinced me that the history of the district was not irrevocably lost. It was buried, but it could be disinterred. I felt, too, that the buried treasures would amply repay the labour of giving them once more to the public. I trust that the public will estimate in a spirit of kindly sympathy the partial character of my success, considering the difficulties necessarily connected with such an effort, and the limited opportunities within my reach of prosecuting my researches.

I am glad that I have given back to the faithful Catholics

of Kilmacduagh the venerated names of Foila and Sourney, of Colga and Celsus (*Cealleach*), and of other Saints held in honour by their ancestors. And if I have given to our holy patron, St. Mac Duagh, the definite place in ecclesiastical history to which history gives him a claim, it shall prove a crowning satisfaction.

In aiming at this, I have endeavoured to make the existing interesting remains of our early churches illustrate the labours of their founders.

"The stones of Venice" are not the only stones that can speak to those who understand. Hence, I have also given our old castles a prominence which must give additional interest to the narrative of the long struggles between the encroaching Normans and the native chiefs.

The convulsions of the seventeenth century transferred to the "men of new interests," the possessions of the Irish chiefs, and of the "more Irish" Normans. In a time like ours, when land tenure has become the difficulty of the hour, both to the Legislature and to the people, a study of those past transfers, their origin and sanctions, must possess a special interest.

And as the bishops of a diocese are not merely the spiritual guides, but also the sharers of the sorrows and the joys of their flocks, the sketches of our bishops are given in immediate connection with the various periods of which I have treated. In the notice of the career of Dr. Hugh de Burgo, the special value of this line of treatment is best illustrated.

The sketches of the several modern parishes must be of a much more circumscribed interest. This may also be said of the succession of pastors in their parishes. And yet I feel that the "mass-houses" of the last century, so contemptuously referred to by the hirelings of the period, are objects of interest which should not be forgotten. I also felt that the priests, through whose zealous labours the material Church of Ireland sprang into new life with such marvellous rapidity, who clung to their famishing flocks amid famine and pestilence, were men whose lives have claims on future generations.

I wish to thank many friends for the kind encouragement which they have extended to me in my labours in the progress of this work.

J. FAHEY, D.D., V.G.

ST. COLMAN'S, GORT,
June 29, 1893.

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The Author acknowledges his indebtedness to Miss Wyne, Loughrea, from whose accurate photographs most of the illustrations have been made.

THE DIOCESE OF KILMACDUAGH.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory—Ancient territory of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne coextensive with the Diocese of Kilmacduagh—Its conterminous districts—Early Belgic settlements at Lough Cutra and Carn Conail—Lugad Mac Conn lands at Maree, and defeats the Irish monarch Art at Turlogh Art—Fin Mac Cumhail in Aidhne—Early occupiers of the territory descendants of Prince Fiachra—His son Dathy—Eoghan Aidhne fostered by one of the Belgic tribes of the district.

It is necessary to fix with as much clearness as possible the position of the principal districts to which reference shall be made in those pages; to identify under their present names the remarkable localities to which our annalists refer under designations long forgotten; to give the Celtic names of the distinguished men of the olden periods, harsh though they may sound to readers unfamiliar with Irish history. We know the effort is not without its difficulties; and we are conscious also, that even though successfully done it may fail to elicit general interest. Yet we must not forget that they are the dry bones indispensable for the unity of our narrative, through which alone the past can be made to live again. And if they can be made to live again, and take their proper place in the story of their country's life, we shall feel amply rewarded for our labours in having them disinterred from their long-forgotten graves. The aim is a legitimate one, the effort a laborious one; and we shall trust that an indulgent public may find in the character of the narrative some evidence of success.

The field of inquiry, so long neglected, which our narrative opens up, is one well worthy the attention of the antiquarian and historian. We know few districts in Ireland, of the comparatively limited area of the diocese of Kilmacduagh, that offer a richer field for antiquarian research. Its ruined churches carry the mind back to the period when Ireland's sanctity was the marvel of the Western world. Its numerous

crumbling castles speak of powerful chieftains, who took their part in the continued warfare in which the country's energies were weakened and its life seared.

And as the venerable monuments at Kilmacduagh suggest holy thoughts and solemn reflections, as do those of Clonmacnoise and Glendalough, so too the thoughtful reader of history will feel that the events decided on Turlogh Art, at Carn Conail and Ardrahan, and other battlefields within the diocese, are amongst the momentous events which have gone to mould our nation's career.

In the glimpses which we shall have of Colga and Colman and Foila, and other saints of the diocese, we shall have evidences of the manner of men our solitaries and saints of the "Third Order" were when Ireland's faith and fervour were in the glow of its early vigour. In the "generous and pious" Guaire we shall see the good Christian king, not, however, without evidences of the human weaknesses from which even kings can claim no exemption.

In the chieftains who inherited the district from one of the bravest of Ireland's kings, we shall see men who bravely resisted the aggression of the invader, whether Dane or Norman; and whose valour at Raheen, Kilmacduagh, and Ardrahan showed them not unworthy of their brave and royal ancestor. And when their power had passed away, and with their power their independence, we shall see the men of "new interests," who, taking the tide at the flood, came into possession of the lands of the ruined chiefs, by means which, in many instances, must be regarded as equivocal, whether as regards honour or probity. But the career of the new owners, and their influence in their new sphere of authority, cannot be without its interest to the thoughtful.

And if a view of this character possesses interest, it shall be equally interesting to follow, from the foundation of the See in the early part of the seventh century, the episcopal succession during those eventful centuries, with few broken intervals of interruption, to the reign of the present Supreme Pontiff, —from Pope Honorius to Pope Leo the Thirteenth.

The diocese of Kilmacduagh, which extended over the southern districts of Galway, was conterminous with Tuam and Clonfert on the north and north-east, and with Killaloe on the south and south-east. The dioceses of Kilfenora and Galway, with which it is now incorporated, adjoin it on the south-western and north-western sides. It was coextensive with the ancient territory of Southern Hy Fiachrach, more usually known as Hy Fiachrach Aidhne.

Its ancient territorial boundaries were the territories of the O'Flahertys and O'Kellys, on the north and north-east, known as Moy Seola and Hy Maine; on the east and south it was bounded by the Echtge Mountains and portions of Thomond, while on the west its limits were fixed by the Burren Mountains and the Bay of Galway.

Its extreme northern point was near Athenry, where it touched on the territories of Moy¹ Seola and Hy Maine. The plain, which extends from Athenry to Loughrea, and forms the southern limit of the O'Kelly country, was known as the Plain of Maenmoy.

The portions of Thomond which bounded Hy Fiachrach on the south composed chiefly the present barony of Inchiquin, formerly known as Kineal Fearmaic, a territory of which the O'Deas and O'Briens were the hereditary chiefs.

The Echtge Mountains, which form the eastern boundary in part, compose a large portion of the mountain ranges which extend from near Limerick to Loughrea, and rise to a height of from 1000 to 1200 feet. We shall see that their picturesque features were such as to inspire the fertile muse of Flan Mac Lonan, the Irish Laureate of his time.

The venerable O'Flaherty tells us that the Bay of Galway, which divides Corcomroe from Iar Connaught, was formerly called "Lough Lurgan," and he thinks it not improbable that it had been at one time entirely separated² "from the sea by strong banks, till the western ocean, undermining the confines, united it with itself. The remains of the barrier seem to be the three islands of Aran." Similar natural phenomena were not unusual in Ireland in the remote past. It is recorded that the lake of Loughrea appeared in the year of the world 3506, and that of Loughgraney, near Lough Cutra, in the same year. There is a passage in O'Flaherty's *Iar Connaught* which speaks still more clearly of Lough Lurgan. It refers to it as one of the three most ancient lakes in Ireland.

The Burren Mountains, which still retain their ancient name, form on the west a natural barrier which divides Hy Fiachrach from Corcomroe, a territory coextensive with the diocese of Kilfenora. Though bold, and in many places very striking, the Burren Hills do not attain to an altitude of much more than 1000 feet. Though so bare and barren now as to remind modern travellers of the stricken hills of Judea, they were in the remote past clothed with dense forests of oak and waving pine.

The area of the diocese, about 137,520 acres, comprises only

¹ *Iar Connaught*, p. 364.

² *Ogygia*, vol. ii. p. 6.

the baronies of Kiltartan and Dunkellin, with considerable portions of Loughrea. Seaward, and along the Munster border, the features, if barren and rugged, are often interesting. Inland, however, the rugged surface and light soil disappear. Extensive woods and secluded lakes give attractiveness and variety to the landscape. Indeed, the western province can boast of few scenes more picturesque and attractive than Lough Cutra, to which the Firbolg chieftain Cutra has given his name. O'Flaherty states¹ that Carn Conail, situated in the modern parish of Kilbecanty, and on the north side of Lough Cutra, has its name from another Belgian chieftain, Connail, brother of Cutra. He also informs us that Medrigia, which he identifies as the peninsula of Maree in the Bay of Galway, had its name from the same race.

It is evident, therefore, that at the time of those chieftains there must have been extensive Belgic settlements in Hy Fiachrach Aidhne.² We also find that they were at the period also established in Hy Maine and in Clare, then a portion of Connaught.

It was in the reign of the celebrated Meave, Queen of Connaught, that those Belgic chieftains were allowed to settle in Connaught. The circumstances under which the permission was obtained is given in detail by O'Curry.

After the defeat of the Belgic colonists by the Tuatha Da Danaans, they were driven from Ireland. A little before the period of the Incarnation of our Lord, a remnant succeeded in returning and in obtaining from King Cairbre permission to rent some of the lands of Meath. A crushing rent was, however, exacted for their tenancy, while hostages for their good behaviour were also required. They were then generally known as Umorians, or sons of Omar, and governed by Aengus, their chieftain. Finding their burdens in Meath too oppressive, they fled stealthily to the west, bringing all their property with them, and crossed the Shannon in safety.

While Cutra and Connail settled in those districts of Hy Fiachrach to which they have given their name, Aengus, their chief, who was also their brother, established himself in Aranmore. The vast stone fort which he erected there, and which is known as Dun Aengus, remains to the present day to astonish visitors by its extent and massive character.

The King of Tara sent soon after to exact through his hostages the guarantees forfeited by the fugitive Umorians. It was agreed that the demand should be decided by the

¹ *Ogygia*, vol. ii. p. 21.

² O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of Ancient Erin*, vol. ii. p. 122.

arbitrament of single combat, in which, amongst others,¹ Connail was slain by Cuchulain. It "was over this young chief that his father and friends raised the heap of stones which from him took the name of Cairn Chonail." O'Donovan identifies the site of the contest as the same on which, more than six centuries later, more important issues were settled by the sword between Guaire, the King of Connaught, and the King of Cashel.

Though there are remains of several Belgic cahirs in Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, which in structure and character resemble Dun Aengus, there is none there which perpetuates the name of either Cutra or Connail.

In the townland of Ballabane, near Gort, there is a very striking monument of the Belgic period, called Cahir Mugachane. It commands a very extensive view of the plain of Aidhne. The woodlands of Coole and Lough Cutra are visible, though the lakes over which they cast their leafy shelter are mostly hidden. On the east and west, the mountain ranges, which are not indebted solely to distance for their enchantment, are seen to special advantage.

The cahir is a massive circular fort, built of stone, without cement. Though much ruined, it still stands about 11 feet over the level of the interior surface. The masses of stones now strewn around its base show that it was originally much higher. Its circumference may be about 120 yards. The width of this extraordinary piece of masonry seems not less than 14 feet. The entrance, which looks east, is entirely blocked up. From the local traditions, as well as structural indications, it is pretty certain that there is a cave within the fort. It is much to be regretted that no efforts have been hitherto made to have it cleared and examined.

About a quarter of a mile farther south there are the remains of another stone fort, of about the same circumference. It is, however, nearly levelled to the earth.

But the most important and interesting of those monuments in the district is that of Cahir Cugeola, on the western side of the Garryland Forest, and in the parish of Kilmacduagh. Though much ruined, quite enough remains to mark it out as worthy of special attention.

Its circumference is about 144 yards exterior measurement. Its height over the level of the interior at the highest point is about 13 feet. It is constructed of stone, without cement, and measures in width at the base about 18 feet, and at the top about 13 feet. Its entrance is eastward, and shows the

¹ O'Curry, vol. ii. p. 123.

remains of two massive piers built in cement. There is, however, a considerable portion still remaining, and standing about 18 feet over the surface level. From the entrance there was a raised passage leading to some stone enclosures in the interior. Though these enclosures do not seem uniform in style, there can be little doubt that they are "claghans," similar in character to those at the "ancient city of Fahan," and also to the remains in the Dun of Ballyheabought, county of Kerry, which are minutely described by O'Sullivan in his Introduction¹ to O'Curry's learned work on the *Manners and Customs of Ancient Erin*.

The cahir has two concentric stone enclosures. The inner one stands about twelve yards outside the cahir. It is nearly entirely ruined; but enough remains to enable us to ascertain its direction. The outline of its foundation would not justify us in assuming that it was more than 3 feet in width.

The outer enclosure stood at a considerable distance from the fort. It was a much more formidable rampart than the inner one just referred to. Even in its ruined state, we can judge that it was about 5 feet in thickness.

Within those enclosures there are the remains of four circular ruins. That on the south side of the cahir is the most perfect. It consists of a circular wall of massive uncemented masonry. It rises about 5 feet above the surface level. The enclosure measures about 24 feet in diameter.

On the south-west side there is another of those ruined structures of the same character. On the west side there is another, which measures about 22 feet in diameter. There was another on the north side, of which the outline of the foundations alone remains.

But the territory of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne was remarkable in our annals even before the Belgic chiefs were permitted to settle there through the benevolent kindness of Queen Meave. The Four Masters tell us, under date A.M. 3727, that Magh Aidhne—i.e. the Plain of Aidhne—was the scene of one of the many battles in which the monarch Eochaid was engaged, who ruled Ireland for twenty years.

In A.M. 3872,² the monarch Muineamhon died of the plague in Aidhne, after a reign of five years. He was the first who caused chains of gold to be worn on the neck by the kings and chieftains of Ireland as a mark of nobility.

In A.M. 4606, we find that the celebrated king, Uganie Mor, had given the territory of Aidhne to Orb, one of his sons.

¹ Pp. 310-316.

² Four Masters. O'Cronnolly gives A.M. 2920.

When recording the birth of Conn of "the Hundred Battles," A.D. 123,¹ we find our annals responsible for the following singular entry. It is that "on the night of his birth there were discovered five principal roads to Tara, which were never observed till then." Lug O'Clery, in a poem to which O'Flaherty refers in his *Ogygia*, would have it appear that those highways "sprang spontaneously into existence of their own accord," as if to indicate the future greatness of the infant monarch. But O'Donovan, the learned editor of the *Four Masters*, treats the statement as a mere poetical exaggeration. He adds, that those important highways were in reality constructed by Feidhlimidh, the law-giver, and were probably opened to the public for the first time on the occasion of the birth of his son Conn.

One of the most important of those highways was called the "Slighe Mor," and was also known as the "Eiscir Riada." The annalists tell us that this highway "was the division of Ireland into two parts," between the princes Conn and Eoghan Mor. It led from Dublin to Maree, the peninsula already referred to, which runs into the Atlantic in the Bay of Galway. Its course may still be traced, from Maree through Kilcormán towards Athenry and Athlone, by a remarkably continuous line of sandhills. Its course is mentioned in an ancient manuscript, to which O'Donovan refers in the following words:—

"It is mentioned in an ancient manuscript as extending from Dublin to Clonard, thence to Clonmacnoise and Clonbarron, thence to Maedhraighe—a peninsula extending into the Bay of Galway."

Between the peninsula of Maree and the wooded shores of Tyrone, there is a sheltered bay in which Lugad Mac Conn and his fleet of foreigners landed, A.D. 250.² His landing resulted in a most important engagement in the neighbouring plain of Turlogh Art, then known as Moyinucroinhe, in which "a kingdom was lost and won."

Lugad, through whom the invasion was effected, had held the important office of judge in Munster; but had been, for alleged maladministration of the laws, deprived of his office and driven into exile by Ollioll Ollum. He resolved to be avenged for the disgrace attaching to his deposition and exile. Having secured for himself the alliance and support of Beni, King of the Britons, he returned to Ireland with a powerful foreign army, having landed at Maree without opposition, probably because his return was unexpected by the monarch Art. What seems still more strange is, that he was able to

¹ *Four Masters*.

² *Ogygia*, vol. ii. p. 227.

pitch his camp there, and recruit the strength of his troops¹ by a stay of seven days.

His friends in Ireland were numerous and influential, even in the court circle. Though Art, the reigning sovereign, was nephew of Ollioll Ollum's first wife, Lugad was son of his second queen. He therefore must have been anxious for some delay, to give his friends some time to exercise their influence in his favour. Indeed, Keating states that Fin, "the general-in-chief of the Irish forces, sold his loyalty to Mac Conn." It is certain that he absented himself, with the main body of his troops, from the muster of the royal forces at Turlogh Art.

Undeterred by this unexpected defection and disloyalty, the monarch Art met the invaders on the plain of Moymuicrimhe, near Kilcornan; having marched thither probably by the Eiscir Riada highway. The contest was a fierce one, and fatal to Art. Many of the leading princes of the realm were also numbered amongst the slain. We are told by O'Flaherty² and others, that amongst those who fell in defence of their rightful sovereign were the King of Connaught and seven sons of Ollioll Ollum by his first wife. The unfortunate but brave monarch Art fell by the hand of Lugad Laga, the companion in exile of Lugad Mac Conn. O'Flaherty tells us that he fell near a brook in Aidhne.³ "But the brook has got the name of Turlogh Airt, in commemoration of this action, which it retains to this very day; being situate between Moyvoela and Kilcornan."

After this victory, Lugad was proclaimed King of Ireland, which high office, the Four Masters tell us, he held for thirty years.

This same Turlogh Art is identified by O'Donovan⁴ as the scene of another bloody contest in the year 1067, between Hugh O'Connor of "the Broken Spear," King of Connaught, and O'Ruarc, with the clans of Breifny. The death of O'Connor on the occasion, and of many of the best and bravest of his followers, is recorded by the annalists.

Mr. Hardiman, when referring to the victory of Lugad on the plain of Turlogh Art, in his notes to *Iar Connaught*, suggested that "it would be creditable to the proprietor of the soil" to have a monument erected on that historic spot. But the suggestion has remained unheeded; and the interesting and historic battlefield has been left to share the same neglect to which many other interesting monuments of a remote antiquity in Aidhne have been ruthlessly consigned.

¹ *Ogygia*, vol. ii. p. 227.

³ *Ibid.* p. 228.

² *Ibid.*

⁴ Four Masters.

We find the name of the celebrated general of the Irish forces, Fin Mac Cumhail, associated with the legendary as well as the purely authentic history of the territory. It should be remembered that, though he is the hero of many incredible bardic legends, there is no reason to doubt the historical certainty of his existence. It is regarded by O'Curry as indisputable as "that Julius Cæsar lived." In the compositions of our early bards, it is often difficult to distinguish between the real and the purely heroic; and the eventful career of Fin lent itself easily to poetical exaggeration.

O'Curry refers to an early poem which is ascribed to Fin himself, (for it seems he could wield the pen as skilfully as the sword,) in which certain events are recorded, supposed to have occurred in Aidhne. In one of his expeditions to Connaught—such is the narrative¹—"he defeated the chieftain Uinche in a battle at Ceann Mara, now known as Kinvara, on the Bay of Galway." Uinche escaped, however, with a few faithful followers, who immediately marched to Leinster, and, attacking Fin's residence in his absence, succeeded in destroying it completely. Fin soon returned home; but, finding his residence destroyed and several of his people killed, he went, with his son Oisín and his cousin Cuilte, in pursuit of the enemy, whom he overtook and slew at a ford, called ever since "Uinche's Ford." Both the ford and the district are well known in the parish of Kilmacduagh; they bear the name of the ill-fated chief to the present day.

In the well-known prose epic, "The Pursuit of Diarmait and Graine," we find the name of Fin again mentioned in connection with the territory of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne. He had pursued the errant pair to the woods of Doire Dha bhoth, where they had taken shelter. The wood referred to was situated within a valley in the Echtge ranges, which is identified as the present valley of "Chevy Chase." It is in our day a well-wooded valley, about equidistant from Lough Cutra and Loughgraney,² "of the bright salmon." The broad stream, which still retains its ancient name, "Abain da Loilgheach," rushes through those picturesque valleys to Lough Cutra, from its home in the mountains of Derry Brien. The name of the river is explained in the *Duinsenchus*, which O'Curry appropriately styles "an ancient and very curious topographical tract." It also explains the circumstances under which the Echtge Mountains received that particular designation.

The Lady Echtge, grand-daughter of Finde, one of the Tuatha Da Danaan colony, gave her name to those hills. She

¹ O'Curry, MSS. Materials, p. 303.

² Hy Maine, p. 145.

married Fergus Mac Ruidi, who held those mountains by right of his office of cupbearer to the king. He gave the mountain valleys referred to, to feed the cows which his lady brought with her as her dowry. Two of the cows, which were previously remarkable for their fruitfulness and abundant milk supplies, were placed one on either side of the river. But, as the river divided the fertile from the barren districts, the result was naturally a diminished yield on the part of the less fortunate of those interesting cattle. And so the river had from the circumstance been called by the name above given—i.e. "the river of the two milch cows"—a designation which it claims to our time.

It may be interesting to note that Hy Fiachrach Aidhne extended over a considerable portion of that district which in Ptolemy's map of Ireland is marked as the country of the Gangani. Ware infers that this tribe extended themselves not merely over the southern part of the County Galway, but over some adjoining portions of Clare. Camden thinks that they were descended from the Concani of Spain, who were Scythians originally. Such opinions manifest much learned ingenuity. But we think it better to pass at once from the region of unprofitable speculation, ingenious though it may be, and deal with certainties. It is certain that the district of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne was occupied and held from an early period by the descendants of Prince Fiachra, from whom also it derived its name. They were a brave and martial race, who seemed to have inherited much of the spirit of their royal ancestor.

Prince Fiachra, brother of Niall of the Hostages,¹ was twelve years King of Connaught. After the death of his brother Brian, he was appointed to command the army of Niall, the supreme monarch. It was while holding this high official position that Prince Fiachra marched into Munster, and at the battle of Kenry defeated the Munster forces, and exacted hostages for the future allegiance of the Kings of Munster to Niall. But through the treachery of the hostages he failed to reach Tara. They succeeded in seizing him, and having him buried alive at Hy Mac Uais, the present barony of Moy Goish in Westmeath. So died Fiachra of "the Flowing Hair," the ancestor of the tribes of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, leaving five sons, the youngest but most distinguished of whom was Dathy. So remarkable was he as a successful and brave soldier, that he was proclaimed king and successor to his illustrious father Fiachra. In 406, on the death of Niall, he succeeded as

¹ *Tribes of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 309.

supreme king, having placed his brother Awley on the throne of Connaught.

Dathy was a monarch of vast ambition, and of extraordinary military powers. He was also remarkable for his skill in the science of self-defence.¹ His high position as supreme King of Ireland did not satisfy his ambition. Like his heroic predecessor Niall, he resolved to lead his victorious troops to other countries. Our annalists refer to him² as "King of Erin, Alba, Brittain, and as far as the mountains of the Alps." Though this language may savour of exaggeration, it helps us to judge of this prince's extraordinary military successes. His authority was respected through every province in Ireland. Perhaps we can refer to no better proof of this than the fact that he exacted and obtained, without opposition, the Boru-mean tribute on three successive occasions. Unopposed at home, he was able to assert his authority abroad. Indeed, we see him bearing the Irish flag triumphantly over the remote provinces of Gaul. It must have been with strange feelings that the legions of Gaul found themselves compelled to fly before this invincible barbarian from an almost unknown island in the Northern Ocean. Our historians and annalists abound with glowing accounts of his prowess, which impart a poetic interest to his career. From the following quotation it will be seen that his triumphant career has inspired not only the annalists of the venerable and remote past, but also poets of our own age:—

"Little those veterans mind
Thundering hail or wind,
Closer their ranks they bind,
Watching the storm.
While a spear-cast or more
On the front rank before,
Dathy the sunburst bore,
Haughty his form."

The circumstances under which his extraordinary career was cut short at the foot of the Alps, A.D. 420, accord in their character with that marvellous career, though some of the circumstances may, we think, be received with caution. His death is recorded by O'Flaherty³ in the following simple words: "Dathy, the last of the Irish pagan kings, was killed by lightning at the foot of the Alps, after coming off victorious in one hundred and fifty battles, according to history." He adds: "They write that his death was a judg-

¹ Keating.

² *Tribes of Hy Fiachrach*, pp. 17, 33.

³ *Ogygia*, Part ii. p. 351.

ment for having violated the cell and hermitage of St. Firmin." The hermit here referred to with some hesitation is said to be Firminus, a supposed King of Thrace, who had resigned his kingdom and crown, that he might serve God in that remote solitude. He had built himself a tower there, in "which he saw not a ray of the sun or other light." But it would seem that neither the king nor his soldiers hesitated to violate the hermit's retreat. In punishment for this impiety, the monarch was,¹ it is recorded, struck dead on the spot by lightning. Thus perished the last of the pagan kings of Ireland, the ancestor of the tribes of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne.

Of his many sons, Ollioll Molt succeeded as King of Connaught, and after some time as monarch of Ireland. But it was from his third son, Eochaid Breac, that the chief tribes of Aidhne are descended. This Eochaid had a son Eoghan, who was fostered by one of the Firbolg tribes then resident in the territory of Aidhne. He is known in history as "Eoghan Aidhne," from the fact that he was "fostered in the territory of Aidhne."² The tribes who resided there at the period were the "Oig Beathra,"³ who held the northern portions of the territory, and to whose fostering care the young prince was entrusted; the Caonrighe, who occupied Ard Aidhne, or Ardrahan; and the Cainraigh Oga Beathra of Dubh-ros, or Durus. The simple record of the descendants of "Eoghan Aidhne," the son of Eochaid Breac, as recorded in the *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, may be interesting here.

"Eoghan Aidhne, son of Eochaid Breac, was called Eoghan Aidhne because it was in the territory of Aidhne he was fostered by the tribe called 'Oga Beathra, the third tribe who inhabited Aidhne before the Hy Fiachrach,' as already mentioned. The Oig Beathra came from the country of Ealla, and were of the tribe of Eoghan Taidhleach. They took possession of the northern part of Aidhne, and it was they that fostered Eoghan Aidhne, the son of Eochaid Breac."

The country of Ealla is identified by O'Donovan, in his Notes to the *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*,⁴ as "a well-known district, and now a barony in the county of Cork, and takes its name from the river Ealla, or Alloe, which flows through it." The *Book of Hy Fiachrach* adds that the Oga Beathra also fostered Eoghan Beul, the son of Ceallagh, "grandson of Dathy, and they were his faction when he was assuming the government of Connaught." And it continues: "Eoghan Aidhne was the foster-son of those tribes, and it was

¹ *Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 21; *Ogygia*, loc. cit.

² *Tribes of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 55.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ P. 53.

the Oga Beathra, as we have already stated, that maintained the territory of Aidhne for him and his descendants after him." The fidelity of this tribe to the descendants is thus clearly attested. They were faithful to him and to his descendants. Eoghan Aidhne¹ had four sons—Conall, Cormac, Seuona, and Seachnasach, from whom St. Sairnait was descended, and the several tribes of the territory, the O'Heynes, the O'Clerys, the O'Kilkellys,² the O'Shaughnessys, and others.

The line of descent of the tribes of Southern Hy Fiachra may be more concisely given in the following quotation from O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*:³ "King Dathy had Achy Breac, from whom are descended the Hy Fiachrians in the county of Galway, near Thomond."

¹ *Tribes of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 53.

² Keating.

³ Vol. ii. p. 250.

CHAPTER II.

The provincial kings who resided in the territory of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne—Mac Éarc, Colman, Loigneun, and Guaire—Royal Raths at Kinvara and Gort—Guaire entertains the Bards at Gort—He is the kinsman of Cummian, St. Colman, and St. Caimin; the friend of St. Fechin and St. Maidoc—Guaire defeated at Carn Fearadhaigh by Failbe Flann—The battle of Carn Conail, near Gort—The murder of St. Ceallagh—Guaire does penance, and is buried at Clonmacnoise, A.D. 663—His character.

THE references made by our Irish poets to the chiefs and territory of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne are very flattering. To illustrate this, we shall quote from O'Duggan's topographical poem, cited at considerable length by O'Donovan :¹—

“ Let us approach Aidhne of the steeds,
Their nobility and hospitality ;
Let us follow their kings, who are not few ;
Let us touch upon the race of the nobles.

Let us treat of Aidhne, it is a duty without condition ;
Let us leave the tribes of Connaught ;
Let us sweetly sing their chieftains out ;
Let us celebrate the chiefs of Hy Fiachrach.”

We are informed in the *Book of Hy Fiachrach*² that “ Colman, Guaire Aidhne, Muireheartach, and Loighnen were four kings of Connaught, who dwelt in Aidhne.” The ancient poem quoted by Mac Firbis gives us a very similar record :—

“ Four kings of the province of Connaught
Dwelt in *great Aidhne, land of saints*,—
Muireheartach, one of the perfect breed,
Laighnen, Guaire, and Colman Caomb.”

Muireheartach, as O'Donovan assures us,³ was great-grandson of Niall of the Hostages. He also tells us that in the year 515 he attained the position of supreme King of Ireland. He was known by the surname of Mac Éarc. His reign, which was very eventful, continued for twenty-four years.⁴ During

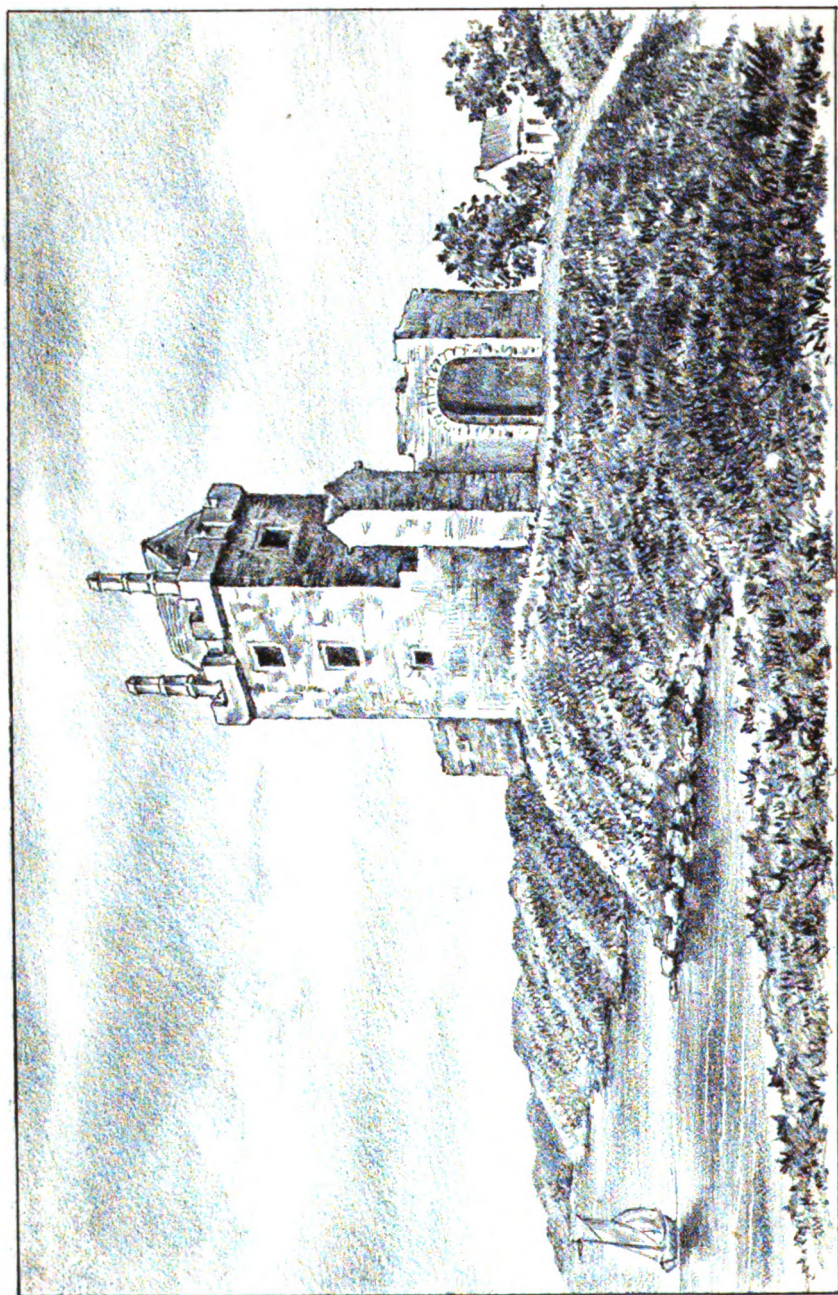
¹ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 61.

³ *Ibid.* p. 311.

² *Ibid.* p. 93.

⁴ Four Masters.





DUNGORA CASTLE.

in 1663, the year of the capture of the island by the British. The island was then a small, remote, and uninhabited place. It was only in the early part of the eighteenth century that it began to be settled by a few Chinese fishermen and traders. The first Chinese settlement was at the foot of the mountain now known as Victoria Peak. The Chinese called this place 'Xin-mo-shan' (新磨山), which means 'New Grinding Mountain'. The Chinese also called it 'Yung-sing' (永興), which means 'Everlasting Prosperity'. The Chinese settlement at the foot of the mountain was the only one on the island at that time.

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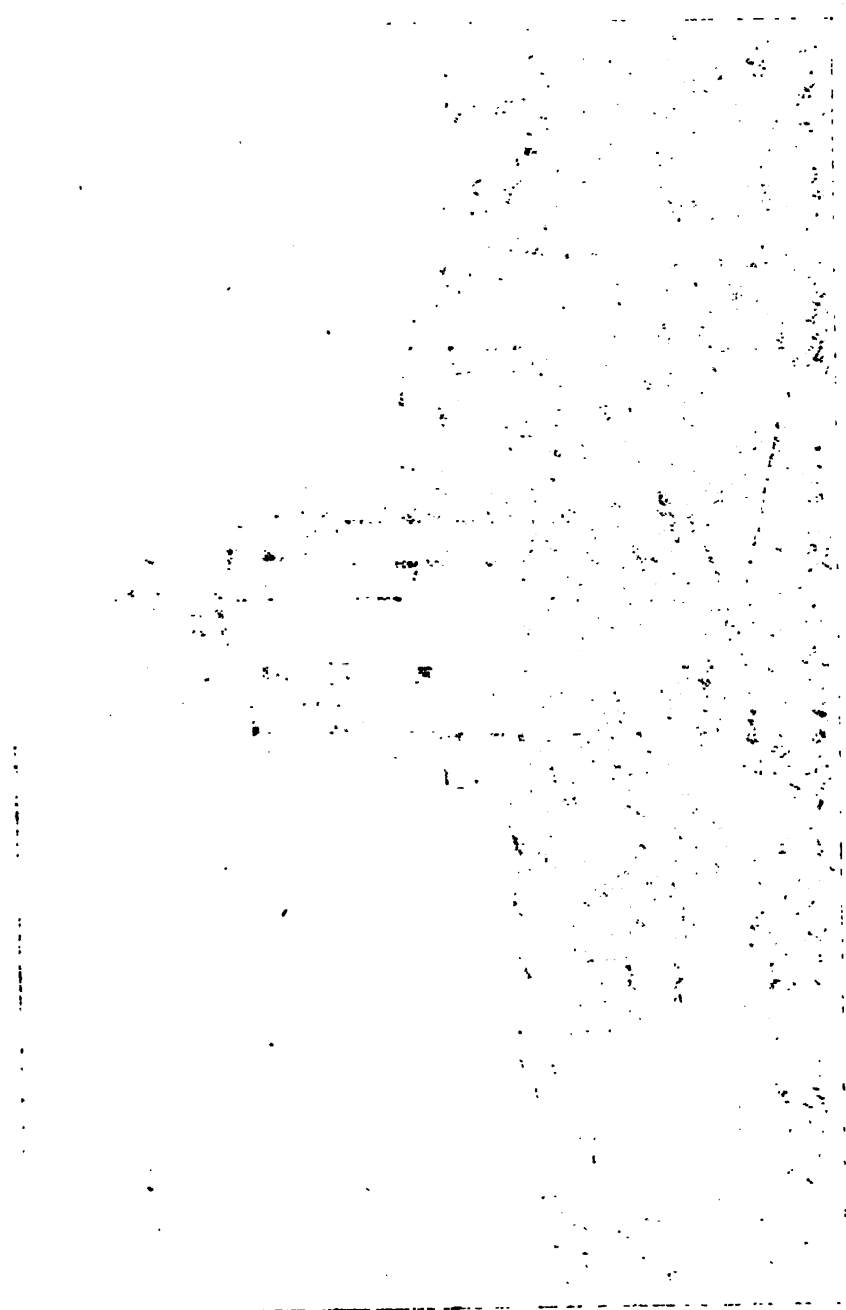
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¹ See page 186.

² See page 186.

³ See page 186.



nose twenty-four years, the annals contain the records of the deaths of many of our early saints. It was in the twenty-second year of his reign that St. Bridget died. Reference is made by our annalists, in the twenty-third year of his reign, to his "virtues on the hill of Tara and on the plains of Kildare, also on the hill of Kinneigh, adjoining Wicklow." The battle of Aidhne, in the same year, is also referred to. His death is recorded in the year 527.

The battle of Claonloch in Cinel Aidhne is recorded A.D. 531, in which the victory was gained by Goibhneann, chief of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, against the chief of Hy Maine. This Goibhneann was, O'Donovan tells us, great-grandfather of the celebrated Guaire Aidhne, King of Connaught.

Colman succeeded Muireheartach, after a short interval, as King of Connaught. He reigned for twenty-one years; and fell at the battle of Cambo, near Roscommon, by the hands of Ragellach. Colman¹ was son of Cobhtach, son of Goibhneen, son of Eoghan Aidhne. He married the mother of St. Caimin of Inis Cealtra.²

Colman's sons were Loigneun³ and Guaire Aidhne.

Though Loigneun is enumerated amongst the kings of Connaught, the Four Masters have preserved no notice of him. We find, however, in the *Book of Hy Fiachrach* a brief reference to his reign, which tells us that he was "seven years in the government of Connaught when he fell." He was succeeded by his celebrated brother, the "renowned Guaire Aidhne."

The royal residence, subsequently transferred to Cruachan, was then at "Rath Durlais."⁴ In the *Book of Lecan* it is styled "the fort of lasting fame," and also—

"The white-sheeted fort of soft stones,
Habitation of poets and bishops."

The fort of Durlais occupied the site of the existing Castle of Dunguaire, which was erected by Rory More O'Shaughnessy in the early part of the sixteenth century, on the site of the royal Rath. It stood on the most inland point of Galway Bay, and close to the present town of Kinvara.

It was not, however, the only royal residence in the territory of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne. There was another which occupied an interesting situation on an island formed by the river of Gort. It was known as "*Gort insi Guaire*," and occupied the site of the present military barracks of the town.

Guaire, King of Connaught, stands out prominently amongst

¹ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 313.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 391.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 279.

the illustrious characters of the important period in which he lived. He was the friend and generous patron of the holy and learned men of his time; so that poets and bishops alike were usual and ever welcome guests at his royal "fort of lasting fame." Indeed, the bards did not fail to celebrate his generosity in the privileged language of poetic exaggeration. They represented his right hand as longer than his left, owing to the almost unremitting exercise of generous beneficence. "As generous as Guaire" was accepted then, and for centuries after, as the recognised formula for expressing the most lavish generosity.

The following narrative, referred to by O'Curry, will illustrate the extent to which the poets of his time—a privileged class—calculated upon and experienced the hospitality of the generous king.

After the celebrated Seanchan Torpest had been elected to the high and important position of chief poet of Ireland, he visited the hospitable King of Connaught at his palace at Gort-insiguair. He came attended by a goodly portion of his official retinue. It consisted of "one hundred and fifty learned poets, one hundred and fifty pupils, with a corresponding number of women, servants, dogs," etc.

Guaire received his distinguished visitor in the kindest manner, and entertained him and his learned and numerous retinue for "a year, a quarter, and a month," and in a fashion truly royal.

O'Curry broadly insinuates that the conduct of the scholars was not on the occasion all that could be desired. The conversion of the palace into a sort of college of Irish bards may have been interesting for a period, but it must have proved inconvenient to his Majesty and his court; so the wise Mearbhan, brother of Guaire, with a delicate appreciation of the difficulties in which his Majesty was placed, suggested a stratagem. It was to ask the Laureate Seanchan to recite the much-prized epic of the "Tain Bo," which, it was well known to all, had long been lost. Mr. Ferguson, in his *Lays of the Western Gael*, tells the story in imperishable verse. He represents Guaire as addressing the poet in the following words:—

"Bear the cup to Seanchan Torpest;
Yield the bard his poet's meed;
What we've heard was but a foretaste;
Lays more lofty now succeed.
Though my stores be emptied well-nigh,
Twin bright cups there yet remain;
Win them with the raid of Cuaillegne;
Chant us, bard, the famous "Tain."

Thus in hall of Gort spake Guary ;
 For the king, let truth be told,
 Bounteous though he was, was weary
 Giving goblets, giving gold—
 Giving aught the bard demanded.
 But when for the 'Tain' he called,
 Seanchan from his seat descended ;
 Shame and anger fired the scald."

Though rising in "shame and anger" to depart, he does not appear to have been ungrateful for the attention he received at the hands of his royal host. He accordingly presented his Majesty with a farewell poem, from which we take the following stanzas, which mark his appreciation of the favours of his royal patron:—

"We depart from thee, O stainless Guaire ;
 A year, a quarter, and a month
 Have we sojourned with thee, O high King.

Three times fifty poets, good and smooth ;
 Three times fifty students in the poetic art,
 Each with a servant and a dog,—
 They were all fed in the one great house.

Each man had his separate meal,
 Each man had his separate bed ;
 We never arose at early morning
 Without contentions, without calming.

I declare to Thee, O God,
 Who canst the promise verify,
 That, should we return to our own lands,
 We shall visit thee again, O Guaire, tho' now we depart."

This Mearbhan to whom we have referred is not merely styled "wise," but he is also called a "holy hermit." But his hermitage of "Glean na Scail," referred to by O'Curry, does not appear to have been identified by our antiquarians.

It may, however, be asked whether the ancient church of Kilomorán, situated on the margin of Lough Deechan, may not be one with which the name is identified. As it would be difficult to find a place more suggestive of weird loneliness, the pious solitary may have erected a hermitage there; and Kil Ui Mearbhan may have been anglicised Kilomorán.

As the generous king was patron of the bards and learned men, so too he cultivated the friendship of the principal Saints of his time and district. Some of the most celebrated of these were his own kinsmen and relatives.

St. Caimin of Inis Cealtra was, as we have noted, his half-

brother. Referring to this subject, the learned editor of the *Customs of Hy Fiachrach*¹ tells us that Colman, who was father of Guaire Aidhne, married the mother of St. Caimin of Inis Cealtra. This, of course, clearly implies that St. Caimin's mother, whose name was Cummianea, had been married previously. Colgan attests the same fact in the following words: "Cummianea, daughter of Delbronius, was mother of Caimin and Guaire."

The fact is also attested with equal clearness by the Four Masters:² "Guaire and Caimin of Inis Cealtra had the same mother, as is said, 'Cumman, daughter of Dalbronach, was the mother of Caimin and Guaire.'"

Our annalists make an additional statement in reference to this remarkable lady, too strange not to be referred to here, though it will appear to many as obviously incredible. It is that "seven and seventy was the number born of her." This statement is practically repeated by Colgan. It is, however, pretty clear that he merely wishes to convey that seventy-seven reputed Saints were descended from her. "*Ex ejus semini prodiisse feruntur septuaginta septem reliqui sancti.*"

The celebrated St. Cummian "the Tall"—one of the most remarkable of the Saints of his time—is also referred to as a half-brother of the king, by Colgan. The statement is repeated by Dr. Healy in his well-known work on *Ireland's Ancient Schools*.³

A knowledge of the king's relations with those two celebrated Saints adds additional interest to a curious legend which Dr. Moran has extracted from the *Felire of Aengus*, and which we think may be quoted here:—

"Once upon a time that the Guaire Aidhne and Cummian Fota and Caimine of Inis Cealtra were in the church of Inis Cealtra in Loch Deirgheire, namely, the great church that was built by Caimine there; they were then giving spiritual counsel to Guaire. 'Well, O Guaire,' said Caimine, 'what wouldst thou wish to have this church in which we are, filled with?' Guaire answered him and said, 'I would wish to have it full of gold and silver; and not from covetousness of this world, but that I might give it for my soul to saints and churches, and in like manner to every one that would ask for it.' 'God will give thee help, O Guaire,' said Caimine, 'and will grant thee the expectation thou hast formed for the good of thy soul; and hereafter thou shalt possess heaven.' 'We are thankful,' said Guaire. 'But thou, O Cummian,' said Guaire, 'what wouldst thou wish to have in it?' 'I would wish,' said Cummian, 'to

¹ P. 391.² Anno 662.³ P. 230.

have it full of books to instruct studious men, and to disseminate the word of God into the ears of all, to bring them from following Satan unto the Lord.'

"But thou, O Caimine,' said they, 'what wouldst thou wish to have in it?' Caimine answered them and said, 'I would wish to have the full of it of disease and sickness to lie on my body, and myself to be suffering my pain.' And so they obtained their wishes from God,—viz. the earth to Guaire, wisdom to Cummian Fota, and sickness and disease to Caimine, so that not one bone of him remained united to the other on earth, but his flesh dissolved, and his nerves, with the excess of every disease that fell upon him."

Apart from any historical value this legend may be supposed to possess, it throws into an interesting and striking light the distinguishing features in the character of each of the parties to this little episode, viz. Guaire's generosity, Caimine's penitential spirit, and Cummian's love of learning.

We shall see in another chapter that the king was also close allied to the holy founder of Kilmacduagh by bonds of kindred as well as of personal friendship.

But there were also many contemporary Saints with whom he was intimately associated, though by ties of friendship only. Indeed, we find him styled by the Saints of his time "the pious king," as with the Bards he was the "hospitable Guaire." At one time, when St. Fechin and his companions were engaged in converting the pagans on the island of Immagh, they were reduced to extreme distress by the hostility of the islanders.¹ "But Guaire, hearing of their distress, sent them abundance of provisions." And with those much-needed supplies he is also said to have sent the holy man his own cup.

We have in the life of St. Madoc of Ferns a striking instance of the Saint's affection for the king. He was just about setting out for Cashel, on one occasion, when he ascertained² that Guaire was lying dangerously ill; on receiving this intelligence, he set out at once for Dun Guaire, and it is recorded that "the king regained his health through the Saint's prayers."

Though Guaire Aidhne had no inconsiderable share in the wars of his time, we cannot establish for him a high military fame. The fixing of the boundaries between the kingdoms of Munster and Connaught had proved even before his time a fruitful source of misunderstanding between the royal claimants. It would suit the Connaught kings to make the Shannon the boundary of the southern limits of their kingdom. On this

¹ Lanigan, vol. iii. pp. 45, 50.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 339.

subject we are assured by Hardiman,¹ that “Luig Meann deprived the Connacians of Clare and Thomond. He converted the whole into ‘Fearan Cliomh,’ or sword land, for the maintenance of his knights, in order to secure his country against the Connacians. In an endeavour to recover this back in the year 550, Guara, King of Connaught, was defeated with dreadful slaughter.” The inaccuracy of the date is obvious, as Colman, father of Guaire, reigned till 617. It may be a misprint for 650—which is given by some as the date of the victory gained by Diarmot over Guaire, at Carn Conail, near Gort.

In 622 we find that he was defeated at Carn Fearadhaigh, near Limerick, by Failbe Flann. The annalists expressly record that “he fled from the field.” Though the annalists do not record the cause of the battle, there can be no doubt that it was connected with the frontier question. In this defeat of Guaire, Conall, the King of Hy Maine, with several other nobles, was slain.

His defeat at Carn Conail in the year indicated, at the hands of Diarmot, son of Aedh Slaine, cannot be the defeat referred to by Mr. Hardiman. O'Donovan identifies this Carn Conail as the present Ballyconnell, in the parish of Kilbecanty, near Gort, and states that it was certainly within the ancient territory of Aidhne. He writes: “It appears from an account of this battle preserved in *Leabhar na h'Uidhri*, in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, that Carn Conail is situated in the territory of Aidhne, which was co-extensive with the diocese of Kilmacduagh, in the county of Galway. This place is probably that now called ‘Ballyconnell,’ in the parish of Kilbecanty, near Gort.” This battle is noticed in the *Annals of Ulster* and in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*.

We are informed by the annalists that King Diarmot, on his march to meet the forces of Guaire, had visited the shrine of St. Ciaran at Clonmacnoise. “He was met by the abbot, prelates, and clergy of Clonmacnoise, in procession, when they prayed God and St. Ciaran to give him the victory over his enemies, which God granted at their requests.” And Diarmot returned to Clonmacnoise to congratulate the clergy, “by whose intercession he gained that victory,” and to confer upon them substantial proofs of his gratitude. There can be no doubt that Guaire's defeat was complete, and that many distinguished personages,² amongst whom was the King of Munster, were slain on the occasion.

As he was supported by the King of Munster with his chieftains on this occasion, we cannot assume that the battle of

¹ *History of Galway*, p. 38.

² Four Masters, A.D. 642 (*recte* 649).

Carn Conail was in any way connected with the question of the rectification of boundary between Munster and Connaught.

There can be very little doubt that Diarmot, who, with his brother Blathmac,¹ was joint monarch of Ireland, crossed the Shannon, and marched against Guaire and his allies, for the purpose of deposing him from the sovereignty of Connaught, for his complicity in the murder of St. Ceallagh, the Prince-Bishop of Kilmore Moy. The bishop's brother, Cugiongelt, who urged his deposition with all his influence, was married to the Princess Aifi,² daughter of Blathmac and niece of Diarmot. And in the murdered bishop's connection with Clonmacnoise we shall find an explanation of the interest manifested by the religious there in Diarmot's success against the "pious and hospitable" Guaire.

St. Ceallagh was eldest son of Eoghan Beul, who ruled Connaught thirty years, and had succeeded Amailghaigh in the sovereignty. Though heir to the crown of his native province, his ambition was not for earthly honours. It was of a higher and a holier kind. He renounced the world, and placed himself under the guidance of St. Ciaran, the holy Abbot of Clonmacnoise, leaving an only brother, Cugiongelt, who was also called Muireadhach, to inherit the crown.³ At the battle of Sligo, in 537, Eoghan Beul was defeated by Fergus and Domhnall, and wounded mortally, and as he felt the approach of death, he advised his people to induce his son Ceallagh to leave Clonmacnoise, and assume the sovereignty, as his brother was not of age. In an evil hour, the young prince, attracted by the prospect of the immediate possession of royal power, left the safe enclosure of his monastery without the permission or knowledge of its holy abbot. But the intelligence of his rashness, when it reached St. Ciaran, naturally excited his displeasure. He probably foresaw the dangers to which, through intrigue and faction, his young disciple would necessarily be exposed by the circumstances of his royal birth. We are assured that St. Ciaran not merely denounced, but cursed him solemnly for his conduct. Meantime, his learning and piety were so conspicuous, that he was appointed Bishop of Kilmore Moy.

The bishop lived in comparative retirement, probably influenced by the terrible denunciations of his venerated master. Yet he was regarded by Guaire as a powerful and dangerous rival, who, if he did not wear the crown himself, would at least secure it for his brother Cugiongelt.⁴ He accordingly laid

¹ *Ogygia*, p. 374.

² *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 415.

³ *Four Masters*.

⁴ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 415.

a plot for his immediate assassination. The *Book of Hy Fiachrach*¹ tells us that the assassination was carried out by the bishop's four foster-brothers, who were his habitual attendants, at the instigation of Guaire Aidhne, son of Colman, through envy about the sovereignty.

The murder was soon after discovered, and summary vengeance wreaked on the murderers by the young Cugiongelt, who slew them in "revenge for their fratricide." After this, Cugiongelt received the hostages of Northern Hy Fiachrach and Tirawley, and the sovereignty of Guaire was limited to Aidhne. The effect of the crime upon the public mind was necessarily a strong public feeling against its instigator. And as the murdered bishop had been so intimately connected with Clonmacnoise in his early years, it was natural that the community should show publicly, that the instigator of the murder had forfeited their sympathy and regard.

It is certain that Guaire's defeat at Carn Conail heralded the decay of his authority. Cugiongelt, as the son-in-law of Blathmac, compelled him to retire to Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, and limited his authority to that particular district for the remainder of his life.

It is sad that so bright a career should have been stained by so great a crime. But the penances with which he endeavoured to atone for it were such as won for him, even before the close of his life, the esteem of his fellows. Dr. Healy,² after informing us that Diarmot "secured the right of sepulture at Clonmacnoise, and was himself buried there," immediately adds, "What is stranger still, his rival Guaire, towards the close of his life, came to do penance at Clonmacnoise; and he too, the Generous and the Hospitable, was buried there in A.D. 663."

The record of his death, as given in the *Book of Hy Fiachrach*, is worth citing here.

"Guaire Aidhne, son of Colman, son of Cobhtach, was thirteen years in the government of Connaught, when he died penitently, and was interred at Clonmacnoise, *with great honour and veneration.*"³

In the foregoing narrative we have abstained from referring to many legendary narratives in connection with Guaire, though there are many such given by the Venerable Keating in his history. It may, however, be interesting to direct the attention of our readers to one which in part illustrates strikingly the characters of both kings, Diarmot and Guaire.

It appears that, after the battle of Carn Conail, the rival

¹ *Loc. cit.* p. 33.

² *Irish Schools*, p. 271.

³ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 314.

kings were reconciled. Diarmot, as a proof of his esteem, invited Guaire to the great national fair of Tailtean. "The two princes with a noble retinue came to Tailtean, and Guaire carried with him a great quantity of money to dispose of in acts of charity, and upon other occasions as opportunity afforded. But Diarmot, understanding the generosity of his nature, gave secret orders through the whole fair, that no person should presume on any account to apply to Guaire for his charity. Three days after his arrival, Guaire, perceiving no miserable object to implore his relief, was so dejected, that he desired the king to allow him the attendance of a good bishop, to whom he might confess, and from whose hands he might receive absolution and the holy ointment. The king, surprised, asked him what he intended by this request? He answered, that his death he was certain was approaching, because he was unable to live without exercising his charity. The king immediately revoked his order, and by that means opened a way to the bounty of his royal companion," etc.

But from the gleanings of his history which we have given, we may form a fairly correct estimate of the "pious and charitable" King of Connaught. As long as impartial history must record the murder of St. Ceallagh at the instigation of Guaire, so long shall we have to deplore in his character the evil results of an inordinate ambition, a not uncommon vice at every period of the world's history.

Yet there can be no doubt that extraordinary benevolence, combined with strong religious feelings, formed the most prominent and striking features in his character. As his hospitality was unequalled, so too was his zeal in the cause of religion without a parallel, during the long and eventful term of his reign.

We have seen that it is recorded, that "he died penitently." Even the community of Clonmacnoise seemed satisfied as to the sufficiency of his "penances," for they threw open their church to celebrate his obsequies, and his remains were laid within its walls with "great honour and veneration."

CHAPTER III.

ST. CEALLAGH, PATRON OF ISER KELLY.

ST. CEALLAGH, whose sad death cast its tragic shadow on the otherwise bright career of Guaire, King of Connaught, was great-grandson of Ollioll Molt, son of Fiachra, and therefore a near kinsman of Guaire. His father, Eoghan Beul, was King of Connaught; and as eldest son he was himself rightful heir to the crown. But the young prince's ambition was for heavenly things, and for a crown that never fades. Renouncing the world accordingly, in his early years, he placed himself under the spiritual guidance of St. Ciaran, the holy founder of Clonmacnoise. Though he renounced the world, however, he was unable to escape the importunities of interested friends, who saw in his retirement an obstacle to their own advancement. They therefore importuned him to abandon his monastery and assert his just claims to the throne. Owing to the circumstances of his father's death, they were to some extent successful.

Mortally wounded at the battle of Sligo, A.D. 537,¹ Eoghan Beul expressed a wish that Ceallagh should be asked by his people to leave his holy retreat and accept the provincial crown, as his brother was not of a sufficiently advanced age to succeed him. The royal message was stealthily conveyed to the prince, who, without consulting his holy guide, quitted the monastery, and placed himself at the head of a large force, who were prepared, if necessary, to support his claims by an appeal to arms. Meantime, St. Ciaran, having ascertained the flight of his young novice, was filled with indignation at his disobedience; and, as Keating assures us,² "cursed him with a most dreadful imprecation." It was, no doubt, with a prophetic knowledge of the future that he "implored Heaven to blast his designs." When Ceallagh got intelligence of the holy abbot's indignation, he was smitten with remorse, and resolved to

¹ Four Masters.

² *History of Ireland*, p. 354, Duffey's Edition; also Four Masters, anno 532.

return without delay to his monastery, and seek his abbot's forgiveness. Quitting the world once more, with its bright prospects, he repaired to Clonmacnoise, and, casting himself at St. Ciaran's feet, he humbly sought forgiveness. The penitent disciple also promised implicit obedience in future, declaring his readiness to secure his abbot's counsel in his future undertakings. St. Ciaran was moved by the tears of his disciple; but, though giving him willing assurance of the forgiveness which he sought, he at the same time ominously foretold that he had yet to pay the penalty of his disobedience—Heaven, he assured him, had decreed that his death should be violent and unexpected.

The young disciple meantime applied himself assiduously to his monastic duties, and soon became highly distinguished for virtue and knowledge. Ultimately, indeed, his attainments marked him out as worthy of the episcopal dignity. He was accordingly consecrated Bishop of Kilmore Moy. Though engaged in the faithful and exemplary discharge of the duties of his sacred office, he was still supposed to manifest an interest in the succession to the throne. His widespread and powerful influence, which was as much the result of his great virtues as of his royal birth, he was supposed by some to use in favour of his brother, and against Guaire. Some writers¹ think this opinion well founded; and that the holy bishop was anxious to retain the succession in his own branch of the royal line of Fiachra. It is certain, at least, that either his open advocacy of his brother's claims to the crown, or his supposed sympathy, provoked the hostility of Guaire. O'Donovan tells us that at this juncture St. Ceallagh resigned his episcopal charge, that he might in solitude devote himself more earnestly to God. It may be also assumed that he may have desired to hide himself from his jealous and angry kinsman.

He constructed his hermitage on an island in Lough Con, and there he retired with four disciples, his own foster-brothers.² Guaire's agents, however, succeeded in discovering his retreat, and in so corrupting his disciples by promises, as to have them undertake to have him assassinated. The murderers were but too successful in the perpetration of their foul and sacrilegious crime. The murder was perpetrated in a wood between "Lough Con and Lough Cuillin in the south of Tirawley."³ We are told that they kept him the night before his murder shut up in the hollow of an oak,⁴ and then dragged him

¹ Keating, *loc. cit.*

² *Loc. cit.*

³ *Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 415.

⁴ Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, vol. ii. p. 367.

forth into the open space and assassinated him. Thus fell the holy Bishop Ceallagh, in whose sudden and sanguinary death was seen the verification of St. Ciaran's prophecy. In connection with his death Montalembert preserves for us a beautiful legend which he borrows from the Bolandists. It tells us that two stags came forth from the forest and brought his body back to the hollow of the aged oak which had been his last resting-place. Meantime, the murderers had received from Guaire a grant of the territory of Tirawley as a reward for their treachery and crime.

Cugiongelt, the holy bishop's brother, suspicious of Guaire's designs, and apprehensive for his brother's safety, came to his hermitage at Lough Con. Not finding him there, his worst fears were strengthened. After a laborious search and lengthened inquiries, he succeeded in discovering his mangled remains. He also succeeded in tracing the foul crime to the faithless and treacherous disciples by whom it was perpetrated. They had constructed a strong fort at Dun Fine; and as Cugiongelt had long before left the district for Meath, where he got married to the daughter of the monarch Blathmac, they fancied themselves in entire security from danger from him or from his friends. They were keeping high festival at Dun Fine with their supporters, when Cugiongelt returned unexpectedly. Having assumed a convenient disguise, he easily obtained permission to join the revellers, where, awaiting a convenient opportunity, he signalled for his followers, a tried band of three hundred armed men, who easily overpowered the guards, and carried the murderers away as prisoners. On the following day they expiated their crime by execution on the heights of Ardnaree.

Cugiongelt had the remains of his holy brother solemnly borne to the church of Eisceacha, where, despite the danger of offending Guaire, they were interred with special solemnity. We are assured that after this Cugiongelt secured the sympathy and support of the tribes of Tirawley and Northern Hy Fiachrach,¹ and that they withdrew their allegiance from the king. During the remainder of his reign, his royal authority was limited to Aidhne. The sanctity of St. Ceallagh was widely recognised. Colgan informs us that his festival was celebrated on the 1st of May. In the diocese of Kilmacduagh we have an ancient church dedicated to his name. The church, an uninteresting and comparatively modern ruin, of which little more than the side walls remain, probably occupies the site of an older church. It gives its name to a district,

¹ *Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 416.

once an independent parish, which is long incorporated in the present parish of Kilchrist. Its modern name, "Iser Kelly," is correctly identified by Mr. Joyce as Disert Ceallagh, the Disert Ceallagh of the Four Masters. In the interesting map of the diocese of Kilmacduagh prefixed to the *Customs of Hy Maine*, this church is given with its old Irish name. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that Disert means a secluded place, and is generally used in Ireland to designate those secluded spots in which our hermits were wont to hide themselves in the early period of our Church history. In modern times the word has assumed various forms. It is found as Dysert, Ister, and Iser.

It is not improbable that St. Ceallagh may have come amongst his kindred in Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, and might have had a cell where his church was afterwards erected. There can be no doubt of its antiquity. The Four Masters record that Tuam, Disert Kelly, Kilmaine, etc., were burned in the year A.D. 1180; and O'Donovan identifies the Disert Kelly mentioned here as the name of an "ancient church and parish in the diocese of Kilmacduagh." In A.D. 1598 we find Disert Kelly again referred to by our annalists as the seat of a leading branch of the De Burgo family, who were generally known as the Mac Hubert Burkes. In the twenty-eighth year of Elizabeth's reign, we find the Presbytery and Vicarage of Dysert Kelly referred to on the taxation returns of the diocese made for her Majesty.

There can be no doubt that the memory of the holy victim of King Guaire's ambition was long honoured there. But his memory and name have alike passed away, and his festival is entirely forgotten in the district.

CHAPTER IV.

Early development of sanctity in Aidhne—Did St. Patrick preach in Galway?—St. Coman's Church at Kinvara destroyed by the Ua Carras—St. Colman Ua Fiachrach—His Feast—St. Sourney—Her Church and Holy Well at Drounacoo—St. Foila of Kileely.

It is generally assumed that our national apostle never preached in the county of Galway. Though this opinion does not seem to rest on direct evidence, still the negative evidence seems sufficiently strong to justify the assumption. It may be interesting, however, to note a statement here which O'Curry casually advances on the authority of one of our ancient poems,—“The Dialogue of the Ancient Men,”¹—to the effect that St. Patrick on one occasion passed through Limerick, Cratloe, *Sliabh Echtghe*, and many other places, into Hy Maine, on his way to the royal palace at Roscommon. Should it be thought that this statement may possess historical authority, it would follow that our great apostle blessed Galway by his presence; nay, as the *Echtge* ranges are principally in Aidhne, it would follow that a portion of Kilmacduagh diocese was sanctified by his footsteps.

There is a well-sustained popular tradition in the district of Derry Brien, a village within those *Echtge* Mountains, to the effect that St. Patrick and his associates made a brief stay there as he journeyed through. The village is situated in the Clonfert diocese, and adjoins the extreme eastern extremity of the diocese of Kilmacduagh.

Without intending to discuss the value of the existing tradition, or of the ancient legend, we think they possess sufficient interest to merit passing reference at least.

But the early growth of the Christian religion in Aidhne and the surrounding districts, remains enveloped in obscurity. But the fact that St. Enda, with his flock, found it necessary in his day

“To teach the infidels from Corcomroe,”²

¹ MSS. Materials, p. 312.

² “Voyage of St. Brendan,” Macarthy's poem.

and the additional fact that St. Fechin still later, had to struggle against the infidels of Immagh, shows clearly that along the western coast the spread of Christianity was slower, and attended with greater difficulties, than in the other portions of Ireland, in which our great apostle had laboured and preached. There can, however, be no doubt that the light of Christianity had not merely dawned upon Aidhne, but that it shone upon it with brightest lustre in the reign of King Guaire and of his father Colman. There is no evidence whatever to show that the growth of the Christian religion was retarded by any aggressive action on the part of those along the western coast, who may for a time have clung to the old pagan superstitions. Yet we have reason to believe that the peace of the Church was sometimes disturbed by fierce and unprovoked outrage.

In the singular story of the sons of Ua Carra, referred to by O'Curry,¹ we find that the churches of Tuam, Kinvara, and many others, were destroyed about the middle of the sixth century.² As Mr. O'Curry puts the facts, we are told that the Ua Carra brothers collected around them some desperate men, and entered on "an indiscriminate war of destruction against the Christian churches of Connaught and their priests." But as the legend is invested with a true poetic charm by Mr. T. D. Sullivan, I may be excused for citing his words. He writes :—

" We were brothers wild and free,
Rough and strong and fierce of will ;
Alike in shape and mind were we,
We loved but war and cruelty,
And found our joy in doing ill.

Prepared at last with dire intent,
Forth from our meeting-place we burst,
And, scattering terror as we went,
To Tuam's church our way we bent
To wreck that sacred pile the first."

Graphically indeed does the poet sketch the work of ruin in the following stanza :—

" We slew the priests that could not flee,
We gathered altar, bench, and door,
Mitres and vestments fair to see,
We heaped them high, and hurriedly
We burned them on the blood-stained floor."

¹ MSS. Materials, p. 290.

² A.D. 540, *circa*.

Then follows a reference to their visit to Kinvara:—

“Then for Kinvara shaped our way
 For mild St. Coman's house of prayer.
 'Twas well he fled at close of day:
 That night the waves of Galway Bay
 Were brightened with its lurid glare.”

In the course of some little time those sacrilegious desperadoes are touched with remorse, and, under the guidance of St. Finnian of Clonard, they resolve to do penance. The Saint gave them his benediction, and then said, “You cannot restore to life those innocent ecclesiastics whom you have slain, but you can go and repair and restore, as far as it is in your power, the many churches and other buildings which you have desecrated and ruined.”¹ The penitent brothers willingly undertook the great duty of public satisfaction to which they were thus committed by their holy guide, and, having restored all the churches *except one*, they returned to St. Finnian, and informed him that the church of Kinvara alone was neglected by them. The Saint replied, “That was *the first church* which you ought to have repaired—the church of the holy old man Coman of Kinvara. And return now,” said he, “and repair every damage you have done in that place.”

“And when our course was nearly run,
 We sought the holy Saint once more;
 We told him of our labours done,
 The churches builded *all but one*,
 Far distant on Kinvara's shore.

‘Go, sons,’ said he, ‘from hence away;
 To far Kinvara travel fast.
 St. Coman's Church by Galway Bay
 Was not the house your hearts should say
 To leave a ruin to the last.’”

Obedient to the Saint's commands, the brothers immediately repaired to Kinvara, and restored its church to more than its original beauty.

“We kissed his hands, and forth we hied,
 To Galway's coast our steps we turned,
 And soon above the dark blue tide
 The church towered up in stately pride,
 And grander than the church we burned.”

Of the St. Coman referred to in the interesting legend, we can find no other notice by which he can be identified amongst

¹ MSS. Materials, p. 291.

those of the name in the *Martyrology of Donegal*. May it not be a misprint for *Colman*, i.e. Colman Hy Fiachrach? The ruined church which bears his name still flings its shadow on the "dark blue tide" from the lofty eminence within the town which it crowns. In the long past, none but the recognised and leading representative branches of the Hy Fiachrach tribes, such as the O'Hynes, Kilkellys, and O'Shaughnessys, were allowed the privilege of interment within the sacred precincts of the church of *Cil Ua Fiachrach at Kinvara*.

In the *Martyrology of Donegal* we find the following notice of St. Colman Hy Fiachrach: "Colman Ua Fiachrach of Sean Botha in Ui Ceansealagh. He is of the race of Fiachra." We find a supplementary notice of the Saint, which casts much additional light on his descent, in the *Customs of Hy Fiachrach*.¹

Here we are told that his mother was Fearamhla, sixth in descent from Dathy, and fifth from Fochaid Breac, ancestor of St. Colman Mac Duagh. "And she was the mother of St. Colman, the son of Eochaid, who is, i.e. lies, interred at Sean Bhotach in Hy Censiolaigh."² And in the *Martyrology of Donegal* it is added, "He is of the race of Fiachra." We also find, on the same authority, that the "three O'Suanaighs," memorable amongst our early Saints, were his brothers, as were also St. Aodhan of Cluain Eochaille and St. Dichlethe O'Triallaigh.

We find in the life of St. Maidoc,³ that he was a contemporary of St. Colman of Kilmacduagh. St. Colman Ua Fiachrach was therefore a contemporary as well as a kinsman of Guaire, King of Connaught. It is therefore not improbable that he may have built his church at Kinvara for the convenience of his pious relative and his court. He afterwards became abbot of the monastery at Seanbotha, in which he was interred.⁴

The church of Seanbotha is identified by O'Donovan⁵ as that now called Temple-Shambo, "which is situated at the foot of Mount Leinster, in the barony of Scarawalsh and county of Wexford." The monastery of Temple-Shambo was probably founded by himself. His festival was observed there on the 27th October, the exact date on which his feast is fixed in the *Martyrology of Donegal*.

¹ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 37.

³ Colgan, *A. A. S.*

⁵ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 36.

² *Ibid.* p. 37.

⁴ *Ibid.* *supra*.

ST. SAIRNAIT.

We are expressly told by the same authority that St. Sairnait (St. Sourney) is of the race of Eoghan Aidhne. She was fourth in descent from Eochaid Breac, father of Eoghan Aidhne.¹ She was

“Daughter of Aedh,
Son of Seanach,
Son of Eoghan Aidhne,
Son of Eochaid Breac,
Son of Dathy.”

The date of her birth is not given; but by comparing her genealogy with that of St. Colman Mac Duagh, which shall be hereafter given, it will be seen that she stands the same number of degrees from their common ancestor, Eochaid Breac, as does Cobhtach, whose son Conal was great-grandfather of St. Colman Mac Duagh.² Hence it may be fairly assumed that Cobhtach and St. Sourney were contemporaries. And as Cobhtach's father fought in the battle of Claonloch, A.D. 531, we can justly assume that St. Sourney belonged to the middle of the sixth century. She was born of the same princely tribe of which St. Colman was born later in the same century. She is identified by O'Donovan as the same female Saint who is now “corruptly called St. Sourney, to whom there are wells dedicated in the districts of Aidhne, and whose church still stands in ruins in the great island of Aran, in the Bay of Galway.”³ And we are told by O'Flaherty's learned editor that “this church is held in the greatest veneration by the islanders.”⁴

But there is more to commemorate and honour the name of St. Sourney in Aidhne than the holy wells to which O'Donovan refers. St. Sourney's Church may still be seen in a fair state of preservation at Dromacoo, in the present parish of Ballindereen, at a distance of about three miles and a half from Kinvara.

St. Sourney's Church at Dromacoo is a very interesting ruin. Its low cyclopean doorway in the western gable, and the masonry of a portion of the western gable and northern side wall, attest the great antiquity of that portion of the building. The rest of the church has clearly undergone many alterations, and is much more modern.

The southern doorway is a splendid specimen of decorated Gothic. It is deeply recessed, and consists of several arched

¹ *Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 55.

² *Ibid.* p. 37.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 37 and 374.

⁴ *Iar Connaught*, p. 55.

members, which are supported on clustering columns on elaborately wrought capitals. The dentals, owls' heads, and lozenge ornament, with which the ribbed projections of the arches are enriched, are very perfect, considering the lapse of time. Indeed, it is not too much to add that so interesting a specimen of ornate carving is rarely met with amongst our ancient ruins.

The eastern gable has a well-wrought double lancet window, one of which is now hidden away in masonry. This was evidently done to suit an alteration in one side wall, by which the original width of the church was reduced. Considering the many alterations which this church has manifestly undergone, it is now impossible to ascertain its original dimensions.

At the present time it is an oblong without a chancel, and measures about 50 feet in length by 20 feet in width. It is much disfigured by a pretentious but tasteless mausoleum built against it at its northern side.

Within the church there are but few monuments more ancient than the seventeenth century, and those belong to a distinguished and very old family, the Kilkellys, who a little prior to that century occupied the neighbouring castle of Cloghallymore, and owned some of the adjoining estates. A portion of the old rude stone altar remains, though much injured.

A little outside the church, and on its southern side, "Leaba Sourney," St. Sourney's Bed, is still pointed out. It stands close to the entrance of the cemetery. It resembles one of those stone cells in which many of our early Saints loved to do penance. It measures about 6 feet in length by 4 in width externally. Its height cannot be easily ascertained, owing to the quantity of rubbish and earth which have accumulated around it. Its stone roof is still nearly perfect. Such, briefly, is the present state of this interesting cell, in which, according to the uniform tradition of the locality, St. Sourney spent a portion of her holy life. Its appearance recalls Harris's description of the anchorite's cell at Foure, County Westmeath: "He inhabits a small, low cell, so narrow that a tall man can scarce stretch himself at length on the floor."¹

Immediately outside the cemetery enclosure, and on the south side, is a holy well, dedicated to her name. It was surrounded by a stone enclosure, which is now much ruined. The fountain is filled up with decayed vegetable matter, and with the stones of the broken enclosure.

Moss-grown mounds of great extent, and fragments of broken masonry concealed under a rich growth of mosses,

¹ Petrie, *Round Towers*, p. 116.

may still be noticed around this interesting church. The religious establishment of which they are the remains, though probably of a much more modern period than that to which St. Sourney belongs, must certainly have been important. There is no doubt that a religious establishment of considerable importance grew up at Dromacoo, and around St. Sourney's Church. So remarkable, indeed, did the establishment become, that the death of its Coarb, in the early part of the thirteenth century, is recorded by our annalists. A Biatach, or house of hospitality, was maintained there, in which food was always provided for all who came to accept it. Such establishments were numerous in our country in ancient times. It is estimated that at one period there were as many as 2000 such establishments throughout Ireland.¹ Our annalists record the death of the official in charge of the establishment at Dromacoo, A.D. 1232, in the following words:—"Fachtna O'Halgaithe, Coarb of Drom Mochuda, and official of Hy Fiachra, a man who kept a house of hospitality for the learned, and for the relief of the sick and indigent, died." And in another place this institution at Dromacoo is referred to as a house "for the instruction and improvement of the country and the land."²

The church and cell and holy well of St. Sourney are not the only memorials of that Saint in the parish of Ballindereen. Such is the reverence in which her memory continues to be held there, that Sourney is not an uncommon name amongst the females of the district, though, we believe, unknown in other parts of Ireland.

It is deeply to be regretted that the gleanings from history and tradition regarding St. Sourney are so meagre. Yet it may be hoped that the foregoing notice may prove interesting to many, and that in time the labours of our Celtic scholars will throw much more light on her interesting history.

Her church in Aranmore, so pointedly referred to both by O'Donovan and O'Flaherty, would, it is probable, show that she too sought this sea-girt sanctuary to study at St. Enda's feet the great science of sanctity. Her example must have strongly influenced her kinsmen. We shall hereafter have occasion to record a similar connection with "Aran of the Saints" on the part of her holy kinsman, St. Colman Mac Duagh. And we shall now refer to St. Foila and her holy brothers, who were St. Sourney's contemporaries and kinsmen, and who no doubt were influenced by her holy life. We find in the *Martyrology of Donegal* a St. Sairnait commemoration on the 3rd of May.

¹ Four Masters, Connellan ed. 4457.

² *Ibid.* O'Donovan's ed.

ST. FOILA.

St. Foila, patroness of the old church of Kileely (Kilfoila), in the present parish of Clarinbridge, was daughter of Aedh Draicnighe, great-grandson of Dathy. To her mother, whose name was Cuilena, we shall have occasion to make more particular reference in our notice of St. Colga's career—her distinguished brother. The notices of her life are extremely meagre. We are assured that her reputation for sanctity during her lifetime was widespread, and attested by the performance of many miracles. She was buried in her church, still called from her name Kileely, *i.e.* Kilfoila;¹ but the still larger number of miracles performed at her tomb obtained for her an enduring posthumous fame.² Colgan assures us that miracles were of daily occurrence there; and he adds that her church continued to be visited by vast multitudes of pilgrims even in his own time.³ But alas! the holy shrine has been long deserted and ruined. The pilgrimages are forgotten, with the cruel laws by which they were suppressed, and the once celebrated shrine is now a neglected ruin, situated about half a mile from Kilcolgan, and about a mile and a half from the church of Dromacoo, already referred to. It is an oblong structure without a chancel, measuring about 50 feet by 16.

The most ancient portion of St. Foila's Church is a portion of the northern side wall, which is an interesting specimen of pure cyclopean masonry. The remainder of the church has been restored, and is much more modern. The entrance, which is modern and uninteresting, is on the south side. The sanctuary is lighted by a tall lancet window in the eastern gable, and by another similar window in the southern side wall. The interior possesses no monuments or inscriptions of interest. Indeed, the condition of this once venerated shrine and place of pious pilgrimage is one of utter neglect in our day. Even the name of St. Foila is scarcely known to many of the peasantry of the district. Just as the facts of her life are unknown, so too the particular date of her death is involved in uncertainty. But we think it may be referred to the early portion of the seventh century. Her festival is authoritatively fixed on the 3rd of May by Colgan: "*Ejus natalis in tertio Majii in Ecclesia Kilfoila Diocesis Duacensis in Australi Conaciæ celebratur.*" It is also fixed on the same day by the *Martyrology of Tallaght and of Donegal*.

¹ Dr. Kelly, *Cat. Irish Saints*, p. 32.

² Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 328.

³ Colgan, p. 456.

CHAPTER V.

ST. COLGA OF KILCOLGAN.

NOT far from the armlet of Galway Bay up which Lugad Mac Conn with his fleet of foreigners sailed in the year 250,¹ stands the village of Kilcolgan. It is in truth a deserted village now. The circumstances which lent it some distinction are long since forgotten. Its chief interest for us at the present day is borrowed from the ruins among which it stands, and from such fragments of their history as have come down to us in the pages of our ancient records. St. Assournida's Church is in the immediate vicinity; and there, too, are the churches of St. Foila and of her holy brother Colga. The river which guided O'Donnell in the sixteenth century, in his predatory excursion from Athenry to Maree, flows by, as abundant in its supplies of trout and salmon as when St. Enda in the fifth century blessed its waters.

But our annalists give no notice of Kilcolgan till long after the period when Mac Conn and his foreigners won the crown of Ireland on the adjoining plains of Moyvoela. Later on, however, there is a far larger number of references to its history than its present insignificance would lead us to expect. In 1258 it was a town of some importance in the territory of Owen O'Heyne, Prince of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne. In one of these struggles for the sovereignty of Connaught, between the sons of Roderick O'Connor and those of Cathal Crovedearg, which disgraced the history of the period, we find that Kilcolgan was burned to the ground, with many other "street towns." The proximity of Kilcolgan to the residence of Clanricarde, gained for it an undesirable notoriety in the years 1598-1600, in connection with the raids made by the northern princes on the territories of Clanricarde and Thomond. In 1598, O'Donnell pitched his camp at its "gates;" and it was from there he sent his men to plunder the surrounding districts, and carried back with him to Ballymote "immense spoils" and "heavy herds." But the facts which invest this unknown village with its chief

¹ Some say 224.

interest are of quite a different kind. It arises from the church and monastery which have given it its name. The death of one of the Erenachs of the monastery in the twelfth century is recorded by our annalists: "1132—Concaile Ua Finn, Airhineach of Cill Colgan, died." Colga, whose name was given to the village which sprang up close to his monastery, was son of Aidus Draicnighe, of the race of Hy Fiachrach, and great-grandson of Dathy. His mother's name was Cuilena. She too was of princely birth; and we know, on the authority of our Irish calendars, that Foila, her daughter, to whom we have already referred, with another of her sons, Aidus, are ranked amongst the Saints of Erin. Our Saint, therefore, can easily be distinguished from St. Colga "the Wise," who from his great learning was called "the Scribe and Doctor of all the Irish." A prayer of his, full of beautiful and glowing imagery, which is fortunately extant, and is referred to by O'Curry, illustrates to some extent his claim to this flattering title. He was Professor at Clonmacnoise A.D. 789, and was not therefore even a contemporary of our Saint's. By parentage or descent they can also be easily distinguished, as Colga of Clonmacnoise was known as Colga Ua Duinechda.

In addition to this, Lanigan is very explicit regarding our Saint. He tells us that he governed a church, and perhaps a monastery, at Kilcolgan, called from his name, in the diocese of *Kilmacduagh*, barony of *Dunkellin*, and county of Galway. This Kilcolgan is therefore not to be confounded with places of the same name in Clonfert and Cochlans country, in the Queen's County. Colgan supports the same opinion, and states that Colga was abbot of the church of Kilcolgan, in the diocese of Kilmacduagh. Those opinions of Lanigan and Colgan are also supported by Dr. Reeves in his *Annotations to Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*. The learned commentator thus writes: "From Colga, the parish church of Kilcolgan, and from his sister Foilena, the adjoining parish of Kileely, both in the diocese of Kilmacduagh, which was co-extensive with the civil territory Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, derive their names respectively."¹

Though we cannot fix the exact date of St. Colga's birth, we have no hesitation in saying it may be referred to the early part of the sixth century. The character of his early education may be inferred from the fact that he made himself a disciple of St. Columba, one of the most austere of the masters of religious life in Western Europe. St. Columba had then established himself at Iona, far away from his native country.

¹ Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 46.

In its chilling atmosphere and unproductive soil there was nothing to attract the Irish from the fertile fields and genial climate of their native land. Yet a life of exalted sanctity and of strict religious observance, which illustrated the supernatural power of our holy religion, possessed attractions for Irish hearts in those days which they prized beyond all other considerations. It was so with Colga, son of Draicnighe. True, indeed, his native land was then in literal fact an Island of Saints. And Aranmore, cradled in the bosom of the bay with the shores of which he was familiar from infancy, was amongst the most famous schools of sanctity then known to Ireland. It was, in the poet's words, "The Sun of All the West." But as Colga knew that the fame of Columba had even surpassed that of Enda, for the light of his sanctity flashed far beyond the gloom of the Hebrides, he resolved to brave the perils of the ocean, and perfect himself in the science of the Saints at the knees of the holy Prince of the Hy Niall. During his stay at Iona we find him honoured by special mention by Columba's holy biographer. I am aware, indeed, that Lanigan endeavours to show that the Colga mentioned by Adamnan is not identical with our Saint. He does so, however, contrary to his custom, without advancing any argument whatever. Colga is expressly mentioned by Adamnan as the son of Draicnighe, and of the race of Fiachrach. Apart altogether from the authority of the writers already quoted, this fact alone would clearly establish his identity with St. Colga of Kilcolgan.

The writer speaks of the heavenly favours with which the closing years of Columba's life were blessed. He was frequently surrounded with a supernatural light too brilliant for mortal eyes to gaze upon. Of one of those visions St. Colga found himself the privileged witness. We will allow the simple but graphic words of St. Adamnan to give the reader a knowledge of the event.

"Another night also, one of the brothers, whose name was Colgius, the son of Aedh Draicnighe, a descendant of Fechreg (Fiachrach), mentioned in the first book, came accidentally, while the other brothers were asleep, to the gate of the church, and stood there praying for some time. Then suddenly he saw the whole church filled with a heavenly light, which flashed like lightning across his eyes. He did not know that St. Columba was praying at that time in the church. And after this sudden appearance of light he returned home in great alarm. On the following day the Saint called him aside, and rebuked him severely, saying, 'Take care, my child, not to

pry too closely into the nature of that heavenly light. That privilege is not given to you; and beware how you tell any one what you saw during my lifetime."

No doubt the narrative of manifestations such as that just mentioned, may be regarded as incredible by many of the sceptical of our time. And Montalembert points, perhaps unnecessarily, "to the proverbial credulity of Celtic nations" regarding the legends of their Saints. But he takes care to state "that no Christian will be tempted to deny the verified narratives which bear witness, in Columba's case, to supernatural appearances which enriched his life, and especially his old age." And we are assured he was frequently surrounded with a supernatural light, too brilliant for mortal eyes to gaze upon, of which St. Colga was one of many privileged witnesses.

Before finally quitting Iona, St. Colga returned to Ireland at Columba's special command. The mission with which he was entrusted was of a specially delicate kind, and seems to indicate the esteem in which he was held by the patriarch of Iona. The object of his mission was, indeed, the conversion of his own mother. I may be excused for reproducing the narrative here, from what has been with authority styled the oldest biography in Europe.

"This Colga, residing one time in the island of Iona, was asked by the Saint whether his mother was religious or not; Colga answering him said that he had always known his mother to be good, and to have that character. The Saint then spoke the following strange words: 'Quickly now return to Ireland, and interrogate your mother closely regarding her very grievous secret sin, which she does not wish to confess to any man.'"

Colga returned to Ireland on his singular mission, which proved by its result the supernatural character of the wisdom of his master and guide. Great indeed must have been his mother's surprise when he disclosed to her the object of his visit. At first she denied her guilt. But at length, gratefully recognising the merciful intervention of Providence in her favour, she confessed her sin, "and doing penance according to the judgment of the Saint, was absolved, wondering very much at what had been revealed to the Saint regarding her."

There can be little doubt that his mother's guilt must have been grave, and entailing danger of the most serious kind to her salvation. An inquiry into its character might appear undesirable, as well as unprofitable. But as it has been instituted by others, I may be excused for inviting my readers'

attention for a moment to the result. Dr. Reeves connects her guilt with her sojourn in the palace at Cashel. It was in her youth she was the guest of King Failbe Flann. And he supports his opinion by the following extract regarding her from a tract of Aengus, *De Matribus Sanctorum Hiberniæ* :—

“Cuilein, the mother of Colga the Chaste,
Was received in Magh Ullen for a time
By Failbe Fland without charge of guilt.
She went to Cashel straying.”

If, however, the seductions of the court of the King of Cashel led Cuilena's young heart away from God, there can be little doubt that she made ample reparation for her sin by the performance of such penances as the “judgment” of the Saint required. Even a slight knowledge of the character of our penitentials will show that these penances must have been excessively severe.

Before finally quitting Iona, St. Colga asked his holy master to disclose to him some things regarding his own future; for the spirit of prophecy was but one of the many gifts with which the Holy Ghost enriched St. Columba's favoured soul. In reply, he was assured, that he was destined to preside over a church in his own country. That country was the territory of the Southern Hy Fiachrach, co-extensive with the diocese of Kilmacduagh. “In your own country, which you love, you shall be head of a certain church for many years.” Even the circumstances which were to indicate the immediate approach of his death were also pointed out to him, though these were, under other aspects, of an unimportant and trivial character.

“And when at length you shall see your butler playing for a company of friends at supper, and twisting the tap in a circle round his neck, know that you shall soon die.”

“This same prophecy of the holy man,” adds Adamnan, “was exactly fulfilled as it was foretold to Colga.”

St. Colga did return to Ireland, and selected as a site for his monastery that portion of the lands of the tribe of which he was a distinguished member, which overlooks the most inland portion of the Bay of Galway. The sea breezes would be borne freshly to his monastery over those picturesque and wooded undulations which are now known as “Tyrone,” and which there marked the western limits of the territory of the princes of the Hy Fiachrach; and the grounds now designated as “Tyrone” but conceal under a very transparent disguise the ancient name of the locality, — “Tir Owen” should mean the country of “Owen,” prince of the district. And just beyond the estuary on which his convent stood was the “Eiscir” highway, extend-

ing from Maree to Dublin, which divided the kingdom of Conn from that of his brother and rival, Eoghan Mor. Nor was it unnatural that the site which St. Colga should select for his monastery would be close to the church with which the name and fame of his holy sister Foila was to be inseparably associated. The church of St. Foila stands in the immediate vicinity of Kilcolgan, and in its present neglected condition gives no indication of the reverence with which it was regarded as a sacred shrine to which the pious faithful thronged even as late as two centuries ago.

There can be no doubt that St. Colga erected a church and monastery at Kilcolgan. Being "head of a certain church," could simply mean that he ruled a community in connection with that church; and this, we are assured, was a position which he occupied *per multos annos*. Besides, we find he is expressly styled Abbot of Kilcolgan by the learned author of the *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*.

It is, I think, by no means easy to understand the meaning of the signs which the Abbot of Iona foretold, should indicate the immediate approach of St. Colga's death. Commentators admit the obscurity of the original passage in Adamnan. But Dr. Reeves correctly attributes much of its obscurity to our imperfect knowledge of the domestic customs, etc., of our countrymen at that early period. He offers the following as a plausible rendering of the passage:—

"When you see your brother making merry in a supper of his friends, and twisting the ladle round in the strainer, know that you shall soon die." And he adds, "The difficulty" of understanding the passage "arises from our imperfect knowledge concerning the domestic utensils of the early nations." I believe that few will question the plausibility of his opinion.

It is not easy to ascertain with absolute certainty the exact site of St. Colga's Church and Monastery. I have little doubt, however, that its site is now occupied by a dismantled Protestant church in the grounds of the late Christopher St. George of Tyrone, Esq., about half a mile south of the present village of Kilcolgan. A close inspection of this modern though ruined structure enables one to see that a great portion of the eastern gable is very ancient. Fragments of tracery and carved mullions may also be discovered in the most incongruous positions beneath the mortar of the modern masonry. Crumbling masses of masonry strewn around, and forming moss-grown mounds, revealing here and there a gravestone, where the dead are at rest for centuries, indicate clearly enough the original character of the place. And local traditions confirm these impressions,

and tell how a family that abandoned the faith of their fathers sought to destroy every vestige of this interesting and sacred memorial of a glorious past. The unenlightened bigotry which such an effort reveals has fortunately failed in its purpose; and the unsightly ruin which desecrates the spot shall be remembered only as a satirical memorial of the failure.

The site was in many respects a pleasing one. Even before the extensive plantings around the adjoining mansions of Kilcornan and Tyrone brought the scenery into harmony with the taste of our time, the general features of the landscape were attractive. But how unlike his late home at Iona! Here, indeed, was the "dark blue" of the ocean, but its hoarse murmurs were hushed to rest within the arms of those sheltering bays, and the foam of the broken billows no longer flecked his cowl, as he recalled by the "Mairee" shore the lessons which Columba taught him on the surf-beaten cliffs of Iona.

On either side, and at equal distances, were the churches of St. Assournida and of his holy sister Foila. Nor is there any inherent improbability in the opinion that the church of St. Hugh in the adjoining parish was that of his holy brother St. Aidus (Hugh).

We are unfortunately unable to throw any additional light upon those fruitful years which St. Colga spent as "head of his church in the country which he loved." Neither do we know with certainty the date of his death. Colgan merely states that he "flourished" towards the close of the sixth century. Though some would fix his feast on the 20th of February, we do not think that the authority of our martyrologies can be cited in favour of such an opinion.

The facts which we have been able to glean regarding our Saint are indeed meagre. Yet, because they help to bring into merited prominence one other of our early Saints, and because they help to throw some light on one of the forgotten shrines of our land, they may possess sufficient interest to merit for them a place in those pages. St. Colga is noticed in the *Martyrology of Donegal*, on the 5th March, in the following words:—

"Foileann, daughter of Aedh, sister of Aedh of Cill Colgan of Aith Cliath Meadhraighe in Connachta, and they were of the race of Dathy, son of Fiachra, and Cuillenn was the name of their mother."

CHAPTER VI.

St. Caimin of Inis Cealtra, half-brother of Guaire—His austerity—Extant fragment of his writings.

DR. LANIGAN¹ inclines strongly to the opinion that Caimin is identical with Coman of the Third Order of Saints. The apparent difference in the names he would account for by a frequent and not unusual substitution of vowels in the spelling of Irish names, which provincial varieties of pronunciation rendered natural if not inevitable. He adds, "Thus Caimin might have been written for Comin or Cumin."

Should this opinion recommend itself to the reader, it may be also urged as probable that the church of Coman at Kinvara, already referred to in the legend of the O'Carra's, was the church of St. Caimin. St. Caimin was indeed a half-brother of the celebrated King Guaire, whose principal residence was, as we have seen, at Kinvara. It would therefore be natural that he might have established a church there.

The mother of this holy man was Cummienna,² celebrated for the eminent sanctity of her children. Our annalists do not tell us whether her son Caimin had been born prior to her marriage with Colman, father of Guaire. But they do tell us that he was her son by Dima of the princely house of Hy Kinselagh, without reference to the date of the marriage.

Even the date of the Saint's birth is unknown. But we are told by Colgan that he was celebrated both for his miracles and sanctity as early as the year 640. He eagerly sought to avoid the admiration with which the sanctity of his life was regarded by his contemporaries. For this purpose, he departed to a lonely island on the Shannon, situated, as Colgan is careful to tell us, on the confines of Galway and Thomond.

Inis Cealtra—the lonely island of his choice—is cradled on the bosom of the Shannon near the present little town of Scariff, and about thirty miles from Kinvara. But the solitudes of Inis Cealtra were soon destined to be disturbed by the pious chants and holy prayers of the multitudes

¹ Vol. iii. pp. 11 and 13.

² A. A. S., p. 248.

who would be attracted to its shores by Caimin's heroic example.

Indeed, Colgan speaks of the multitude of the disciples as innumerable, who came there anxious to copy his angelic sanctity of life. His life was one of the most rigid austerity. And, not content with the austerities which he so rigidly practised, he prayed that his body would be stricken with infirmities. In the legend already referred to regarding the meeting between Caimin, Guaire, and Cumin Fota, in Caimin's church at Inis Cealtra, this singular wish is referred to. And we are assured that his prayer was granted by Divine Providence. So emaciated had he become under the exhaustion of his enduring infirmities, that we are assured that his fleshless bones were barely held together by the nerveless sinews. Yet was he not only patient, but he even longed for increased sufferings.

No claims of kindred could make him forget the higher claims of justice. Of this he gave a striking proof in his opposition to his brother Guaire, on the occasion of that king's engagement with King Diarmot at Carn Conail, in the eastern plains of Aidhne.

We are told by Keating that a certain holy solitary complained to Diarmot of a seemingly trivial act of injustice for which he regarded the King of Connaught, as responsible. This is represented as the cause—though it could only be an ostensible one—of the great struggle at Carn Conail. St. Caimin also had intelligence of the alleged injustice, and marked his displeasure at his brother's conduct by "supplicating on his knees against his success." In vain did Guaire sue in the most humble manner, for the Saint's forgiveness and prayers for the success of his arms. Caimin, in reply to his entreaties, only assured him "that his overthrow and the destruction of his army was determined, and that the decree of Heaven could not be revoked." Those prophetic words were verified. Guaire's army suffered a complete defeat; and he himself fell a prisoner into the victor's hands. Keating¹ is at pains to assure us that this crushing defeat was attributable to the prayers of Caimin. That holy man, the chronicler informs us, spent three days and three nights in prayer, imploring Heaven to blast the designs of Guaire and to confound his army.

Fortunately we are not without satisfactory evidence of the success with which he devoted himself to ecclesiastical studies during his rare leisure intervals. The sacred Scriptures, and

¹ Keating, p. 357.

especially the Psalms; occupied his 'special' attention. We know on the authority of Ware and Lanigan¹ that he composed a commentary on the Psalms. In this work he displayed a critical knowledge of the sacred text. He also proved himself a good Hebrew scholar, by collating the Latin version with the original Hebrew. Most of this interesting work is lost. It is, however, fortunate that even a fragment remains to indicate its character. It is the Saint's comment on Psalm cxviii. This venerable fragment was seen by Usher before the year 1639. In the time of Sir James Ware it was preserved in the Franciscan Monastery of Donegal.² Colgan saw it, and probably had it in his possession. It will be gratifying to all interested in the history of our early Church, to know that this interesting fragment is now preserved in the Franciscan Monastery, Dublin. An interesting paper on the authenticity of the manuscript was published in the *Ecclesiastical Record* of 1873, by Mr. Henessy, the eminent antiquarian and well-known Celtic scholar, from which we shall take some additional facts regarding the history of this most interesting fragment.

In the year 1872, the Italian Minister at Paris, Chevalier Nigra, having examined the Celtic MSS. at St. Isadore's, communicated to Mr. Henessy, by letter, his impressions regarding this fragment referred to, to which he devoted special attention: "And," writes Mr. Henessy, "his description of its nature and contents led me to suppose that it was the MS. to which Usher referred as alleged to have been written by St. Caimin of Inis Cealtra. And this it is."

And the writer continues: "The following note in Irish, in the handwriting of Michael O'Clery, in p. 3 of the MS., is valuable as indicating the persons from whom the fragment came into his possession, and through him to the Franciscans of Donegal.

"According to the traditions of the sons of Mac Brody, viz. Flann and Bernard, as they heard with their father and with all in general, it is Saint Caimin of Inis Celtra, on Loch Deergdeire, in Thomond, that wrote the book in which this leaf was. It is not surprising that those learned men should have truth, for it is in the Termon of Caimin they are abiding and residing, and their ancestors abode before them. I, the poor friar Michael O'Clery, am witness that I myself saw Mac Brody residing in the Termon of Caimin, and his children after his death. And it is they and Diarmuit O'Duibhcertaigh that gave those leaves of Caimin's book to me the poor friar

¹ Ware's *Antiq.*, Lanigan, vol. iii. p. 11.

² A. A. S.; Dr. Kelly, *Cat. Irish Saints*.

aforesaid." And he adds: "It may be taken as proved that O'Clery obtained the MS. from the sons of Conor Mac Brody, who was slain in November 1639; and that he had deposited it in the library of the Convent of Donegal before 1639."

The family of the O'Brolys referred to resided as late as 1641 at Leter Moylan, in the present parish of Dysert, barony of Inchiquin, County Clare. That the extant MS. preserved at Dublin is that referred to by Usher, and to which Colgan refers, there can therefore be no doubt.

But as to whether it was really written by St. Caimin is, Mr. Henessy considers, a "matter of question," notwithstanding the tradition regarding it handed down from a very early age in a family specially identified with the preservation of historical traditions. The MS. itself is thus described by the same distinguished writer:—

"This MS., which is only a small remnant of what must have been a large work, consists at present of but six leaves of thin vellum measuring fourteen inches in length by ten in breadth. It contains a large fragment of Psalm cxviii. in the Douay Bible. The portion remaining is divided into twelve chapters of eight verses each. Every chapter begins with a large illuminated letter of most exquisite pattern; and each verse with an ornamental capital of smaller size.

"The text, which is in Latin, is interspersed with explanatory glosses in the same language; and additional glosses and scholia are written in the spaces between the chapters, and along the margins.

"The writing of the scriptural text is unusually large, the letters being nearly half an inch in length, and not rounded, as in the *Book of Kells*.

"The penmanship is not so beautifully executed as that of the *Book of Kells*; and the attempts at ornamentation are, in general, rather rude compared with the exquisite style of illumination which characterises that splendid volume. But the St. Isadore MS. is probably no less ancient."

As regards the date of St. Caimin's death, there seems to be no question. It is given by Colgan as A.D. 653. Dr. Lanigan, Dr. Kelly, and others, give the same date. His feast is fixed in some calendars for the 25th of March. In the *Martyrology of Donegal*, however, it is fixed on the 24th of the same month. And it adds: "That Caimin of Inis Celtra was, in his manners and life, like unto Paucomius the monk." He was buried at Inis Cealtra, and his church there became, in after years, one of the most celebrated sanctuaries in Ireland.

There are extant on the island of Inis Cealtra many inter-

esting ecclesiastical ruins, amongst which is a fine round tower. Amongst the churches and oratories there, St. Caimin's is the principal. The original church built by St. Caimin was, Dr. Petrie¹ thinks, rebuilt by the monarch Brian Boróimhe. As it exists, it consists of nave and chancel. The nave measures 30 feet 6 inches² by 20 feet, while the chancel is about 14 feet by 12 on the "clear." It has projecting antæ on the east and west ends. It had the door on the west gable. There are but two small windows, and those on the south side. The masonry of the nave is archaic, consisting of the usual large and well-fitting stones common to our cyclopean buildings. The chancel is of a different and more modern style of architecture.

"The chancel arch, which," writes Petrie, "is less distinguished for ornament than the doorway, is triple-faced, or formed of three concentric arches on the western face; and is double-faced on the eastern or inner side. But the arches consist simply of square-edged rib work; and the ornamental sculpture is confined to the piers, which are rounded with semi-columns, and adorned with capitals."

His festival is fixed by the *Martyrology of Donegal* on the 24th of March. It has the following notice of the Saint: "Caimin of Inis Cealtra in Loch Deirgheire. He was of the race of Cathair Mor of Leinster. A very ancient vellum book states that Caimin of Inis Cealtra was, in his manners and life, like unto Paucomius the monk."

¹ *Round Towers*, p. 281.

² Patric Bragh.

CHAPTER VII.

St. Colman Mac Duagh—His parentage and descent from Dathy—His Birthplace—Legends regarding his Baptism.

AMONGST the Saints who made the reign of the pious King of Connaught memorable, there is none whose sanctity is so revered, and whose name is so enthusiastically honoured throughout the district of Aidhne, as is St. Colman, son of Duagh. The diocese of Kilmacduagh, of which he was founder, perpetuates his name; and through its various parishes he is still piously invoked as a powerful and holy patron.

His connection with the king was of the most intimate kind, being united to him by ties of intimate friendship as well as by those of kindred.

In the *Martyrology of Donegal*, we find him referred to as "Colman Bishop, i.e. Mac Duagh of Cill Mic Duach in Connachta; he was of the race of Fiachra, son of Eochaid Muidhmheadoin; great were his virtues and miracles."

This authoritative reference to him as Bishop of Kilmacduagh, and also to his parentage, helps effectually to remove all difficulties as to his identity. The name of Colman was indeed a favourite one with the holy men of the period. This will be abundantly evident from the fact that the *Martyrology of Donegal* commemorates as many as one hundred and thirteen Saints who bear the name of Colman. But from out of this multitude whose name he shares, the individuality of the holy son of Duagh, of the princely race of Fiachra, is clearly fixed.

The same interesting and important fact follows still more clearly from the Saint's genealogy as it is given in the *Customs of Hy Fiachrach*,¹ where he is specially mentioned as one of the "Saints of the race of Eochaid Breac:"—

"Colman, son of Duach, from whom Ceall Mhic Duach,
Son of Ainmire,
Son of Conall,
Son of Cobhtach,
Son of Goibnenn,

¹ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 37.

Son of Connall,
 Son of Eoghain Aidhne,
 Son of Eochaid,
 Son of Dathi."

There can be no doubt as to the Ceall Mhic Duach referred to. But were there any, it is authoritatively removed by O'Donovan, who expressly states that it is "the Church of the Son of Duach — now Kilmacduagh — in the barony of Kiltartan, in the south-west of the county of Galway."¹

Another passage in the same work throws additional light upon his parentage, and renders the question of his identity, if possible, still more incontestible. It is as follows: "The issue of Cormac became extinct, except one daughter, Righnach, the mother of St. Colman Mac Duach, *a quo* Ceall Mic Duach, *i.e.* Kilmacduagh."² His mother was therefore the sole representative of the noble line of Cormac, great-grandson of Dathy. It is therefore obvious that the connection between our Saint and the chieftains and tribes of Aidhne was that of close kindred, and manifestly favourable for the great purpose for which he was raised up by Providence.

We can have no difficulty as to the particular period to which St. Colman's public life may be referred. There is no doubt that it is to be referred to the close of the sixth and the opening of the seventh century. Our fuller knowledge of the history of his distinguished contemporaries, removes all difficulty on that head. But the exact or approximate date of his birth can be only a matter of conjecture. Neither have we any historical evidence of the particular place of his birth. We have, however, a well-defined tradition, always accepted in the diocese of Kilmacduagh, which fixes the village of Corker, in the present parish of Kiltartan, as the place of his birth. The same interesting tradition which tells us of the place of his birth, preserves also some interesting circumstances in connection with it.

Rhinagh, the Saint's mother, when in an advanced state of pregnancy, became the object of the king's jealous hatred. The reigning king was Colman, father of Guaire. He had heard that, according to a prophecy of authority, Rhinagh's son was destined to surpass in greatness, all others of his illustrious lineage. Dreading the jealous hostility of the king, which she thus unconsciously excited, she was obliged to fly. But the hostility of the king pursued her. She was seized by his minions, and cast, with a heavy stone tied around her neck, into the deepest portion of the Kiltartan river. She was

¹ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 36.

² *Ibid.* p. 63.

miraculously preserved from drowning, however; and the stone lies still by the river margin, an object of interest to many.

It was in the adjoining solitude at Corker that the infant was born, who was indeed destined to bring upon the district "a thousand blessings which time has brought to ripeness."

The anxious mother laid her new-born babe under the friendly shelter of a spreading ash, and waited impatiently for some one who might at least pour on its head the waters of regeneration. And though the tradition here loses itself in one well known to be applied by poets and hagiographers to St. Patrick, it may be undesirable to destroy its continuity. It continues to tell us how two aged clerical pilgrims approached the anxious mother. One was blind and the other lame. Being unable to procure water to administer baptism, they invoked the Divine aid; and lo! a fountain gushed forth from under the shelter of the tree. After administering baptism, the pilgrims washed in the waters of the fountain and were healed. The grateful monks besought the mother to entrust them with the safety and education of the child—a permission which, under the circumstances, must have been gladly accorded to them by Rhinagh.

Dr. Lanigan¹ tells us of a similar legend in connection with the baptism of St. Patrick. It forms the subject of one of De Vere's most beautiful ballads—

"How can the babe baptized be,
Where font is none and water none?
Thus wept the nurse on bended knee,
And swayed the infant in the sun.

The blind priest took the infant's hand,
With that small hand above the ground
He signed the Cross: at God's command
A fountain rose with brimming bound.

In that pure wave, from Adam's sin,
The blind priest cleansed the babe with awe;
Then reverently he washed therein
His old unseeing face—and saw."

The holy well at which St. Colman is said to have been baptized, still remains at Corker, and bears his name. It is held by the people of the village and surrounding district in the highest veneration. "Rounds" are still performed there; and it is confidently asserted in the locality that the supernatural efficacy of the water is still frequently proved in favour

¹ Lanigan, vol. i. p. 90.

of those whose faith in the Divine mercy, and in the efficacy of St. Colman's patronage, is pure and strong.

The venerable ash has disappeared, but its place is supplied by a cluster of venerable hawthorns, which will please the lovers of the picturesque, as well as those to whom the legendary history of our Saints is dear.

On a rising ground at a little distance from the holy well stands a ruined oratory of considerable antiquity. The northern side wall alone remains. Unfortunately all else is destroyed, so that one can only conjecture what its original features may have been. It seems probable it was an oratory of the ninth or tenth century, built perhaps on the site of one earlier still, in which the sanctity of St. Colman was honoured.

CHAPTER VIII.

St. Colman Mac Duagh in Aranmore—The fame of Aranmore as a sanctuary of learning and holiness — His churches erected there — Charms of the island for its solitaries.

HOWEVER much we regret that we are ignorant of the names of those good monks who undertook to guard Rhinagh's holy child in his infancy, and to educate him in his early years, we must at least admire the success with which they sheltered him from the jealousy of the king. Even now we are unable to glean even the smallest particulars regarding the history of his early years. It is only in his mature years, after he had already entered the sanctuary, that we can obtain even a shadowy glimpse of him as he is engaged in his missionary labours or personal austerities.

He reappears in the celebrated island of Aranmore, then widely known as Aran of the Saints. Its reputation as a sanctuary of piety rivalled that of Lerins and of Iona. In fact, Western Europe had not many more remarkable homes of piety than "Ara-na-Naomh."

The number of Saints is very great who lived there, and whose illustrious and immortal names are for ever connected with its history. But many lived there in the odour of sanctity whose very names are forgotten. Colgan justly assures us that *innumerable saints* are buried there who are known only to God.

Aranmore was a celebrated sanctuary even before St. Colman's birth, and it must have been well and favourably known to him even in his early life. The cliffs of Aranmore are visible from the rugged heights of Burren. They rise from the Atlantic, and, as it were, sentinel the entrance to Lough Lurgan, the waters of which washed the ancient fortress of Durlus Guaire. He must have known that holy pilgrims had been seeking its coast from near and far. St. Iarlath had come to be educated there and prepared for his future labours at Tuam. St. Mac Creighe came there from the neighbouring coast of Clare. Indeed, the greatest of the Saints of the Second

Order repaired thither to learn sanctity and knowledge at the feet of St. Enda. Neither had its glory lost its brilliancy, nor had its fame been obscured, when its shores were visited by so many illustrious Saints of the Third Order, to which St. Colman belonged. St. Brendan had been there; St. Ciaran prepared himself there for his labours at Clonmacnoise. Nor is it at all likely that even amongst the storm-tossed waves of the Hebrides the recollection of Aranmore ever passed away from the memory of the great founder of Iona.

Amongst other celebrated visitors to Aranmore in those days was Finnian of Clonard; and Aengus' *Martyrology* adds the names St. Tapeus, St. Carthage, St. Lonan, St. Nechatas, St. Lebeus, and St. Colman, brother of St. Kevin of Glendalough. We are assured by O'Flaherty¹ that this St. Colman was the "most famous of the Saints of Aran. He is believed to have often abated storms and dissipated mists when piously invoked." Indeed, the reputation for sanctity which that island sanctuary then enjoyed has been expressed in imperishable verse by our gifted countryman:—

"O Aran blest! O Aran blest!
Accursed the man that loves not thee;
The dead man cradled in thy breast,
No demon scares him: well is he.

Each Sunday Gabriel from on high
(For so did Christ the Lord ordain)
Thy masses comes to sanctify,
With fifty angels in his train.

Each Monday Michael issues forth,
To bless anew each sacred fane;
Each Tuesday cometh Raphael,
To bless pure hearth and golden grain.

Each Wednesday cometh Uriel,
Each Thursday Sariel fresh from God;
Each Friday cometh Rameal,
To bless thy stores and bless thy sod.

Each Saturday comes Mary,
Comes Babe in arm 'mid heavenly hosts.
O Aran, near to heaven is he
That hears God's angels bless thy coasts!"

Considering, therefore, the merited celebrity of Aranmore in those days, it is no marvel that we find St. Colman a visitor there, and we can have no hesitation in assuming that he perfected there that spirit of prayer, retirement, and austerity of

¹ *Iar Connaught*, p. 87.

which he soon afterwards gave striking proofs in his Burren hermitage.

St. Colman's stay in Aranmore must have been considerable, as he built there two churches, which, according to Dr. Kelly, are attributed to St. Colman, both by "history and tradition."¹ Referring to those churches, and speaking of certain architectural features which they possess in common with the ancient cathedral of Kilmacduagh, Dr. Petrie writes: "Of this description of doorway I shall only here insert another example, from a church which was erected by the same St. Colman Mac Duagh within the great cyclopean fort or cashel in Kilmurvey, on the great island of Aran, and which is still in good preservation." The church here referred to by Petrie is usually styled Teampuill Mor Mhic Duagh.² It consists of nave and chancel,—the chancel being 16 feet long by 11 broad, while the nave is little more than 18 feet long by 14 broad. The style is cyclopean, and similar to the existing ruins at Oughtmama and the most ancient portions of the churches at Kilmacduagh.

As the doorway of St. Colman's Church at Aranmore is graphically described by a learned and well-known writer in the *Record* of 1870, I will quote his words: "It is 5 feet 6 inches in height, 2 feet in width at the top, and 2 feet 3 inches at the bottom. The lintel is of granite, and measures 5 feet 6 inches in length, 1 foot 6 inches in height, and extends the entire thickness of the wall, which is 2 feet 6 inches."

The other existing memorial of our Saint's presence in Aran is a little oratory called Teampuill beg Mhic Duagh. Both are close to each other, and form a portion of that well-known group at Kilmurvy, now usually known as the Seven Churches. This rather familiar designation gives no correct idea of the actual number of churches there in the past. Dr. O'Keely, Archbishop of Tuam, a man eminent alike for his learning and virtues, drew up a descriptive list of the churches which existed in Aran in A.D. 1645. This list has been preserved by Colgan, and is as follows:—

1. The parish church, commonly called Kill Enda, lies in the county of Galway and half barony of Aran, and in it St. Endeus or Enda is venerated as patron on the 31st March.

2. The church called Teglach Enda, to which is annexed a cemetery wherein is the sepulchre of St. Endeus, with one hundred and twenty-seven other sepulchres, wherein none but Saints were ever buried.

¹ *Dissertations on Irish Hist.* p. 188.

² *Iar Connaught*, p. 75.

3. The church called Teampuill Mac Longa, dedicated to St. Mac Longius, is situated near the parish church, which is sometimes called Kill Enda, that is, the Cell of St. Endeus, and sometimes Teampuill Mor Enda, or the Great Church of St. Endeus.

4. The church of Teampuill Mic Cononn, near the aforesaid parish church.

5. The church called St. Mary, not far from the same parish church.

6. The church which is named Teampuill Benain, or the Temple of St. Benignus.

7. The church called Mainster Connachtach, that is, the Connaught Monastery, in place of which, being afterwards demolished, was erected a chapel to St. Kievan.

8. The church called Kilnamanagh, that is, the Church or Cell of the Monks, which was dedicated to St. Cathradochus or Caradoc, surnamed "Garbh," or the "Rough."

9. The church Teampuill Assuirnidhe, St. Sourney's Church, and this church is held in the greatest veneration amongst the islanders.

10. The church called Teampuill na Creathruir Aluinn, or the Church of the Four Beautiful Saints, who were SS. Fursey, Brendan of Birr, Conall, and Bercham, whose bodies are also said to be buried in the same tomb lying in the cemetery of the same church.

11. The church called Teampuill Mic Duach, or the Church of Saint Mac Duagh (who is also called Colmanus, surnamed Mac Duagh), which is a handsome church dedicated to that Saint.

12. The handsome and formerly parochial church called Teampuill Breccain, or the Church of Breccain, in which also his feast is celebrated on the 22nd of May.

13. The church near the aforesaid Church of St. Breccan, which is commonly called Teampuill a Phuill, or St. Paul's.

These churches were extant in the days of the illustrious Dr. O'Keely in the large island alone. But ten years later, 1655, those venerated shrines were plundered, desecrated, and ruined by the Cromwellian governor of the island; and as the work of ruin was intended to be complete, the very stones of which some of those venerated monuments were constructed¹ were carried away and used in the erection of the citadel and other works of defence. This vandalism will be seen in its truer light when it is remembered that it is described by a writer familiar with the place as being "paved over with stones."²

¹ *Iar Connaught*, p. 74.

² *Ibid.* p. 66.

A visitor, "surprised at its appearance, remarked that it was a mistake not to have called them the marble islands, for they were all a mass of limestone and marble." Yet it was on this barren island that St. Enda and his disciples shut themselves out from the world, its luxuries and allurements. Though content with the simple necessities of life, even those necessities were procured by those holy men only by incessant toil. But a life of toil and privation suited the heroism of their characters; and it was their aim also to conceal, as far as possible, their virtues and sanctity. Nor could they find a retreat more in harmony with their aims and heroic purposes than that afforded by the barren, rugged, and secluded shores of Aran. Cradled in the bosom of the Atlantic, and with its beetling cliffs, against which the heaving billows lash themselves into foam, rising to a height of 300 feet above the sea-level, it seemed to secure for the solitaries their much-prized treasures of poverty and seclusion. The booming of the ocean must have sounded in their ears as the solemn voice of Nature thundering forth its unceasing hymn to the majesty of its Creator. Those deep and solemn murmurs of the sea constituted perhaps an additional attraction. Indeed, those island solitudes have long exercised a powerful attraction for holy Saints. It was so in the days of St. Ambrose, as well as in earlier and later times, and is referred to in such beautiful words by that holy Doctor, that the attention of the reader may be respectfully directed to his words.¹ He speaks of these islands as a "necklet of pearls which God has set upon the bosom of the sea, and in which those who would fly the irregular pleasures of the world may find a refuge wherein to practise austerity, and save themselves from the snares of this life. The sea that enfolds them becomes, as it were, a veil to hide from mortal eye their deeds of penance; it aids them to acquire perfect continence; it feeds grave and solemn thought; it has the secret of peace, and repels all the fierce passions of earth. In it those faithful and pious men found incentives to devotion. The mysterious sound of the billows calls for the answering sound of sacred psalmodes, and the peaceful voices of holy men, mingled with the gentle murmurs of the waves breaking softly on the shore, rise in unison to the heavens." These charms of his island sanctuary St. Colman must have felt and loved with all the ardour of his holy soul. But the time was at hand when he was to leave a place endeared to him by strong and sacred ties. His stay there must have been considerable. The erec-

¹ *Hexameron*, lib. iii. cap. v.

tion of his churches alone would show that his stay at Aranmore was a protracted one; yet his interest in the current events of his own native territory remained as strong as ever. The strange career of the brothers of the Ua Carra, already related, interested him much. That and "other adventures of the brothers of the Ua Carra were related to him by Bishop Justin."¹

But the seclusion of Aranmore was not deep enough to satisfy the yearnings of St. Colman. He resolved to hide himself in some deeper solitude, that he might abandon himself more completely to the influence of that all-absorbing spirit of prayer and mortification with which he was then so deeply imbued. Yet who can doubt that on quitting the shores of Aranmore he experienced the same feelings of deep regret which the poet ascribes to St. Columba on his departure thence—

"O Aran, sun of all the West,
My heart is thine; as sweet to close
Our dying eyes in thee, as rest
Where Peter and where Paul repose."

¹ O'Curry, MSS. Materials, *Irish History*, p. 293.

CHAPTER IX.

St. Colman becomes a hermit in the last decade of the sixth century within the solitudes of Burren—Legends regarding his sojourn there—St. Colman's oratory in Burren—His grotto and holy well—The district as seen from Kinaille.

THE closing years of the sixth century, which witnessed St. Colman's departure from Aranmore, are memorable for a new development in the religious life of the nation. The monastic life had attained in Ireland a development probably unparalleled. If not the golden age of Ireland's holiness, our early writers speak of the effulgence of its sanctity in comparison with subsequent times, as the brightness of the moon compared with that of the stars.

There were, before the close of the century, clear evidences that the hermit's life was preferred by many to the usual community life of the monk. It may be that our stern ascetics regarded the influx of native and foreign students to our monasteries, as obstacles to high and intimate union with God. It is certain that the desire to live in complete solitude became very general, and marks a new epoch in the religious life of Ireland. The hermits of the period are known as a distinct order of Irish Saints.¹ This "Third Order" of Irish Saints, as they are called, numbered one hundred, and were nearly all priests. "They dwelt in deserts, and lived on herbs, water, and alms; they shunned possessing private property."² There were amongst them also some few bishops, amongst whom we find the name of St. Colman. Dr. Lanigan³ assures us that this Bishop Colman of the Third Class was, "according to every appearance," St. Colman of Kilmacduagh.

Indeed, there can be no doubt that St. Colman Mac Duagh sought in the depths of the Burren forests, for perfect solitude and seclusion to commune alone with his Creator, like another Anthony or Hilarion. The career of austere and exalted sanctity on which we now see him entering even recalls the desert life of the Baptist, who fed on the locusts and honey of

¹ Lanigan, vol. ii. chap. xiv.

² *Memoir of St. Patrick*, p. 89.

³ *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 341.

the desert. A spirit of profound humility, a love of retirement and mortification, were virtues which he had hitherto cultivated with assiduity, and which constituted leading traits in his character. But the solitudes of Aranmore, and the sacrifices and austerities practised there by the holy disciples of St. Enda, seemed insufficient to the generous soul of St. Colman Mac Duagh. He resolved to give himself to the practices of penance and contemplation with all the ardour of his soul in complete solitude and retirement.

The Burren ranges form the mountain barriers which divide Aidhne on the south-west from the rugged defiles of Corcomroe. Extremely desolate at the present day, the Burren hills had their rugged sides then clothed with dense forests, well calculated to afford that concealment for which he sought. The waving pines, the lordly oaks, the graceful ash which crowned the summits and rugged sides of Burren, have long since been cut away. Only a few of the hazel copses of its valleys remain. But there is no one familiar with its rugged solitudes and deep defiles, at the present day, that cannot realise how it was in St. Colman's time well fitted to be a hermit's chosen home.

Colgan informs us that St. Colman retired to Burren accompanied by a solitary attendant, while his old enemy and namesake, Colman, father of Guaire, yet occupied the throne of Connaught. And it is not improbable that a knowledge of the cruel persecutions to which his mother had been subjected by her royal kinsman, made him regard it as a matter of grave importance to conceal as much as possible the place of his retirement.

Though we cannot fix the date, we can form an accurate approximate judgment as to the time of his retirement into Burren.

Guaire did not succeed to the throne of Connaught till A.D. 604. His brother Loigneun succeeded his father Colman, and reigned for seven years. As it was in Colman's reign that our Saint retired to his hermitage, the period of his retirement could not be later than the last decade of the sixth century. We are informed by Colgan that St. Colman wrote from his retirement to St. Columba, then in Iona, seeking spiritual direction; and we know the death of St. Columba occurred in A.D. 597.¹

Our Saint constructed his little oratory at the base of the frowning cliff of "Ceanaille." Tradition points to a cave close to the oratory in which he sought shelter and repose. A

¹ Montalembert; Lanigan.

crystal fountain supplied him with drink, the wild herbs of the forest were his only food, and the skins of the wild deer formed his coarse and scanty raiment either in summer heats or wintry snows.¹

Here shut out from all human converse, and dead to all earthly things, he led a life of the highest spirituality. His fasts, like his prayers and vigils, were interrupted only by the necessities of failing nature.² So absorbing did his sense of Divine love become, that he was frequently wrapped in ecstasy, and enjoyed the most abundant spiritual consolations. He had, however, his moments of aridity, when God seemed to withdraw Himself from His servant. It was in one of those moments of spiritual trial that he wrote to St. Columba. Colgan's brief reference to the Apostle of Iona's reply, shows us that it was full of friendly sympathy and of respect for St. Colman's sanctity. He reminds St. Colman that the great losses complained of presupposed the existence of abundant spiritual treasures.³ Such friendly banter can be easily understood, when we remember they were kinsmen. And as St. Columba himself had traversed those Burren solitudes,⁴ and erected a church in one of its deepest valleys,—Glan Columkille,—it is possible that they may have been personally acquainted.

Of course there are legends full of the marvellous yet preserved in connection with his stay in his Burren hermitage. To the readers of the nineteenth century they will appear incredible. By some they may be even regarded as too puerile to find any place in serious history. Some of those are given by Colgan, however. And Keating repeats the legends on the authority of a manuscript of "*some credit, though of small importance.*" It should be remembered that those eminent writers who reproduce those legends never professed to do more than carefully reproduce what they had found in ancient writings, without at all holding themselves responsible for their credibility.

Keating writes: "Mac Duagh was retired into the wilderness for the benefit of his devotion. He had no living creature about him except a cock, a mouse, and a fly. The use of the cock was to give him notice of the time of night by his crowing,

¹ "Olera sylvestria cibus . . . pellibus cervorum vestiebantur."—A. A. S.

² "Labia a divinis laudibus non cessavit nisi quando mens ejus extra se raptâ tota ferebatur in celestia."—A. A. S. p. 244.

³ "Jacturas et damna non esse nisi ubi substantiæ et possessiones reperiuntur."

⁴ See A. A. S.

that he might know when to apply himself to his prayers. The mouse, it seems, had his proper office, which was to prevent the Saint from sleeping above five hours within the space of twenty-four; for, when the business of his devotion, which he exercised with great reverence and regularity upon his knees, had so fatigued his spirits that they required a longer refreshment, the mouse would come to his ears and scratch him with his feet till he was perfectly awake. The fly always attended on him when he was reading. It had the sense, it seems, to walk along the lines of the book; and when the Saint had tired his eyes, and was willing to desist, the fly would stay upon the first letter of the next sentence, and by that means direct him where he was to begin."

Amongst the writers of weight who even censure the reproduction of such legends as the foregoing, I may mention Dr. Lanigan. Yet neither modern science nor modern modes of thought can regulate God's ways with His Saints, which shall be ever "wonderful." And considering the sanctity and sinlessness of those who sacrifice all, even the society of men, that they may give themselves more unreservedly to God, it will seem less wonderful that the brute creation are sometimes made for them the agents of God's bountiful protection.

For seven long years our Saint lived on in his Burren hermitage, completely hidden and unknown. Yet how quickly the years had sped! The songs of the forest birds, and the music of the mountain streams, and the whisperings of the breezes as they stirred the rustling leaves, had grown familiar and dear to him during those seven summers past, and the remembrance of them seemed like the recollection of some happy and tranquillising dream. How could he forget the long prayers, happily uninterrupted by the turmoil of the world, offered there beneath the vault of heaven—

"A fitting shrine to hear the Maker's praise,
Such as no human architect has raised,
Where gems and gold and precious marbles blaze."

Yet the time was fast approaching when he should leave his beloved retreat, and stand before his kindred and the world, as a burning light and an ornament to the episcopacy.

The accession of Guaire to the throne of Connaught in the opening years of the seventh century was destined to mark a new and a bright era in the religious life of the clans of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne; and the son of St. Colman's inveterate enemy was raised up by God to become at once his friend and powerful patron.

The Hospitable King had his principal residence at Kinvara ; and yet, though living at Kinvara, he seems to have had no knowledge of the presence of his holy kinsman in Burren. The king at length discovered the hermitage, and became so deeply impressed with the holy solitary's sanctity, that he urged him to accept the episcopal charge of the territory of Aidhne. Such a discovery was perhaps inevitable. But our annalists speak of it as brought about by supernatural agency, to which some of our mediæval writers have added some incredible marvels of the usual legendary character. The narrative is given at length by Colgan, who takes it from the *Menology* of Aengus.

Our Saint had spent the Lent in the usual exercises of austerity. And on Easter morning, after reciting the divine office and offering the sacred mysteries, he inquired of his youthful attendant if he had procured anything special for their repast in that great and joyous feast. His attendant replied that he had only procured a little wild fowl in addition to the herbs which were their usual fasting fare,¹ and began to repine at the severity of a life which even on so joyous a festival brought them no legitimate relaxation. He contrasted their position with that of those who had the good fortune of forming Guaire's household. The Saint, seeing with concern that his attendant's patience was nigh exhausted, commended the matter to God, and urged that the King of Heaven and Earth, whose servants they were, could easily supply a feast, and strengthen his attendant's failing confidence, if such were His Divine pleasure. And as to Guaire's royal banquet, to which reference was made, and of which his chieftains and retainers were then about to partake, it might, if it so pleased Providence, be transferred from the palace to the hermitage.

The banquet was being set on the royal tables at Durlus while the Saint was yet speaking. And there can be no doubt that it was a sumptuous one, and worthy of His Majesty's characteristic love of hospitality. The old writers recount with evident satisfaction the important additions to the feast which had been procured specially for the occasion by the king's huntsmen. Before sitting down to the feast, the king exclaimed, with unusual impressiveness, "Oh, would it pleased Heaven that this banquet were set before some true servants of God who require it ; as for us, we might easily be provided with another." He had no sooner spoken than the dishes were removed by invisible hands. All were struck with astonish-

¹ "Ille autem nihil habens quod apponent præter consueta olera et unam aviculam," etc.

ment. The king, amazed at the marvel, summons his mounted guard, that they may follow, and discover, if possible, the destination of the dishes. All his retinue follow in hot haste, and are accompanied by a motley crowd of women and children from the district through which they pass.¹ Meantime, the dishes had reached the Burren hermitage, and were set down in the open space in which the Saint and his disciple were wont to partake of their scanty meals. On seeing them, the disciple exclaimed, "O father, behold the reward of thy patience! Let us thankfully partake of the food sent us by our good God." Our Saint, however, would first know with certainty whence they had come, and is informed by an angel that the feast was sent in response to his prayers, and through the benevolence of the king.² Meantime, the unexpected arrival of His Majesty with his retinue and followers filled them with alarm. Their astonishment at discovering the oratory and cell was increased by seeing the banquet spread before the holy hermit and his attendant, who, with thankful hearts, and, it may be assumed, with good appetites, were about to partake of the good things thus bountifully provided for them by Heaven. But our Saint, with a full confidence in the protection of Heaven, commanded that his unexpected visitors should not approach till he and his disciple should have partaken of the feast so providentially provided for them. And here another marvel occurs. Riders and pedestrians alike are unable to move.³ The level limestone ledges bear to the present day the footprints, as it is piously thought, of that motley gathering; Colgan, who gives the legend, must have thought so. No doubt this singular phenomenon of the footprints on the rocks must have been in the days of Colgan, and in the still more remote times of Aengus, much more striking than it is in our time. But the ascent or approach through the mountain gorge is in our time, as in Colgan's and centuries earlier, called "*Bohir na Maes*," i.e. the Road of the Dishes. Thus did it please God to manifest in a most striking manner the singular sanctity of His servant to the king and the assembled multitude. The favour which he found with God was thus manifested to the world, despite his humble efforts to hide himself, as well from the admiration as from the hostility of men. At the king's entreaties, all were again set at liberty through the Saint's prayers; and they returned to publish

¹ "*Fœminæ pueri et tota patria turmatim regem et aulam sequuntur.*"

² "*Cui angelica vox respondit vestra oratio et præpia Guarri liberalitas.*"

³ "*Res stupenda, hærent equites hærent pædetes canes et equi sistuntur nec ante nec retrogressum movere potuerunt.*"

throughout Aidhne the sanctity of the holy solitary, and the extraordinary things which it pleased Heaven to do through the efficacy of his prayers.

Then, as there are now, there were men probably who scoff at austerities. Seeking only the present, and such enjoyments as the world gives, they account the wisdom of the Saints as supreme folly. Disregarding the future, they know no restraints except such as conventional propriety render necessary. The Saints, on the other hand, looking beyond the present to the bright future which faith reveals, sacrifice the transient for the everlasting. And were not they in truth truly wise and truly heroic whom we see in the Thebaid in the fourth century, and in Ireland in the seventh, leading lives of solitude and rigid penance! They heard the Redeemer's voice inviting them to follow Him in the path of perfection, and in a spirit of sublime self-abandonment they left all to follow Him. Surely that untiring patience, that indomitable perseverance, that willing and joyous spirit of endurance which they exhibited in their holy lives, should command the admiration even of worldlings.

When the foundation of humility is safely and deeply laid, then and then only can we attempt to raise the superstructure which reaches heaven. Oh, blessed virtue of humility! chiefest ornament of God's servants! source and secret of their greatness! It is thus that the humble are exalted, and the lowly magnified, and the weak made strong, and the timid and retiring are fitted by God for the achievement of great things.

Nor are we to mistake the sufferings and penitential lives of the Saints for sources of mere present unhappiness. They suffer, it is true. But the weight of their burden ceases to oppress them, because they suffer for Christ, a good and tender Master. And so their tears lose their bitterness, and become sources of consolation and of interior peace surpassing all understanding; and the peace which beams upon their souls, like a ray of light from God's own presence, brings with it repose and interior joy.

Though it has been remarked that the Third Order of our Saints were *holy*, while those of the Second Order were holy in the second degree, and the First Order *thrice holy*, Dr. Lanigan well remarks that there were among the Third Order many Saints as holy as in either the Second or First. Star differs from star in beauty, yet all go to constitute that harmonious whole which we contemplate with wonder in our clear midnight skies. So our Saints, reflecting each in his own degree the sanctity of Him whom they served so faithfully,

have shed upon Ireland a light and a glory which the night of ages has failed to dim.

St. Colman's oratory, secluded though it was, was only about five miles from the royal residence at Kinvara. Though now much ruined, enough remains to enable us to form an idea of its original extent. It is about 16 ft. by 12, and the southern side wall and eastern gable are completely ruined. The northern side wall is nearly perfect, and has one small window, exceedingly rude and simple, close to the western gable. The western gable has neither door nor window. The dimensions of the oratory may be said to coincide fairly with the dimensions of those that were constructed in the seventh century. The average dimensions of such buildings are stated to be about 15 ft. in length by 10 in breadth,—interior measurement. Yet Petrie expressly states that there was amongst those ancient buildings a want of uniformity as to size.¹ But though the dimensions of the Burren oratory coincide with the average measurements of such buildings, yet it wants some of the most striking features peculiar to the oratories of the seventh century. There is no trace of the doorway with its inclining jambs which always stood in the western gable. Neither does the masonry seem to belong to the old cyclopean style. It is pretty certain that the original oratory erected by our Saint at Burren was of wood, and that the present ruined oratory was erected on its site. When we remember that our Saint entered the Burren forests accompanied only by a youthful attendant, it will be clear that the erection of a stone oratory would have been attended with very serious difficulties, which neither his actual requirements nor the custom of the period would require him to undertake. The oratories of the period were usually of wood,—though not, says Petrie,² always of that material, even where wood was abundant and stone scarce.

The existing ruin belongs to different periods. The masonry of the gable affords unmistakeable evidence of having been restored and elevated somewhat above its original height. The restoration may have been as recent as the early part of the thirteenth century. O'Brien, by whom the neighbouring monastery of Corcomroe was founded, about A.D. 1200, may have ordered and carried out the restoration of the oratory. Speaking of such oratories, Petrie writes: "It can scarcely be questioned that this class of buildings were originally erected for the private devotion of their founders exclusively. And if there were any doubts of this, they would be removed by the

¹ Petrie, *Round Towers*, p. 351.

² *Ibid.* p. 350.

fact that in the immediate vicinity of such oratories we usually find not only the cells, or the ruins of them, which served as habitations for the founders, but also the tombs in which they were interred.”¹

Here, indeed, we have the cell. As has been already stated, it is a cave, still known as “St. Colman’s Grotto,” or “Leaba Mhic Duagh,” situated on a steep elevation about 30 ft. above the oratory. It is about 15 ft. long, by 4 or 5 at its greatest width. Even a tall man may with ease stand erect within it.

Close to the oratory, and on the northern side, is an oblong piece of solid masonry. It is about $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long by 6 wide. Its height is about 4 ft. Local traditions are entirely silent as regards its object. Neither does Petrie’s suggestion quoted above throw light upon it. As St. Colman was buried at Kilmacduagh, it cannot be the founder’s tomb.

It is, however, well known that those oratories were frequently used as places of penance. Hence they are not unusually called “houses of tears,” or “duirtheachs.” Nor is it easy to conceive places better fitted for penance in a religious age, and amongst a pious people. It is not, therefore, improbable that the monument to which I refer may mark the grave of some zealous copyist of the austerities of St. Colman Mac Duagh.

A beautiful fountain, dedicated to St. Colman, is also close to the oratory. This holy well is enclosed by a circular enclosure of solid masonry. Some ancient hawthorns cluster there, and in the early summer still fill the air with the fragrance of their blossoms. They must, however, be very old, as some of them are fast decaying.

There are no inscriptions on the ruins. And as the names of the restorers of this most interesting monument are forgotten, so too are the names of those by whom it was desecrated and left in ruins. We know, however, that the Castle of Leimeneagh was garrisoned by Cromwell’s followers for a time. Our knowledge of their fierce fanaticism would justify the suspicion that they are responsible for the sacrilegious outrage; the plunderers of Corcomroe were not likely to have spared the oratory. It is to those men that a lugubrious epigram is attributed, which was as suggestive of the bent of their murderous dispositions, as it was descriptive of the then barren character of the district.² “Burren,” they said, “had neither wood enough to hang a man, nor earth enough to bury a man, nor water enough to drown a man.” But though ruined for centuries, the memory of our great Saint

¹ Petrie, *Round Towers*, p. 357. ² Lewis’s *Topographical Dictionary*.

has invested this oratory with an interest in the minds of the people and the district, which time cannot destroy. Though wrecked and ruined, it remains a sacred shrine. Within the solitudes of those eternal hills it has preserved imperishably for over twelve centuries the fame of St. Colman's sanctity. It is a monument more imperishable than sculptured marble.

The cliff which shelters the ruined oratory of St. Colman is the loftiest in the Burren Mountains. Rising in crescent form against the north, it encloses within its sheltering embrace the ruins of the unpretending oratory in which the Saint so often prayed and offered the Holy Mass. Its situation, even at the present day, is one of singular loneliness. The very spirit of solitude seems to pervade the place, and to assert its sovereignty. On the crest of the cliff the Burren eagles have their eyrie. Save the mountain goat, which safely leaps from crag to crag along the ivy-covered ledges of rock, few other living things are seen. The scanty but rich grass of the valleys, however, affords nutritious pasture to sheep and cattle. Though the forest trees flourish there no longer, and the rugged limestone ledges, which rise like gigantic terraces one above the other, are everywhere visible, yet it is rarely that one sees a more striking view than that which is commanded by the plateau in which St. Colman's oratory is situated.

Towards the south and west the mountains rise in rugged boldness,—eastward, the plain of Aidhne extends until the mountains of Echtge limit the vision. The plains of Maenmoy and Hy Bruin extend along the horizon from north to east. The beautiful Bay of Galway, the Lough Lurgan of the ancients, lies nearer, and extends its many arms inland, until it washes the walls of the ancient palace in which Guaire dispensed his lavish hospitality. Under the bright sunlight the waters of the bay sparkle like a polished mirror. Islands, headlands, and wooded promontories form many a sheltered cove, where the fisherman's skiff rides leisurely on the tranquil tide. The woods of Mairee and Tyrone on the one side, and of Durus on the other, give to the whole the appearance of a great inland lake.

The hamlets seem to sleep on the quiet plain below. The feudal castles, standing out prominently in the landscape, speak of days of warfare happily passed away. The surface of grey limestone which gives to this portion of the Galway seaboard a marked appearance of barrenness, is diversified by occasional cultivated fields and patches of pasture; seen under the bright sunlight, the landscape there is often invested with a weird charm, enhanced by the shadow of the frowning mountains on one side, and on the other by the sparkling waters of the bay.

CHAPTER X.

St. Colman builds a monastery, and becomes Bishop of Kilmacduagh—
Was he aided by St. Gobban the “Architect”?—Monastery founded
A.D. 610—Existing ruins described—The Cathedral—The Monastery
—St. John’s Church—Our Lady’s—Bishop’s House.

THE character of the holy Solitary of Burren, thus providentially made public, won for him at once the esteem of his clansmen. His austerities and his miracles were on the lips of all, and the public joy was increased by the knowledge that he was a representative of one of the noblest of the tribes of Hy Fiachrach. Meantime, the king, his relative, was urgent in his request that St. Colman should found a monastery, and also assume episcopal charge of the territory of his kinsman. The office of abbot and bishop were frequently united. It did not always happen in those days that bishops exercised episcopal jurisdiction. They were more numerous in our early Irish Church than in modern times. As Montalembert puts it, “they were in many cases incorporated as a necessary but subordinate part of the ecclesiastical machinery with the great monastic bodies.”¹ But in most cases, as in the case of our Saint, the abbot who was invested with the dignity of bishop also exercised episcopal jurisdiction, and in such cases their jurisdiction was coextensive with the territory or tribe or clan to which they belonged. Thus it happened that the jurisdiction of St. Colman Mac Duagh extended over the entire territory of Aidhne, the patrimony of the southern Hy Fiachrach, and that the ancient boundaries of the territory continued in after times to mark the boundaries of the diocese of Kilmacduagh. This conventual organisation was spread throughout the land. Indeed, it was the sole ecclesiastical organisation of the period. But it cannot be doubted that it suited perfectly the requirements of the time, and the religious spirit of the country. Its results are summarised by the gifted author of the *Monks of the West*.² He says: “In those vast monastic cities, that fidelity to the Church which Ireland has maintained with heroic constancy for fourteen centuries, in face

¹ *Monks of the West*, vol. iii. p. 281. ² *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 86.

of all the excesses as well as of all the refinements of persecution, took permanent root." There can be no doubt that those arrangements adopted in our early Church suited the temperament of the people and their institutions. It was not till the Synod of Kells, that dioceses, as known to us, were canonically constituted in Ireland.

In earnest prayer St. Colman sought the Divine guidance, and it was soon revealed to him that the king's requests were in conformity with the will of Heaven. It was furthermore revealed to him, that the site of his monastery and cathedral would be miraculously pointed out to him.¹ His girdle was to drop to the earth of itself, on the particular place on which the monastery was to be founded. When gazing from the elevated tablelands near his Burren hermitage, over the territory of Aidhne, he may perhaps have noted specially the solitudes towards the south-east, where the lakes and swamps spread out towards the undulating forest lands. At the north-western side of the diocese, the monastery of St. Colga, at Kilcolgan, was a centre of light and guidance for the surrounding districts. The example of St. Sourney, the teachings and example of St. Foila, were additional powerful incentives to sanctity in the same districts. The most remote districts of Aidhne, which were those on the south, appealed perhaps most strongly to the charity of Colman. And besides, those solitudes amongst which Colman was about to construct his monastery, while favourable to monastic quiet and holy contemplation, were dangerous to travellers. His monastery there would prove a refuge to many to whom the dangerous passes of those low-lying lands might otherwise prove fatal.

Certain it is that our Saint proceeded thither, and discovered, by the anticipated sign of the girdle falling, that it was the destined site of his monastery. "As he journeyed through the forest," says Colgan, "his cincture fell on a certain place, not far from his former cell, and there he built his monastery, which, from his name, is commonly called Kilmacduagh." This girdle continued to be long preserved with religious care by his kinsmen, the O'Shaughnessys. It was in their possession in the thirteenth century; and even centuries later, in Colgan's time, they retained it still. It was studded with gems; and it possessed the marvellous property of fitting all who were chaste, though it could not be used by the unchaste, no matter how emaciated.

¹ "Postea autem divinitus monitus de cella extruenda quo primum ejus zona ceu cingulum in terram caderet."—Colgan.

St. Colman was now face to face with a great work. It was a holy work, the results of which were destined to endure. It was a work which would inscribe his name on the hearts of a grateful people, who would transmit it, with the memory of his virtues, from generation to generation.

King Guaire, with characteristic generosity, not only granted the required site for the cathedral and monastery, but granted also large endowments for its future maintenance.¹ This was not all. His Majesty sent several teams of oxen to procure the necessary materials. He sent numerous labourers and skilled artisans to carry out the work. Though chroniclers are silent on the fact, we have it on the authority of a very widely-received tradition, that through the influence of the king he was also able to secure the assistance of Gobban, the eminent architect. This tradition is noticed as of special importance by Walsh.² It is also noticed at considerable length by the learned Petrie,³ from whom I take the following extracts. "In popular tradition," he writes, "the erection of both (church and tower) is assigned to Gobban Saer." In another place, referring to the same tradition, he says: "Nor can I think the popular tradition of the country is of little value, which ascribes the erection of several of the existing towers to the celebrated architect Gobban, or, as he is popularly called, 'Gobban Saer,' who flourished early in the seventh century; for it is remarkable that such a tradition never exists in connection with any towers but those in which the architecture is in perfect harmony with the churches of that period, as in the towers of Kilmacduagh, Killala, and Antrim; and it is further remarkable that the age assigned to the first buildings of Kilmacduagh, about the year 620, is exactly that in which this celebrated Irish architect flourished." The learned writer points out that Gobban's reputation as a builder is preserved wherever the Irish language was then spoken in Ireland. And yet the traditions in the South and West by no means ascribe the erection of their oldest buildings to this celebrated man. Brash expressly states that Petrie is in error "when he states that the traditions of the South assert that he never visited or was employed on buildings south-west of Galway or south-west of Tipperary." Dr. Petrie's regard for the trustworthiness of those traditions must recommend them strongly to the intelligent.

Nor is Gobban a mere myth, as some might be disposed to think. That he flourished, and obtained a pre-eminence for

¹ "Amplissima munera ei obtulit et quæcunque vellet prædia."—Colgan.

² *Eccl. Hist. Ireland*, p. 575.

³ *Round Towers*, p. 405.

skill in building in the seventh century, are incontestable facts. But Gobban is not only remarkable for his fame as an architect, but for the far higher distinction of being ranked amongst our early Saints.

He was an illiterate monk in the monastery of St. Madoc of Ferns. "A church was to be erected," writes the chronicler, "but no builder could be found to guide the religious brethren in the work. Wherefore, full of confidence in God, St. Aidan (Madoc) blessed the hands of an untutored man named Gobban. From that moment he became most skilled in all the intricacies of the art, and was able in a most perfect manner to complete the church of the monastery."¹ His skill was subsequently shown in the erection of many other churches and monasteries, and he is known in the ancient historic tales and legendary poems of our island as Gobban Saer."² O'Curry,³ speaking of Gobban, adds, "and it was his constant occupation to do the work of the Saints in every place in which they were, until at length he lost his sight." In the ancient life of St. Abban, published by Colgan, it is prophetically said of Gobban that his fame as a builder in wood as well as in stone would last in Ireland to the end of time,⁴ a prophecy which hitherto at least has been amply verified. A manuscript of the eighth century, discovered at St. Paul's at Carinthia, also records his fame—not merely as a builder of ordinary religious houses, but also of towers—in the following lines :—

" It was Gobban that erected them,
A black house of penance and a tower.
It was through belief in the God of heaven
That the choicest towers were built."

Such are the strong testimonies which reach us from different authentic sources attesting the singular pre-eminence of Gobban as an architect. We have seen that his fame as a living architect was widely known when St. Colman was about to found his monastic buildings at Kilmacduagh. His coming to superintend the construction of his monastic establishment for St. Colman, would be easily accounted for by the friendship which, as we saw, existed between King Guaire and St. Madoc, of whom Gobban was a disciple.

There can be no doubt that the date of the foundations at Kilmacduagh was A.D. 610. This date is thus definitely fixed, as regards the monastery and cathedral, by such writers as

¹ *Vita St. Aidani.*

² *Eccl. Record*, 1871, p. 367.

³ *Manners and Customs of Ancient Erin*, vol. ii. p. 44.

⁴ *A. A. S.* p. 619. See also Walsh, *Eccl. Hist.* p. 574.

Lanigan,¹ Colgan,² Dr. Petrie,³ Walsh,⁴ and others; and Brash, though quoting Lanigan, simply states that the date of the foundation was probably before the year 620. Mr. Brash might have done Lanigan the justice of adding that Colman, in Lanigan's opinion, founded Kilmacduagh in the fourth or fifth year of Guaire's reign, and that, therefore, in his opinion the foundation may be assigned to "about 610." There are also very strong reasons adduced in support of the opinion that the tower of Kilmacduagh was erected at the same time. This conclusion, indeed, seems to be deducible from the perfect similarity of style between the oldest portions of the cathedral and tower. Petrie, writing on this subject, says:⁵ "The perfect similarity of the masonry of the tower to that of the original portions of the great church, leaves no doubt of their being contemporaneous structures." And again he writes:⁶ "But whatever uncertainty there may be as to the existence of those buildings (towers) in St. Patrick's time, there can, I think, be little, if any, doubt that they were not uncommon in the sixth and seventh centuries. Of the fact we have a striking evidence in the architectural characters of many of the existing towers, in which a perfect agreement of style is found with the original churches, where such exist. As a remarkable instance of this, I may point to the church and tower of Kilmacduagh." Certainly, had the tower existed at Kilmacduagh prior to St. Colman's foundations there, it would have formed a very noteworthy feature in the site which he had chosen for his church and monastery; and we might naturally expect that some reference to it might be made by our early writers. Yet our writers are silent regarding it. We think that no more rational explanation of their silence regarding it can be offered than that it was not then constructed. When other features of the site are pointed out by our early writers,—that, namely, of its being not far distant from St. Colman's former cell,—it would be difficult to think that so prominent an additional feature of the place as a tower would have constituted, had it existed there, would not have been also noticed. In this connection we may notice the existing ruins there. The cathedral is the largest, and it is also in many senses the most interesting, of the many extant monuments at Kilmacduagh. It stands nearest to the round tower. Its form is that of a Greek cross, and in this is unlike most of our ancient churches. But it owes this peculiar form to its transepts,

¹ Lanigan's *Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 342.

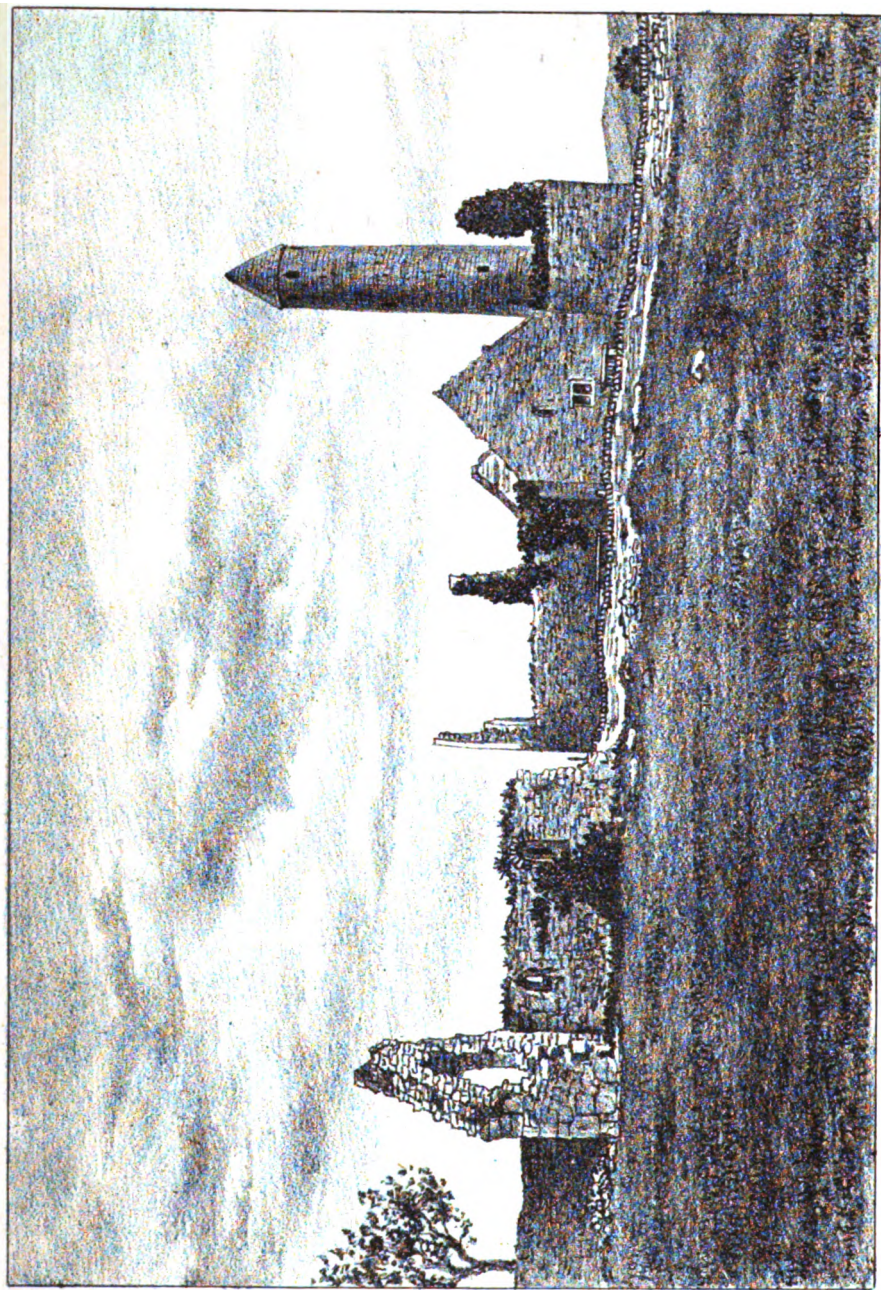
² *A. A.S.* p. 219.

³ *Round Towers*, p. 176.

⁴ Walsh, *Eccl. Hist.* p. 312.

⁵ *Round Towers*, pp. 399, 400.

⁶ *Ibid.*



**CATHEDRAL AND TOWER OF KILMACDUAGH,
WITH ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.**

length, and the distance to the choir is about 100 feet. The floor is made of a single block of stone, and the walls are made of brick.

We then passed on into the choir, which is a small square room, and the walls are made of brick. The floor is made of a single block of stone, and the walls are made of brick.

The choir is a small square room, and the walls are made of brick. The floor is made of a single block of stone, and the walls are made of brick.

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CATHEDRAL AND TOWER OF KILMACQUACH.

which did not belong to the original plan, and are not older than the fifteenth century. Its original form, we can have no doubt, was an oblong.

We are assured on high authority that a very remote antiquity may be claimed for the western exit of the present structure. By Petrie it is referred to as a portion of St. Colman's original church. The masonry of the gable and portion of the side walls is cyclopean. The doorway in the gable, with its marked cyclopean characteristics, is well preserved, though built up in solid masonry. It is 6 feet 6 inches in height, 3 feet 2 inches at level of floor, and 2 feet 6 inches at the lintel, which is formed of one massive stone extending the entire width of wall. The width of this gable, which fixes the uniform width of the church as it stands, is 22 feet 7 inches. The height of this ancient gable, which is considerable, has fixed the height of chancel and transept gables. An addition to the original height of the side walls is, however, distinctly traceable, and the corresponding change in the pitch of the roof is shown in the western gable. The rebuilding, enlargement, and restoration of the church at various periods have removed all traces of its original length. Its length, however, must have been considerable, as the ancient masonry is distinctly traceable in the northern side wall for a distance of perhaps 30 feet or more.

Subsequent restorations and extensions gave the church its present length, which is 97 feet 10 inches. It is very probable that the earliest enlargement included a portion of the choir and the entire of the present chancel, which is 25 feet 6 inches in length, and uniform with the church in breadth. It is lighted by a window filled with simple stone tracery of the late Early English period. The splay on the inside is wide and regular; and its closely-jointed and well-chiselled stones present a surface unbroken and seemingly fresh after the lapse of centuries. A door leads from the chancel to a neat but comparatively modern sacristy on the south side.

The chancel is separated from the choir by a semicircular arch, which is supported by plain and strong pilasters 3 feet wide. The most striking feature of the chancel arch is the closely-jointed and well-cut surface which it presents. The completion of choir and chancel as it stands does not, probably, belong to a more remote period than the close of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The south transept must have been the next important addition to the cathedral. It stands nearer the western gable

than to the chancel gable. It opens on the nave by a pointed arch, which is moulded and well cut, but somewhat low. This wing has therefore much more the appearance of a side chapel than of an ordinary transept. It probably was Our Lady's Chapel. The interior is lighted by a fine window in the gable, with well-preserved flamboyant tracery; and a smaller but well-proportioned window in the eastern side wall, of the same style. The masonry consists of neat and carefully-set courses. Its erection cannot be referred to an earlier period than the fifteenth century. Its length is 25 feet and its width 22 feet 4 inches.

A stone altar, well moulded, and showing twisted columns at the front angles, stands there in fair preservation, though it had been used recently as a tomb,¹ and was thus considerably injured. A nicely-cut stone bracket still occupies the angle on the right of the altar. The well-moulded doorway of the cathedral, situated in the southern side wall and close to the western gable, was probably inserted at the same period, and the old western entrance closed with masonry, which remains to the present day.

The position of the north transept corresponds with that of the southern transept. There is also an arch of about the same dimensions, but much more rudely constructed; probably it was owing to the defective style of its construction that it was filled up with masonry, as it is now, leaving only a simple Gothic doorway to open on the church. This transept has therefore all the appearance of a chapel; and is, in fact, often spoken of as the "O'Shaughnessy Chapel." It is so called by Pococke in his *Irish Tour*, 1752. It contains, indeed, many interesting memorials of that remarkable though unfortunate family. Opposite the entrance, and against the transept gable, stands by far the most interesting monument in the church. It is sometimes called an "altar;" it probably is an altar-tomb, as it still bears upon it, in light and very delicate relief, two shields, one at either side, with the coat of arms of the unfortunate O'Shaughnessys, baronets of Gort. The triple-towered castle, *e.g.*, is still easily traceable in both; the two lions, or supporters, are also still distinctly traceable. Little else, however, is now traceable there; and though we know that the motto of the family was "Fortis et stabilis,"² it is now illegible, if it ever had been inscribed upon them.

On a plinth, which must have stood somewhat higher than

¹ An inscription on the table refers to an O'Shaughnessy family, and gives a date 1798.

² *Customs of Hy Fiachrach.*

the transept floor, rests a simple cut stone projection, which supports a table which measures 3 feet 2 inches in width, but projects only a few feet from the line of gable. On this table rest square bases about twelve inches high, on which rest pillars with moulded bases and Corinthian capitals. The pillars, including bases and capitals, measure 4 feet 1 inch, and support an entablature carefully moulded, and measuring 1 foot 5 inches in depth. The back of the altar is done in carefully-chiselled stone, showing on either side, and close to the capitals of the pillars, the raised shields; and in the centre, and between the shields, a large space is deeply and carefully incised into the masonry. It might have been used as a place in which relic-cases could have been safely exhibited.

Instead of the usual tympanum which one might have expected would surmount a structure savouring so much of the Renaissance, it has a Crucifixion rudely sculptured in relief. The slab on which it is cut is placed under a simple cornice, and between arabesque figures, set within square pinnacles, which rest on the extremities of the entablature. Over the projecting cornice of the Crucifixion, similar pinnacles, on a narrower space, form the crowning finials of the structure.

Though this monument bears no inscription, there is a mural slab adjoining it on the Epistle side, bearing an inscription in small raised letters, now scarcely legible, which probably refers to it:—

Fecerunt me Ughonus
filius Hugonis O
Shaghnasi de Cluonyn
et uxor ejus Norina Grifa temp
ore Di Rogeri Shaghnasi militis
sue nationis Capitane
sub Carolo rege an o reg 16 8° Cris.
Anno Domini 1645.

This Roger O'Shaughnessy referred to was the Sir Roger, chief of the sept, who resided in Feddane Castle in 1647. O'Donovan gives the date of his death as 1650. Of Hugo O'Shaughnessy of Clonyn,¹ and his wife Norina Grifa, we know nothing further. But we think that the adjoining altar-tomb must be the monument which they claim the credit of having erected.

There is a much larger slab, with an inscription of the same

¹ Clonyn became in more recent times the residence of the Blake Fosters, and is known now as Ashfield.

period, inserted in the wall on the other side of the altar. Its original place in the church is, however, unknown. It was found detached from the building at the time of the recent restoration, and placed in its present position with a view to its preservation. The inscription is as follows :—

Ad majorem Dei gloriam et
M'Duagh . hujus celeberime
Hoc monumentum condi fecerunt
Rogerius O'Shaughnessy et Joanes
Reagh filii Cornelii Rogeri Shac diebus
quorum animabus propiet
c s tempore Reverendi admodum
a m Vicari generalissimi
domini, domn domini Rogeri equitis auriti
sue natio
Ecce quam bonum et quam unum.
PLS. 132.

Owing to the illegible character of the letters, and the somewhat rude latinity, an accurate rendering in English is not easy. The following may prove sufficiently accurate, though it only purports to be a free rendering :—

Roger O'Shaughnessy and John (the Swarthy), sons of Cornelius, erected this monument, to the greater glory of God and Mac Duagh, the celebrated patron of this church, in the lifetime of Sir Roger Shaughnessy, baronet, and in the time of the Very Reverend a m Vicar-General. May God be merciful to their souls.

“Behold how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.”—Ps. cxxxii.

A fracture in the slab makes any efforts hopeless that may be made to discover the name of the Vicar-General referred to. The name of Cornelius O'Shaughnessy, whose sons are referred to, is not given by O'Donovan in his pedigree. The repetition of “dominus,” as expressive of the rank of O'Shaughnessy, is not without precedent in the adulatory latinity of the seventeenth century.

Another slab, found during the recent restorations in the choir of the cathedral, is now placed in the side wall, and not far from those which we have been examining. Though somewhat injured, the following inscription on it is fairly legible :—

In honore Sanctissimi Colomani
 alias Cathedralis Ecclesiæ Duacensis
 Patroni Donaldus Shaughnessy Cornelius Shaughnessy Pres-
 et Vicarius perpetuus de Rossane [bytere
 pro ipsis et ipsorum et hered
 omnipotens Deus. Amen et hoc conditum
 Patris fratris Oliveri de Burgo ex ordine iis
 Apostolici Duacensis, in vita illustrissimi
 Dermotii Shaughnessy de Gortinsigory
 Nis Capitany Anno Domini 1646
 Jucundum habitare fratres
 Memento Mori.

A free rendering of the foregoing may run as follows:—In honour of the most holy Colman, patron of the Cathedral Church of Kilmacduagh, also of the father of Brother Oliver de Burgo, of the Order of Preachers, Vicar-Apostolic of Kilmacduagh. Donald Shaughnessy and Cornelius Shaughnessy, priest and rector of Rossane, had this monument built for them and their heirs. May the omnipotent God be merciful to them.—Amen. In the lifetime of the most illustrious Dermot O'Shaughnessy of Gortinsiguair, captain, A.D. 1646. How pleasant it is for brethren, etc. Remember death.

This simple record of the piety of Donald O'Shaughnessy, and of Cornelius, the parish priest of the district known in our time as Kilbecanty, is all that we know of their public or private lives. The Dermot here referred to was Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, heir of Sir Roger,—to whom reference has been already made,—and his son by his first wife, a Lynch of Galway. As he was the heir-apparent to his father's estates and titles, he must have been then, in 1646, his recognised representative.

Oliver de Burgo was, as we shall see at greater length hereafter, a distinguished Dominican father, and first rector of the Dominican Convent at Louvain, from which important office he was promoted, in the year 1624, to be Vicar-Apostolic of the diocese of Kilmacduagh. This distinguished man was the immediate predecessor of Dr. Hugh de Burgo, under whom the latest attempts towards the restoration and repairs of the church had been made, alas! ineffectually. He was also his brother. This Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy was married to Lord Barrymore's daughter, and died in 1673. By his will, dated 19th January 1671, he ordered that his "bodie be buried in the Cathedral Church of Kill M'Duagh, in the tomb where my ancestors were buried," and his son and heir "shall cause fyve

hundred and fower skore Masses to be said or celebrated for his soule" immediately after his death. By a distinct provision, he bound his second son Charles to have two hundred Masses celebrated for his soul. To James Devenishe he bequeathed his gold diamond ring for "saying one hundred rosaryes for his soule," which are striking evidences of his strong Catholic faith.

The gable of this transept shows on the exterior a small Tudor window, now closed in masonry; but the interior is lighted by a window in each of the side walls of exactly the same character. That on the eastern side wall, though low, had a cut stone mullion, now missing.

Immediately under this window are placed two sculptured slabs. On one of these a bishop, with ancient mitre and crozier, is quaintly carved. The following Latin inscription, in slightly raised letters, runs around it: "Sanctus Colomanus Patronus totius Diocesis Duacensis;" *i.e.* St. Colman, patron of the entire diocese of Kilmacduagh. On the other side, and beside it, is the other slab. It represents the Crucifixion, with the figures of the Blessed Virgin and St. John in the same simple and primitive fashion. This also has an inscription in raised letters, which can be deciphered with some little difficulty:

"Dominus Noster. Sancta Maria. I.N.R.I.
Miserere nostri Domine miserere nostri. Fiat
misericordia tua domine super nos."

I.e. "Our Lord. Holy Mary. I.N.R.I. Have mercy on us, O Lord, have mercy on us. Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be upon us."¹ It is certain that those rudely-sculptured slabs are very ancient. They most probably belonged to the old cathedral, but were removed on the occasion of some restoration or improvement, and reverently inserted in the positions they now occupy, merely for the purpose of preserving them.

If Cotton² may be regarded as a safe authority, Bishop Pococke found those slabs, a hundred years before Cotton wrote, forming portion of an altar "in good taste" on the south side of the cathedral, opposite to where they are now placed. "On the south side of the cathedral is an ancient altar in good taste. Under a relief of a bishop is this inscription: 'Sanctus Colman, patronus totius Diocesis Duacensis.' In the middle is a crucifix, and a person on each side, with 'Ave Maria' and some devotions around it." These quotations may be regarded as showing satisfactorily that those two slabs occupy now a different position from that which they formerly occupied in the cathedral.

¹ Ps. xxxiii. 22.

² *Fasti.*

"In that chapel," writes Pococke, "there was a tomb with this inscription: 'Orate pro anima Edmondi O'Cahel Præpositi et Canonici Duacensis, 1742.' Unfortunately there is now no vestige either of the tomb or of the inscription."

St. Colman's monastery stands apart from his cathedral, and from the other ecclesiastical buildings which are grouped around it. He built it on a low-lying neck of land about 50 perches north-west of the cathedral.

Archdall, referring to this site, says it is situated between two loughs, "which, according to some authors, evacuate themselves in the summer into whirlpools." It is a matter of uncertainty as to whether the whirlpools ever existed. It is certain that they are now entirely unknown in the district.

Under the influence of modern systems of drainage, the lakes have in a measure been dried up. Yet enough of both remain to show the substantial accuracy of our ancient chroniclers. A slightly-elevated causeway which passed by the monastery may still be traced between the lakes. It was probably the great highway which led from the seaside districts of South Connaught to the southern province. Probably one of the great aims of the abbey was to attend to the wants of the travellers who passed there.

From the existing ruins we may infer that the original monastery was one of considerable importance. It was, however, most probably entirely wrecked in the beginning of the thirteenth century by William Fitz Adelm De Burgo. To revenge his defeat at Kilmacduagh, he is said to have ruthlessly destroyed the principal monasteries of the province. Hence it cannot be supposed that he spared that which actually witnessed his defeat before Cathal the Red-handed O'Connor. But St. Colman's Abbey was not suffered to remain long in a state of ruin. It was restored for Canons Regular of St. Augustine, in about the middle of the thirteenth century, by Bishop Ileyan, who died A.D. 1283. The broad features of the existing ruins of the abbey are those of the transition period, and in some cases the very best features of the transition period. There are, however, some evident remains of the older monastery, some of which are especially striking in the lower portion of the chancel of the church.

The Abbey Church, which forms the northern side of a quadrangle, is very interesting and well preserved. A somewhat modern pointed doorway leads to the choir from the quadrangle. There are now no traces of the cloister. This was evidently the entrance intended for the religious. On the northern side, and close to the western gable, there is another

well-cut doorway, which was probably the entrance for the public.

In the chancel, the chancel arch is the only missing feature. All else is perfect. Its columns with their bases and capitals are perfectly preserved. The bases are well moulded. Each pier consists of a cluster of engaged shafts which support rich and curiously-wrought capitals. They are enriched with designs in which are embossed some of the most chaste Romanesque ornaments, with designs of the transition period. The pillars and capitals are of a light-coloured limestone peculiar to the locality. The delicate character of its cutting gives the stone much of the freshness and polish of modern work.

The chancel measures 18 feet 9 inches in length, by 19 feet 9 inches in width, and is lighted on the southern side wall by a lancet 8 feet high by about 6 inches wide, widely splayed on the interior, but without mouldings; and by a double lancet of wide splay and rich moulding in the gable. The class of stone used on this altar window is the same as that of the chancel columns; while the graceful character of design and the delicate style of execution is similar in both. Each curve and line and moulding is as true and fresh as if it were the work of fifty years ago. The chancel window, though recessed and moulded on the exterior, is widely splayed on the interior, and reduces, by a regular and uniform expansion, the central pier to a delicately-moulded shaft, which forms the central support of the arched mouldings of the double lancet. On either side of the window there are shafts similarly moulded, and finished with bases and capitals. Even the interior of the sill shows the same splay of the sides and arch, and also corresponding moulding members. Those delicately-wrought lancets are 8 feet high to top of arch, and only 6 inches wide.

On the exterior of the chancel the carving of the angle quoins into shafts with bases and capitals forms a noteworthy feature. Mr. Brash refers to them, and informs us that similarly finished quoin shafts may be found at Tomgraney, Monaincha, Clonfert, and Temple na Hue. There is even, in the vicinity of Kilmacduagh, another monument with the exterior angles of the chancel similarly finished. It is the beautiful Abbey of Corcomroe, which is not referred to by Mr. Brash.

Archdall, in his references to this abbey, notices that on the north side, "and about 2 feet from the Abbey Church, there is an old wall; an ancient tradition still exists at Kilmacduagh, of its being once a place of penance." We think it unlikely that such a tradition existed in Archdall's time. We are quite

certain that no such tradition existed there in our time. To any ordinary observer it will be clear that the "old wall" referred to, is but the original side wall of the nave, as it existed before its restoration, when the width of the nave was lessened to what it is now.

The eastern wing of the convent quadrangle, which is well preserved, meets the church towards the choir and chancel, and is 56 feet in length, and has a uniform width of 23 feet. A single narrow lancet on the east side wall lights the sacristy, which opens on the choir by a pointed doorway. A somewhat low doorway leads from the sacristy to a vaulted chamber, which is dimly lighted from the east by a small lancet window. It was probably the treasury of the monastery.

Adjoining the treasury is a much larger vaulted apartment, lighted on the east side also by two lancet windows, widely apart. Its only doorway, which is pointed and plainly cut, opens on the quadrangle or cloister. It probably was the refectory of the community.¹ The doorway has been lately built up in solid masonry, and the chamber has been appropriated as the mausoleum of the late proprietor. How such appropriation may be consistent with enlightened taste, we will leave others to inquire.

The side walls rise to a good height over those vaulted chambers; and yet there are no windows to light this upper storey, except two lancet windows which look in on the quadrangle. It is now difficult to conjecture what those apartments were used for. They were, probably, the dormitories of the community. There are no remains on the southern side of the quadrangle. On the western side, however, the masonry of the foundations remains, with a considerable portion of a building which might have served as kitchen. On the northern side of the church the pier of the shattered gateway remains. Portions of the general enclosure may also be traced there still.

To some, this notice of the Abbey and Cathedral of Kilmacduagh may appear rather lengthy; but it should not be forgotten that those monuments have direct reference to the personal history of St. Colman Mac Duagh. Nor can we omit at least a passing notice of other very ancient and interesting ecclesiastical monuments, which cluster around his abbey and cathedral.

The Church of St. John Baptist—Teampuill Owen—is close to the cathedral on the north-east. It consisted of a nave and chancel; but the chancel has nearly entirely disappeared, with

¹ This is Archdall's opinion.

the west gable and north side wall. The southern side wall, however, remains; and indicates the length of the nave and the character of the masonry. It is 74 feet long by 22 feet wide, and was lighted by two small lancet windows on the south side. Those windows are of the most primitive character. The masonry is cyclopean, and seemingly as old as the oldest portion of the cathedral.

Our Lady's Church—Teampuill Muire—is situated at about an equal distance east of the cathedral. It is separated from the cemetery by the public road. The men who were responsible for the vandalism of running the public road through the cemetery, were the members of the Grand Jury of nearly a century ago, whose names are fortunately forgotten.

The church is a plain oblong building, without a chancel, measuring 41 feet 7 inches in length by 19 feet in breadth. The east gable has a narrow lancet window, widely splayed on the interior. There is also a similar lancet in the southern side wall. The door, which is plain, with a semicircular arch, is placed on the south side towards the west gable. It contains no monuments, or other features of special interest.

At a distance of some yards north of St. John's Church, is a large quadrangular building two storeys high, with some projections such as are frequently seen in castellated buildings. The upper storey was well lighted, and still retains some well cut double lancet windows. The masonry of the lower storey is much more massive, and seems to have been altogether without windows. Nearly all the doorways have been wrecked. Though much of its internal arrangement has been destroyed, enough remains to show that it was used as a residence. Many think it was the episcopal residence and seminary in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, an opinion which is regarded as very probable. The name "Seanclogh," by which it is now known amongst the peasantry, throws no light, however, on its original purpose. It has, towards the eastern angle, a curious projection, from which Pococke thinks Benediction used to be given on the 27th of October. When O'Donovan and his distinguished associates were engaged on the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, there were two other oratories at Kilmacduagh, which can only with difficulty be traced out at present. Amongst O'Donovan's letters, now fortunately preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, there is a map showing their position at Kilmacduagh. On this map we have Teampuill beg Mac Duagh, or St. Colman's little Church, and also St. Colman's tomb. The little church stood about 100 yards south-west of the present cathedral. Some moss-covered

mounds alone remain at present to mark its site, and even those are not within the cemetery's enclosure, which seems to have been built much in the interests of the surrounding sheep-walks.

St. Colman's tomb was but a short distance west of the cathedral. It is referred to by Cotton¹ as a "small cell, where they say the patron Saint was buried," and that the "body was afterward carried to Aughrim." Cotton gives no authority in support of the alleged tradition regarding the translation of the Saint's relics. He takes it without acknowledgment from Bishop Pococke's narrative. We have not seen it referred to by any other writer. Tradition clearly points to the site of the Saint's tomb, as that in which the Most Rev. Dr. French, Bishop of the diocese, was interred, A.D. 1852. It probably is the site of the "small cell."

¹ *Fasti*, p. 199.

CHAPTER XI.

The Kilmacduagh round tower recently excavated and restored—Discovery of human skeletons beneath the foundations—Comparison with similar discoveries—Miss Stokes's views and conclusions—Probably built under King "Brian of the Tributes."

THE round tower is far too interesting a monument to be omitted in a notice of the extant group of ancient ruins at Kilmacduagh. And though there will be many to question its claim to being regarded as one of the buildings erected there by St. Colman or his successors, there shall be none to question its antiquity. As to the opinions of those who claim it as the work of Christian hands, they are opinions which must possess a deep interest, even in the eyes of those by whom they are rejected as inconclusive.

As it stands at present, it is one of the most perfect in Ireland. This state of completeness is, however, the result of its much-needed restoration in 1878 and 1879.

Its height is given by Ledwitch, as 110 feet. Measurements recently made have verified this estimate, for such is its ascertained height as it now stands. Its circumference is about 56 feet. It leans visibly from the perpendicular. That interesting feature has been referred to by most writers; and, owing to the reckless exaggeration of Archdall, it has been referred to by many writers as leaning $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the perpendicular, or more by $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet than the celebrated inclining Tower of Pisa. As a fact, the tower leans about 2 feet from the perpendicular.

The doorway is placed at a height of 26 feet from the ground, and measures 6 feet 10 inches in height. It is arched, but the arched head seems cut out of a single stone. The jambs incline slightly towards the top. It looks east-north-east, and towards the cathedral, which stands about 40 yards from the tower. Above the doorway there are five well-marked offsets in the internal masonry for the support of the various floorings, and each is lighted by a window, which is square-headed internally, but externally shows a lancet consisting of two stones resting one against the other at the apex. There are six such

windows in the uppermost compartment, which are in construction and style similar to the windows in the other storeys.

The cone is now perfect. But, prior to the restoration in 1879, only a small portion of the cone remained. The rest had fallen, and with it a breach of about 40 or 50 feet on the south side of the tower. The condition of the tower, therefore, before the restoration of our ancient monuments was undertaken, was one of considerable actual decay, and of prospective destruction. The reconstruction of the ruined portion has been efficiently carried out, and the cone reconstructed to its original pitch.

It was found that the interior was filled up to the level of the doorway. It seemed, therefore, desirable to test in this instance, the accuracy of a statement advanced by Petrie, to the effect that the basement storeys of the towers were built up in masonry to the level of the entrance. On examination, it was found that the statement was groundless. The filling was but the accumulated *débris* of ages.

The result of the excavation, which proved deeply interesting, was published by A. Scott, Esq., the enlightened superintendent, in the *Builder* of 3rd January 1879. The various strata through which the workmen passed during the excavation are thus classified in the article referred to:—

“1. The first 2 feet was composed of partly decayed twigs, and a few of the fallen cap stones.

“2. The next 4 feet were filled with stones of cap and lime rubbish, exclusively.

“3. The next 3 feet, with decomposed twigs, same as top layer, mixed with small human and other bones.

“4. The next 3 feet, with brown earth mixed with ashes of a reddish hue, small pebbles, small human and other bones, principally ribs of the human frame.

“5. The next 9 feet 10 inches, with brown earth, principally ashes of a reddish hue mixed with a large amount of small human bones, and bones of the lower animals, oyster-shells, sods of turf, a little charcoal, and a few pieces of brass. All the bones were small, and such as could be carried by birds, and were found chiefly close to the wall all around.

“6. The underneath 6 feet 2 inches was packed with small-sized stones and with very little rubbish. The packing in this case was by no means accidental, but was done by the builders to form a flooring on which to stand and scaffold, for the stones used in packing were clean, weather-worn, and identical with those used in building the inside face of wall from this point to the level of the door.

"The diameter of the interior, from within 6 feet 2 inches of the foundation, is from 5 feet to 5 feet 2 inches, and is faced with large unhammered stones in the rudest form, just as if it were built against a bank. The above figures make 28 feet from door-sill to bottom of foundation course both inside and outside."

Even a careless reader will not fail to be struck by the recurrence of ashes and human bones, at such a depth as the strata classified as 4 and 5. It clearly indicates the action of fire in the tower, perhaps at different periods, disastrous to the interior and to its inmates.

As to the depth from the door-sill to the bottom of the foundation, it is clear that the bottom of the foundation is only 2 feet under the present surface level. As we shall see presently, this massive structure rests simply on the virgin earth; and hence we can easily account for the inclination of the tower from the perpendicular by a depression of the foundation, quite natural under the circumstances.

It was fortunately deemed desirable to continue the excavations below the level of the foundation. The clay contained no building rubbish, but was composed of rich vegetable earth containing a large amount of human bones. After excavating a depth of about 2 feet, human skeletons were found, not, as might be expected, in the centre of the narrow area, but on either side, and partially under the massive foundation. Two skulls were found, seemingly in the same grave, though some feet apart. In connection with one, the spinal column was nearly perfect, also some portions of the ribs and arms were preserved. This skeleton lay with the face looking due east. In connection with the other skull, no other bones were found, but this might be owing to the fact that the search should be made under the foundation, a course which might be dangerous.

On the opposite side, and at the same level, a third skeleton was found, with the face looking north-east. A portion had been necessarily disturbed during the excavation, but the remainder was left as it had been found. The head was far under the foundation.

In order that those interesting facts might be verified, and the excavations continued if considered desirable, the remains were disturbed as little as possible. "So that," as Mr. Scott observes in his letter already quoted, "any persons wishing to examine the place can do so, and satisfy themselves as to the truth and accuracy of the above statements." The writer of these pages was the first who did satisfy himself of their accuracy, in December 1879.

A similar excavation made in the tower of Kilkenny in

1847, led to a similar discovery. Here, too, the bodies were found lying east and west. This discovery is referred to by Miss Stokes¹ as "one of the most important that has been achieved since Dr. Petrie published his investigations." The bodies lay partly under the foundations. She considers that the particular position of the remains rendered the conclusion a probable one, "that these were the forms of Christians." Burial with the face towards the east is a very general Christian practice. She quotes from a very ancient source² to show that this practice was introduced into Ireland by Cormac Mac Art, "the third person who *believed* in Erin before the arrival of St. Patrick."

There were, however, similar excavations made earlier, and with like results. Dr. Kelly, in his admirable Essay on the Round Towers,³ refers in a particular manner to the excavations made in Drumbo by Mr. Getty of Belfast, on which occasion a human skeleton nearly complete had been exhumed.⁴

He tells us that a similar discovery was made by Mr. Wendale at Ardmore. As regards these discoveries, Dr. Kelly emphasises the significance of the fact that neither urns, nor ornaments, nor weapons of war, nor any other "marks of Irish pagan sepulture," have been found in connection with those remains. The explanation which he suggests is that the buildings were raised over Christian graves by Christian architects.

The foregoing facts justify the conclusion that the tower of Kilmacduagh was built on soil long used as a cemetery.

The opinions held by the authorities referred to, regarding similar discoveries, taken especially in connection with the ascertained position of the skeletons at Kilmacduagh, makes it very probable that the cemetery was Christian. Those who may accept this reasoning would have no difficulty in admitting also that the tower was built by Christian hands, and for Christian purposes.

Such a conclusion does not harmonise with the opinions of Petrie, set forward in the preceding pages. It would refer the erection of the tower to a period long subsequent to the time of St. Colman, to which he ascribes it. It would also follow that even the oldest portion of the present cathedral, is by no means as old as the seventh century. The striking similarity between the architecture of the church and tower oblige

¹ *Early Christian Architecture*, p. 58.

² *Leabhar na Huidre*.

³ *Dublin Review*, 1845.

⁴ O'Rorke's Tower at Clonmacnoise was excavated in 1851 by Colonel Jones. Two skeletons were found "in the centre and slightly under the foundation course."—Brash, p. 65.

us to refer both to the same period. But we are reminded by Miss Stokes,¹ that increased experience and a more extensive knowledge of the science of archæology taught Petrie himself "that he had antedated many of our buildings." This is also the opinion of Mr. Brash. If this be so, there can be little difficulty in admitting that the cathedral and tower of Kilmacduagh, are amongst the buildings so antedated. In finish and size the church is far in advance of those usually ascribed to the seventh century. Though the masonry of tower and church is cyclopean, it is of a very perfect kind, in which cement is used, in which the joints are very close, and in which the faces of the stones are carefully cut to the line of the church and round of the tower. Miss Stokes considers work of this class, referable to the time of Cormac O'Killeen, Abbot of Tomgraney, who flourished in the tenth century. His death is chronicled as having occurred A.D. 964. Our annalists tell us that this learned and holy man erected a church at Tomgraney, of which the western gable, and portions of the side walls, still remain. Its masonry, as described by Brash,² is massive, "and of rather a polygonal character, but closely fitted," in which respect the features of the masonry correspond exactly, with those of the cathedral and tower at Kilmacduagh. In the churches of Kilmacduagh and Tomgraney the western doorways are also very similar.

We know that the period of peace which followed the death of Turgesius, was utilised for the reconstruction of the many churches that were either wrecked or destroyed during the troubled period of the Danish wars. And it is at that period that we find our annalists notice for the first time the existence of our towers;—the need of some such structures must have been then long and widely felt. Even during the entire preceding century, we are assured that the Northmen, who poured themselves in myriads on our shores, aimed at the destruction of our faith, as well as at the independence of our country. The ruined monasteries and plundered churches of the provinces proved this beyond the possibility of doubt. The desecration of the celebrated shrines of Armagh and Clonmacnoise by pagan rites, showed also that those barbarians aimed at establishing paganism on the ruins of Christianity.

The continuous struggle of a few generations, on the part of the Irish people, with those hostile hordes, must have taught them to feel the urgent need of places of security for the protection of ecclesiastics and of church treasures. We think

¹ *Early Christian Architecture.*

² Brash, *Ecclesiastical Architecture, Ireland*, p. 23.

with Miss Stokes, that it was "war and rapine" that called forth "the lofty stronghold bearing its cross on high," close to the church and within the precincts of the cemetery. And such causes, would have urged the Irish to avail themselves of them for the purposes just set forth, had they even remained as monuments of pre-Christian period. Though we read of the constant plunder and destruction of churches in the ninth century, there is no record of the burning of towers during that period,—in fact, no reference made to them, though we find such references and records constantly recurring during the tenth and eleventh centuries. This was the period when the bell-tower of Tomgraney was built by its celebrated abbot. The *Chronicon Scotorum*, when recording his death, has the following entry: "A.D. 964, Cormac Ua Cillin of the Ui Fiachrach Aidhne, Comarb of Ciaran and Coman, and Comarb of Tuaim Greine, by whom the great church of Tuaim Greine and its belfry were constructed, quievit in Christo." In 942 the belfry of Slane was burned by "the foreigners," and we are informed that it was on the occasion filled with ecclesiastics and church treasures. It is needless to enumerate similar entries. We have, however, much older entries, which have a more direct bearing on our subject. The records of the monasteries that were burned, and of the men that were "slain by the foreigners," are constantly recurring even a hundred years earlier. The Four Masters tell us that all Connaught was "desolated by them in 830." In 836, Inis Cealtra was burned by the foreigners. In 843, Turgesius with his fleet was on Loughrea, and plundered Connaught. In 866 the foreigners landed at Kinvara. Miss Stokes, in her admirable map of the invasion of the Northmen, shows that their course on this occasion was by Kilmacduagh to Clare. It may therefore be regarded as certain that Kilmacduagh was then at least ruined. The accession of Brian of the Tributes brought much-needed peace, and his piety and influence was used to give a stimulus to the restoration and rebuilding of churches. His biographer¹ informs us "that he gave out seven monasteries, both furniture and cattle and land, and thirty-two bell-towers." It was under his immediate patronage, that the restoration of Killaloe and Inis Cealtra was carried out.

The king must have taken a deep interest also in the territory of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne. His first wife was Mor, daughter of O'Heyne, Lord of Aidhne; consequently the maintenance of the monasteries and churches of the territory must have been objects of special interest to him. The cathedral of Kilmac-

¹ Mac Liag.

duagh would therefore be rebuilt. In its extant west gable we find the same features as that of Cormac O'Killeen's church at Tomgraney, erected A.D. 964; and as the tower, in the estimation of most, is of the same style of masonry, it is most probably one of the thirty-five said to be erected by King Brian. And this is in truth the period to which its erection is referred by Miss Stokes, in her *Early Christian Architecture*. We may assume that the venerable Abbot of Tomgraney, who had completed his bell-tower there, retained an ardent interest in his native territory of Aidhne, and would have used his influence with the powerful Munster prince to have the cathedral of his native diocese rebuilt, and adequately protected, by the erection of a tower or fortress.

There is no question raised as to the suitability of this and similar structures, as places of safety for ecclesiastics and their treasures. The massive character of the tower at Kilmacduagh, the great height of 26 feet, at which the door is placed, would seem to render it almost impregnable, at a time when the use of artillery was unknown. And though each storey to the top is lighted, the single window in each is placed so near the offsets on which the floors rested, as to show that they were as useful for casting out missiles on assailants as for the admission of light. It is very noteworthy, that the need of such fortresses continued to be felt even in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Ireland. We have in the diocese of Kilmacduagh two such, built in the style of a modern square keep, and in connection with churches. One may be seen at Durus, in the parish of Kinvara, the other at the monastery of Killenavara, in the present parish of Ballindereen.

But though the primary purpose of the erection of such towers was for "strength of defence and faithfulness of watch," the names by which they are usually designated, give no indication of that primary object. They indicate rather a secondary purpose, for which they were certainly used after the Danish invasion. The tower of Kilmacduagh, like O'Rorke's tower at Clonmacnoise,¹ has been always called "Clogas." They are still more frequently called "Clogad" and "Clogteach." It is well known that the usual Irish designation for bell, is "clog." Therefore, setting aside philological inquiries, with which educated readers are more or less familiar, and of which they may, perhaps, be weary, we take the term *bell house* or *tower*, as a sufficiently correct rendering of those various designations. In the annals of the tenth and eleventh centuries, they are usually referred to as belfries or

¹ Brash, p. 65.

bell-houses. Hence it is obvious that they were utilised at that period, for keeping or preserving bells. When the destruction of the tower is recorded, the destruction of its bells is also frequently recorded, as in the case of the belfry of Slane, A.D. 964, and the destruction of Armagh, A.D. 1013, and again in A.D. 1020.

It is a subject of interesting inquiry, whether (1) those bells were hung as in ordinary belfries; or (2) whether they were merely placed within the towers, as other church treasures, for safety?

The intelligent reader is well aware that bells existed in Ireland from the days of St. Patrick. In the opinion of O'Curry, the bell actually used by St. Patrick, and made in Ireland by his artificer Mac Cecht, is still preserved in Dublin. They are spoken of as existing in the time of St. Bridget and St. Senan. O'Curry, speaking of another bell in the possession of Mr. Cooke of Birr, states that there "are grounds for believing" this bell to be the bell used by St. Ruadhan, when he solemnly placed Tara under ban.

Our museums are fortunately enriched by specimens of those very ancient bells, and we are thus enabled to judge correctly of their character. Their unfitness for being rung from belfries must be obvious to all. They were small and light, and such as might be easily used by the hand. But as venerated memorials of the holy men by whom they were used, they were certainly esteemed as priceless treasures. They were enclosed in costly shrines; and it may be said of the extant specimens of those early Irish bell shrines, that the richness of the material, and the delicate detail of the workmanship, elicit the astonishment of the critical of even the nineteenth century. As valued treasures they were most probably placed for safety in the bell-houses, as were the rich manuscripts, the jewelled croziers, and costly chalices.

But in the tenth century we find the style of our Irish bells much improved. The bell of the primitive Irish Church, which was square in form, and consisted of parts that were riveted together, was superseded by solid bells of circular form, more sonorous, and such as could be heard over a far wider area. Dr. Petrie states that this change was adopted in Ireland previous to the twelfth century.¹ But Miss Stokes is more definite, and ascribes it to the tenth century. Judged by modern standards, even those bells would be considered very small. They were rarely more than 12 inches high by about 9 inches wide. As the effect of such bells for the transmission

¹ *Round Towers*, p. 252.

of sound is best ascertained by experiment, we will allow Miss Stokes to give us the result of such an experiment made by herself, and for this particular object.¹ "The writer carried an ordinary dinner-bell to the top of Clondalkin round tower, and observed that the sound seemed much greater, when heard within the topmost chamber of the tower, than in an ordinary hall; and a friend standing at a distance of a hundred feet from the building, said the tone was quite as loud as when rung beside her down on the level of the ground." Hence such bells might be rung in our belfries; and this would be quite in accord with a certain Irish legal enactment, which accorded certain privileges to ecclesiastics within the area over which the bells of their Clogteach might be heard. O'Curry² informs us that a church was entitled to claim the property of a stranger who might die within sound of its bells.

It is most probable that several of those bells were hung together, and rung as a chime, with a hammer. As regards this mode of ringing our mediæval bells, Miss Stokes's views coincide exactly with those of O'Curry. We will therefore adopt her opinion, that such bells might produce a pleasing effect within the tower,³ "and also be quite audible to the inhabitants of the monastic buildings that clustered round its base."

We are not aware that any of the bells used in those towers have been preserved. They are frequently referred to in our legends and traditions, as hidden away in some adjoining lake or morass. Miss Stokes tells us how, in the vicinity of Aughagower, in Mayo, the peasantry speak of the bell which was used in the round tower, as buried in an adjoining bog; "and that, of a quiet day, its sound, like silver, can be heard across the waste." "The same story," she tells us, "is told of the bells of Terta, hidden in a neighbouring swamp."

A similar tradition is well known to exist at Kilmacduagh. It states that the tower bell was cast into the waters of an adjoining lake. It is stated that it is still there. A peasant accustomed to fish there in the past generation, was familiar with the place in which the bell was sunk. As the little lake divided two properties, it said that he reported the matter to the owners, who from petty causes seldom acted in harmony. In the present case, it seems they had neither the spirit nor the intelligence, to agree regarding the means of recovering this most interesting relic.

¹ *Early Christian Architecture*, p. 83.

² *Manners and Customs of Ancient Erin*.

³ *Early Christian Architecture*.

From the reasons advanced in the foregoing chapter, we conclude—

1. That the tower was not erected for some centuries after St. Colman's foundations at Kilmacduagh.

2. That it was probably built towards the close of the tenth century as a fortress and belfry, and at a time when the oldest portion of the cathedral *was rebuilt*.

CHAPTER XII.

St. Colman resigns his Diocese—He dies at Oughtmama—The ruins there—He was buried at Kilmacduagh—His Grave there—His Feast on 29th October—A major double for Ireland—His Proper Office composed and published by De Burgo, A.D. 1751.

ST. COLMAN laboured solely to enkindle the fire of Divine love in the souls of his spiritual children, and Heaven blessed his labours with the richest fruit. Religious houses flourished around him, full of zealous souls, amongst the most devoted of whom were many of his own noble kindred. St. Foila's Church, and the monastic establishment of her distinguished brother, St. Colga, were under his episcopal charge, and their fame has remained to our time. An older house, and one not less celebrated, was that of St. Sourney at Dromacoo. Auxiliary houses in connection with the parent house of Kilmacduagh were necessary in other districts of the diocese also, as the spiritual wants of the people were at that period in Ireland, almost exclusively in the charge of the monasteries. A tradition, vague, it is true, but still significant, has it that such houses were erected by him at Kiltiernan, where there is still a very ancient church, and also at Killenavara, where a monastery still stands, with many evidences of restoration effected in the Tudor period. St. Morbhan's retreat at Kilomoran would naturally secure his particular interest, and may have then been made a monastic establishment. The remains of a very ancient monastery with a little oratory may still be seen there, situated close to the waters of Lough Deehan. In the year 1785 the waters of this lake sank very low, and a wooden house was discovered. It was formed of massive oak beams. Its sides and roof, which remained, were of wattles of the same material, and were perfect. The learned annotators of Archdall state that "it was fully a thousand years old, and may have belonged to one of the early religious establishments of St. Colman." It is certain that the soil in which he scattered the good seed was no ungenerous soil. He had the happiness of beholding with his own eyes a rich harvest that blessed his

labours, and caused the writers of after times to refer to his diocese as "Great Aidhne, land of Saints." His martial kindred of the clans of Hy Fiachrach were induced by the teaching and example of their holy relative to put aside the sword and the spear, and march peaceably heavenward under the sacred banner of the Cross. He may be regarded in at least a broad sense as the spiritual father of many of those *seventy-seven Saints of the race of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne* who are referred to by Father Colgan and by our annalists. The fame of his sanctity was on the lips of all. And the king, who was from the beginning his friend and generous patron, was careful to secure for himself his spiritual guidance.¹

But while his diocese rejoiced in the blessings which his labours and presence brought them, he was himself filled with a consciousness of his own unworthiness, and he longed to be free from the heavy burden of the episcopal charge.² He was weary of the praises of men, and he wished to hide himself in solitude once more, and there await his approaching dissolution. Even during the years of his public labours, his mind frequently went back to his beloved solitude in Burren. He treasured the memory of those happy days which he spent there, with no interruption which might divert his thoughts from the contemplation of holy things. For him there was society in solitude; and in the "pathless woods," there was enduring attractiveness, for he could there commune without interruption with his Maker.

As he well knew, the Burren forests sheltered many a lonely glen; and he knew from experience their fitness for a life of austerity and prayer. They seemed to invite him once more; and at length he resolved³ to retire thither, and hide himself from the praises and admiration of all.

The little valley of Oughtmama was the secluded spot in which he chose to spend the remaining days of his life. It stands within the valley of Corcomroe, and not far from his former hermitage. The rugged mountains rise steeply round it, forming a girdle which completely hides it. The giants of nature must have been at work when they piled up those massive terraces of stone around it, giving it the semblance of some vast amphitheatre. The limestone masses thus piled

¹ Colgan: "Insuper officium spiritualem vitæ suæ curam St. Colmano et corpus post mortem."

² "Licet sanctis sane sanctus et omnium iudicio dignus fuerat, ipse tamen se indignam æstimabat."—Colgan.

³ "Volens igitur vulgaris auræ afflatus declinare et se totum iteratæ cœlestium contemplatione dicare."—Colgan.

stratum over stratum, are in our time scarcely relieved by even a patch of vegetation.

The beautiful ruins of Corcomroe, which adjoin it on the north, are completely shut away by the folds of the hills; and though the sea steals in among the sheltered and wooded slopes of Finievara, which is near, there are no views of its sheltered surface from the valleys, nor of the line of barren territory which stretches westward, over which the ruined castles of the O'Loughlins, former chiefs of Burren, seem still to hold some weird charge.

In our Saint's time the aspect of the landscape was different, for the rugged outline of the hills was then veiled beneath the waving branches of forest trees, and concealed the valley of Oughtmama in still deeper seclusion. It was here that St. Colman determined to regain that seclusion for which he earnestly longed. Accordingly he resigned his See,¹ and erected here a church and cell close to that "pleasant fountain" of which his biographer speaks, and which fortunately may be seen there even at the present day.

Though the fact of his retirement is thus historically certain, the particular date can be only a matter of conjecture. But considering the extent and character of his labours in the episcopacy, we do not think it was earlier than 625.

In retiring from his See to devote himself more closely to God, St. Colman followed the example of other holy bishops, his predecessors and contemporaries in the Irish Church. St. Assicus, the holy Bishop of Elphin, resigned his episcopal duties. But above and before all, he had the example of our national apostle to encourage him in taking this important step; for he too resigned his episcopal charge. "There seems to be no doubt," writes Father Morris,² "that St. Patrick retired from the government of the See of Armagh many years before his death, probably in A.D. 455; and during the long interval between that period and his own death, he saw four bishops successively fill that See." It was natural that St. Colman's disciples should desire to share their master's solitude; and so the valley of Oughtmama soon became an important monastic centre. The extensive ruins there, would alone suggest the idea that it had been once a monastic settlement of considerable importance. But the churches alone are fairly preserved; all else leave but faint traces of their extent or character.

Two of the churches are in a state of excellent preservation.

¹ "Abdicato episcopatus numere solitarius denuo se contulit, fixo domicilio juxta fontem amaenum in magno salto de Burren."—Colgan.

² *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 146; *A. A. S.* p. 358.

They have attracted the special attention of such eminent antiquarians as Brash and Petrie; and though we do not, with Petrie,¹ regard them as the identical churches that were erected by St. Colman, we do regard them as amongst the most interesting specimens of our early Romanesque.

The principal church is about 40 feet long by 18 feet wide, internal measurement. It consists of a simple nave and chancel. The chancel, which is about 18 feet long by 15 wide, is divided from the nave by a low Roman arch, supported by plainly-cut square piers, and resembling strikingly, the extant chancel arch in the cathedral at Kilmacduagh. The chancel is lighted from the eastern gable by a single narrow lancet window. The nave is lighted by two narrow lights in the southern side wall, one arched and the other square-headed. On the north side there are no windows. The doorway, which is square-headed, is placed in the western gable. It is about 6 feet 5 inches in height, and 2 feet 11 inches in width, at the base. The jambs incline towards the lintel, and are built of massive stone, well cut and closely jointed. A trough, which had been probably used as the holy water font, remains in the south-western angle of the church. It has a grotesque figure rudely carved on its face. In the masonry the stones are often very large; and though they are not laid in courses, the joints are very close, and the faces well cut. Thus this interesting church retains the chief features proper to our early Romanesque.

The second church at Oughtmama is much smaller. It is but 20 feet long by 12 feet broad, measured on the interior. It is therefore but a large-sized oratory. It is lighted only by two simple lancet windows, one of which is in the eastern gable, and the other in the south side wall, close to the altar. Here, too, the doorway is in the western gable; but, unlike the doorway of the adjoining church, it is rudely arched. The arch is formed by eight massive stones, which extend the entire breadth of the wall. In all other respects the features of both doorways are quite similar, as are also the general features of the masonry of the building. Speaking of this church, Petrie observes that "it is obviously of contemporaneous age with the second and larger church in the same place, in which the doorway has the usual horizontal lintel."

At a short distance eastward, there are still traceable the ruins of another oratory. However, little of its masonry remains, except a portion of the eastern gable, in which there is a small semicircular-headed window, of the same type as those of the adjoining churches. Near the churches on the

¹ *Round Towers.*

south side is the holy well already referred to; and at some distance up the hillside, on the bed of a little rivulet, are the ruins of a very old mill. Dr. Petrie states that "the memory of St. Colman is venerated here as the founder of those churches." Yet we do not think that the extant churches there do more than mark the site of those founded by him. But there can be no doubt that they date as far back as the tenth century.

Several other ruins are traceable on the grass-grown mounds which surround the churches. But they do little more than confirm the historical fact, that the monastic foundation there was in the remote past one of considerable importance. It grew to be, in truth, a home of Saints. Some who had died within its walls were ranked amongst the recognised Saints of Erin as early as the close of the eighth century. We find that the "Seven holy Bishops of Oughtmama in Corcomruadh" are invoked by Aengus in his Litany,¹ written A.D. 780. Who those bishops were, it may now be difficult, probably impossible, to ascertain. But it is not improbable that they were Bishops of Kilmacduagh, who, during the early ravages of the Danes, retired to Burren for greater security.

Here, then, in his beloved retirement, our Saint awaited his approaching dissolution with the assured confidence of the just. Indeed, the hour was near, when he was to be summoned to exchange a life of unceasing austerity and labour for a life of unending bliss. He longed to be dissolved and be with his God. Bequeathing his body to his cathedral church at Kilmacduagh, and leaving to his diocese the rich inheritance of his example and the fruits of his labours, he is believed to have yielded up his soul to his Maker on the 29th of October A.D. 632, in the pontificate of Honorius I.

Referring to his tomb at Kilmacduagh, Petrie speaks of the massive stones of which it was constructed. "Such, for instance," he says, "was the tomb of St. Colman Mac Duagh at Kilmacduagh, which was constructed of very large blocks of square limestone, and measured 10 feet in length and 5 in breadth."²

The site of the Saint's tomb is marked in a map of the cemetery already referred to, which is preserved amongst O'Donovan's letters in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. It is pretty certain that the map was made at the time of the Ordnance Surveys, when the letters were written. It shows St. Colman's tomb at a small distance south-west of the

¹ MSS. Materials, *Irish History*, O'Curry.

² *Round Towers*, p. 455.

cathedral. But the massive stones of which the tomb was composed have been for many years removed, though it is impossible to learn by whom this act of vandalism was effected. Yet though the masonry has been removed, the spot itself is well known, and held sacred in local traditions as St. Colman's grave. In the fulness of their faith in the power of their patron's patronage, the people have often taken the earth from this grave and applied it to their sick with a hope that it would relieve or remove their sufferings. This small cell, in which it was said he was buried, existed when the Protestant Bishop Pococke wrote, and is referred to by him in the following words:—

"To the west of the cathedral in the churchyard is a small cell, where they say the patron Saint was buried, and that the body was afterwards carried to Aughrim."¹ We do not think that Bishop Pococke had any authority for speaking of the translation of the remains to Aughrim. He gives none; and we can find no evidence that any tradition existed which justified the statement.

On the 14th July 1852, the remains of the Most Rev. Dr. French were laid in this grave, traditionally regarded as the grave of the first bishop of the diocese.

It is stated by Dr. Lanigan, I know not on what authority, that St. Colman died on the 3rd of February. Other writers have also attempted to fix his feast on the 3rd of February. It is so fixed by the Abbot of Knock,—Marianus O'Gorman,—and also by the *Martyrology of Tamlaght*. Nor can it be supposed that the *Martyrology* refers to any other of the many Saints who bore the name of Colman, as it refers to him expressly as Colman, "son of Duagh."

Ware and Harris, however, very properly remark that the 3rd of February is not the day on which his feast is observed in the diocese of Kilmacduagh. And though the *Martyrology of Donegal* gives the 3rd of February as the date of his festival, it is careful to add that "Ua Sechnasaigh" says that the festival of Mac Duagh is on the 27th (*recte* 29th) of the month of October, for he was his own patron and his relative!" And the learned editors of the *Martyrology*—Todd and Reeves—add, in explanation of the text, that "this was probably 'The O'Shaughnessy,' or head of the family at the time when this work² was compiled, and whose testimony our author intimates was the more worthy of credit, because St. Colman Mac Duagh was the patron Saint of his tribe, and of the same race."

As a matter of fact, the festival of St. Colman Mac Duagh has

¹ Archdall, Dr. Moran's edition.

² The *Martyrology*.

been observed in the diocese of Kilmacduagh from time immemorial on the 29th of October. It is fixed for the 29th of October in the rescript obtained from Pope Benedict XIV. by Rev. John Baptist Lynch of Galway, A.D. 1747, by which that festival, with many others, was raised to the dignity of a major double for Ireland. The following is the list of festivals as given in the rescript:—

Die 16 Jan.	St. Fursei,	Abb. Latiniacensis.
„ 17 Feb.	St. Fintani,	Presb. and Confessor.
„ 8 Martii.	St. Cataldi,	
„ 20 Martii.	St. Cuthberti,	Episcopi.
„ 27 Martii.	St. Ruperti,	Episc. and Confes.
„ 7 Aprilis.	St. Celsi,	Episcopi.
„ 10 Mayii.	St. Congalli,	Abb.
„ 8 Julii.	Ep. Herpepolen et Mart.	
„ 3 Aug.	St. Fiacrii,	Conf.
„ 25 Sep.	St. Firmini,	Epis. et Mart.
„ 10 Oct.	St. Canicii,	Abb. Acharensis.
„ 22 Oct.	St. Donati,	Episc. et Conf.
„ 29 Oct.	St. Colmani Duaci in Hibernia,	Episc. Duacensis et Confes.
„ 15 Nov.	St. Livini.	

Sacra eadem congregatio audito prius in voce Rev^{mo} Patre Domino Fidei Promotore, etc. etc., benigne indulisit atque concessit Hac die Julii 1^{ma} 1747.¹

Locus

○
Sigilli.

D. FORTUNATUS CARD SABB.

From the terms of the rescript, therefore, there can be no possible room for doubting, that the Colman whose feast is referred to as celebrated on the 29th October, is none other than the holy patron of the diocese of Kilmacduagh. He is referred to as Colman of Duagh, or son of Duagh, Bishop of Kilmacduagh; and, lest the peculiar Latin term for the diocese might be understood as referring to continental districts of the name, the words *in Hibernia* are added. The feast of St. Colman Mac Duagh, celebrated on the 29th of October, was therefore constituted for the whole of Ireland² a major double; but in the diocese of Kilmacduagh it is celebrated as a double of the first class.

In the parish of Kilmacduagh, it is celebrated, from time immemorial, as a strict holiday of obligation. Indeed, the interesting question of the origin and antiquity of this practice was raised, as far back as the year 1840, at a conference of the priests of Kilmacduagh, at which the bishop, the Most Rev.

¹ For original see Appendix.

² "Ad universum illius regnum."

Dr. French, presided. It was there arranged, that inquiries regarding the matter should be made by the priests in their respective parishes, and the result communicated. This was accordingly done, and the information thus obtained, through the oldest and most intelligent men of the diocese, showed that the festival was always observed as one of obligation in the parish of Kilmacduagh. It was furthermore ascertained that until comparatively recent times, it had been observed as a general diocesan holiday. They failed, however, in obtaining any information as to the time of its abrogation as a general diocesan holiday, or as to the circumstances which led to it. We have little doubt, however, that it occurred in the middle of the last century, when Pius VI. dispensed the Irish Catholics from the obligation of hearing Mass and of abstaining from servile works on the days now known as "retrenched holidays." The rescript is addressed to the archbishops and bishops of Ireland. It breathes such a paternal spirit of sympathy with the Irish people, then in the darkest hour of their heroic struggle for faith and fatherland, that the reader will peruse the following short extract with interest:—

"So much have calamities and difficulties increased owing to the misfortunes of the present period, that its (Ireland's) unfortunate inhabitants, especially those who eat their bread in the sweat of their brow, are often unwillingly compelled to neglect holidays, and engage in servile works to procure necessary sustenance, and that this the more easily happens owing to the increased number of festival days. Hence we have been humbly entreated to have regard to those circumstances, and of our apostolic clemency to dispense in them, as we do hereby."¹

Father Colgan, writing in the middle of the seventeenth century, makes it perfectly clear that the festival of St. Colman Mac Duagh was in his time observed in the diocese of Kilmacduagh as a solemn one (*in choro et foro*), and that its vigil was observed strictly as a fast day, on which the use of meat, eggs, and milk diet was strictly prohibited; and the wilful violation of this fast was regarded, not merely as a grievous sin, but as a crime calculated to draw down on the perpetrator the signal manifestation of God's anger. But the custom does not seem to have been the result of any diocesan legislation. It was rather the outcome of that signal reverence and esteem in which the patron's memory was held in the diocese;² and as those practices must have been especially dear to his own illustrious kinsmen, the O'Heynes and O'Shaughnessys, there can

¹ *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 24. For original see Appendix.

² Colgan; Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 342.

be little doubt that they helped to uphold them both by their example and great influence.

Colgan speaks of some supernatural manifestations which were regarded as manifestations of the Divine displeasure caused by the non-observance of the prescribed fast on the eve of the festival. One, he tells us, occurred to William O'Shaughnessy, a member of the Gort family. He was a distinguished soldier, and an intimate friend of the Earl of Kildare.

Another instance to which Colgan refers as recent, occurred in the case of certain workmen who were employed by The O'Shaughnessy, and who were unwilling to observe the customary rigid fast of the vigil. These instances, which are given at some length by Colgan, shall be found in the Appendix to this volume, together with a still more modern case, well and widely known in local traditions.

The Mass and office for St. Colman Mac Duagh are from the common of a Confessor Pontiff. The rescript of Benedict XIV. already referred to proves that proper offices of Irish Saints had been then submitted to the Holy See for approval in regard to some or all of the festivals therein referred to. This was the work of Dr. de Burgo, Bishop of Ossory. After three years of multitudinous correspondence with many dioceses in every part of Europe, he discovered them all, except those of St. Colman and St. Celsus. They were published in Dublin, A.D. 1751. Those proper offices were submitted to the Holy See, and were to be recited by all Irishmen bound to the divine office. The proper office for St. Colman Mac Duagh and St. Celsus, however, seemed to have been lost. Those he composed himself, and they are distinguished from the other offices by being in italics. De Burgo's *Officia Propria* seems to have gone out of print, though a second edition appeared in A.D. 1767, and so the common offices of Confessor Pontiff have been used for St. Colman within the memory of living priests. The writer has been fortunate enough to discover in the archives of Galway a copy of De Burgo's work of 1767, from which he has carefully copied the office, and reproduces it in the Appendix to this work. The lessons of the second nocturne are a beautiful reproduction of the outline of our Saint's life as given by Colgan and other authorities. But neither St. Colman's office nor that of St. Celsus had been actually submitted to the Holy See, before the death of their distinguished author.

CHAPTER XIII.

Kilmacduagh recognised as a remarkable sanctuary—Right of sanctuary—Its origin and nature—Pilgrimages to Kilmacduagh—St. Colman's holy wells.

MONTALEMBERT¹ tells us that the cherished memory of its first apostles, their hallowed tombs, their names invoked in prayer, churches erected in their honour, are amongst the facts which remain "ever graven indelibly on a nation's mind." And he continues in eloquent words: "That which is graven by religion on the altar, and in the heart by prayer, outlives monuments of brass and marble; and those kings who survive only in the pages of history have a less during record than apostles possess *in a nation's heart*." So it was as regards the veneration in which St. Colman was held in the diocese he had constituted. The lapse of ages did not weaken the veneration in which he was held throughout the entire territory. To the chieftains there, the descendants of the tribes of Guaire and of Aedh, he was a special patron and protector, or, as Marianus O'Gorman puts it, he was their "protector ab adversitatibus hospitalis et benignus." Hence we are not surprised at finding, on the authority of our ancient writers, that Kilmacduagh soon became a well-known and much-frequented sanctuary. And we are also assured that the privileges of Kilmacduagh as a sanctuary were visibly and strikingly vindicated by Divine Providence. Indeed, we are assured that it was miraculously protected, and that those who presumed to violate its privileges were visited with signal punishment.²

The right of sanctuary recognised at an early period in Ireland claims a very early origin. We find it recognised even in pagan times. In pagan Greece and Rome the temples of the

¹ *St. Mary Magdalene*.

² Colgan, p. 246: "Porro Christi famulus ecclesiam eo dignitatis ac celebritatis erexit, ut commune tutissimumque locum haberetur . . . et a divina majestate per sacra sui merita sic protegi, ut vel facinorose tentatum mirabiliter defenderet, vel sacrilege violatum presenti punitione vindicaret."

gods were regarded as secure places of refuge. This may be easily illustrated by the familiar passage in the *Æneid*, in which, in the sack of Troy, Hecuba and her daughters are represented as flying for refuge to the altars:—

“Hic Hecuba et natæ nequidquam altaria circum
... et divum amplexa simulcra sedebant.”

Amongst the Jews there were places of sanctuary or cities of refuge, and placed under the care of priests and Levites.¹ They were erected on either side of the Jordan, and so situated that all accused might easily find protection until the justice of the charges against them, would be clearly established. “Then Moses set aside those cities beyond the Jordan at the east side, that any one might flee to them who should kill his neighbour unwillingly.” The precise period is not fixed at which the right of sanctuary became recognised in the early Church. But it is certain that its recognition by the Church was early. St. Augustine and St. Jerome speak of the custom, as long established in the West. They support the acceptance of the practice by their wonderful eloquence and authority. It is thought that the practice received public sanction in the reign of Constantine. As an instance of the respect in which the practice was held at an early period in the East, we may refer to the case of the tyrant Eutropius.

That tyrant had himself, actually proposed a law against the right of sanctuary;² and yet, when, after his fall, the indignant populace sought his life, he flew to the church for protection; and there, through the influence of St. Chrysostom, and the public veneration for the sanctity of the church, he was saved from falling a victim to the popular fury.

We are told by the eloquent historian of the *Monks of the West*,³ that in Britain the right of asylum was extended even to every field which belonged to St. David. “This,” he continues, “is one of the first examples, as conferred on a monastic establishment, of that right of asylum afterwards too much extended and disgracefully abused towards the end of the Middle Ages, but which at that far distant period was a most important protection to the weak.”

In Ireland, from the days of St. Patrick, the right of the poor and defenceless to seek protection in the church, was always recognised. And the right was not alone local as regarded holy places, but it was also personal, extending to the persons of ecclesiastics. And this privilege of *personal*

¹ Dent. xix. 4, *et seq.*

² *Jus asyli.*

³ Vol. iii. p. 52.

sanctuary was conceded to ecclesiastics even outside the precincts of their churches.

The first record of this privilege conceded to Irish ecclesiastics which we find in our annals, is in connection with St. Columba. The occasion is given by the Four Masters,¹ A.D. 554, in the following words: "Curnan, . . . son of the King of Connaught, was put to death by Diarmaid, in violation of the guarantee and protection of Collum Cille, having been forcibly torn from his hands, which was the cause of the battle Cul-Dreimhne." The violation of the right of sanctuary involved in this case was *personal*. But we find that the right of sanctuary, both personal and local, was recognised by our Brehon Laws,² or ancient Irish code of jurisprudence; and the penalties incurred by their violation increased "in proportion to the respect due to the sanctuary, or the dignity of the cleric whose protection was sought, and the grievousness of the crime."³

The utility of the right of sanctuary, especially in the remote past, cannot be questioned by any who are familiar with the comparative lawlessness which prevailed in the Middle Ages, and the strong tendency which ever manifests itself in ages of warfare, to supersede law and justice by brute force. In such states of society, the protection afforded to the weak and the innocent by the recognition of the "right of sanctuary" was of the greatest importance. Writing on this subject, Montalembert observes: "Who does not understand how irregular and brutal was at that time the pursuit of a criminal; how many vile and violent persons occupied the office of the law; and how justice herself and humanity had reason to rejoice, when religion stretched her maternal hands over a fugitive unjustly accused, or over a culprit who might be worthy of excuse or indulgence."⁴

Thus, on the one hand, it acted as a restraint on lawlessness, and, on the other, it afforded a desirable protection to the innocent. As to the guilty, there were precautions by which it was safeguarded, which made its abuse a matter of some difficulty. It was only partially extended to those whose guilt was certain, and whose crimes were heinous, such as murderers, public debtors, those guilty of treason and conspiracy, etc. Such criminals, however, who might seek the right of sanctuary, were allowed the option of exile, should they prefer it to being handed over to the justice of the law. Those who in such

¹ Also O'Curry, MSS. Materials, *Irish Hist.* p. 328.

² Tract quoted by O'Donovan, Lib. T.C.D. (H. 3, 18).

³ *Life of Columba*, Dublin ed., p. 168.

⁴ *Monks of the West*, vol. iii. p. 52.

circumstances made the choice of exile, were said by the old writers to have "abjured the land." Thus, "A Franciscan, Richard Deblet, took sanctuary, and, free from all arrests, *abjured the land.*"¹ Thirty days was the period during which the right of sanctuary lasted. Guilty persons were therefore allowed ample time, as they were also afforded the most ample opportunities, for repentance, while the innocent were protected, and wanton lawlessness restrained. The privilege of sanctuary was accorded, not alone to the interior of the church, but also to the space surrounding, usually used as cemeteries. It was a privilege which owed its origin to the influence of the Church; and which manifests in a striking manner the respect in which religion and its ministers were held by our ancestors, even in the remotest times.

Colgan gives an instance, one which in his time must have been regarded as credible, and generally accepted, to show how Divine Providence continued to preserve from violation the privileges of Kilmacduagh as a venerated shrine. The legend may be seen in the Appendix to this volume. The well-known custom of making pilgrimages to celebrated shrines in Ireland may be traced back to our early Church. O'Curry² tells us how "countless groups of men, lay and ecclesiastics, left Erin on pilgrimages to the Holy Land," as early as the time of St. Brendan. Pilgrimages from Ireland to Rome were still more frequent. As was natural, the holy places imperishably connected with the lives of our great Irish Saints, had very strong attractions for our countrymen. Even converted foreigners residing amongst us were influenced by the custom. We read in the *Annals of Tighernach* how, in the year 980, "Amlaff, son of Sitric, chief king of the Danes of Dublin, went to Iona on penance and pilgrimage."

It was but natural that men should visit with sentiments of true piety and veneration those places in which God's holy servants have lived their lives of heroic sanctity. Such places being, as it were, consecrated to prayer and penance, would help to awaken the desire of copying the same great virtues. The practice may also have been to some extent strengthened by the practice of public canonical penances usual in the early Church, and afterwards often voluntarily embraced. Certain it is that the spirit manifested itself strikingly in Ireland at an early period. The holy places of Ireland possessed for Irish pilgrims, a decided attraction. From the earliest Christian period in our country they were frequented by pilgrims.

¹ *Ecc. Hist.*, Malone, p. 129.

² *MSS. Materials*, p. 382.

The Irish designation for pilgrimages in modern times is "Turas," which, according to our best authorities,¹ signifies literally a "journey." O'Donovan justly informs us that this word is still figuratively used to designate "a certain penitential station which the Roman Catholics still perform, or lately performed, in many parts of Ireland, at holy wells, near ancient churches, and in the modern chapels. It is performed by moving on the knees from one penitential station to another at the ancient churches . . . and repeating certain prayers before each station." Petrie tells us that the more ancient term used to designate this pilgrimage, was "Ailithre."

Those pilgrimages to Kilmacduagh have been from time immemorial a recognised practice; and here the "Turas" includes not merely the prayers and penitential practices within and around the church, but also those performed at the adjoining holy well, dedicated to St. Colman Mac Duagh. Those penitential practices are commonly gone through on the feast of the patron. Hence the practice and its abuse, have become familiar to us under a modern and false designation, namely the "pattern." These patterns, or pilgrimages, to the church and holy well at Kilmacduagh continue to our own days, but fortunately unaccompanied by the abuses which have in many instances rendered such practices objectionable. The custom has continued, despite the ridicule which "advanced thinkers" would cast upon it in our own time, and despite the efforts of non-Catholic writers to represent them as "idolatrous," or at least "grossly superstitious."

That there were abuses connected with our Irish pilgrimages to our holy wells, and ancient shrines, is certain. The celebration degenerated in many cases into excesses, which were strongly condemned by the Church, and which every good man must regret; and the Catholic clergy were amongst the foremost to suppress such excesses. And when those abuses could not be prevented, the clergy did not hesitate to discourage pilgrimages altogether. Apart from these abuses, however, we find that they have not merely the sanction of immemorial custom, but also the direct sanction of the Church. At a provincial synod held at Drogheda, A.D. 1614, we find the following decree regarding our holy wells, and the veneration in which they were held: "But should it be found that any well or fountain possessed some healing efficacy, either by its natural quality, or through the prayers of the Saints, persons might use those waters, taking care, however, to remove every danger of superstition, and other similar

¹ O' Riely, *Irish Dict.*; O'Donovan.

abuses.”¹ Such, indeed, has been the invariable attitude of the Church in relation to those time-honoured practices, which have come down to us from a very remote past.

There are, however, many in our time who would scoff at such practices, and would regard them as relics of a moribund superstition. Such men seldom inquire into the nature of such customs. They are equally ignorant of their origin and object. Hence it may be desirable that some few remarks should be made here regarding the origin of a custom so ancient and general in Ireland, as the veneration for holy wells.

The antiquity of the practice is traced back to the days of our national apostle. The vast number of his converts made it necessary for him frequently to administer the sacrament of baptism at some fountain. In the *Vita Septima* of St. Patrick we read: “On that day he gained for Christ the seven sons of Amalgaith (the king), the king himself, and twelve thousand men, and baptized them in the well which is called Tubber Enadharc.” We are furthermore assured that the holy wells of Ballina² and Multifarny, were used for similar purposes by the same apostle. Dr. Lanigan informs us, that on the occasion of St. Patrick’s arrival at Naas, he baptized, at a fountain near the north side of the town, the princes Illand and Alild, the king’s sons. In the case of those numerous converts, at least, it was natural that a sense of gratitude to God for the great grace of their conversion, and a veneration for the sanctity of St. Patrick, should induce them to return perhaps frequently, to visit the scene of their deliverance from the blindness of pagan superstition.

In addition to this, our ancient records show that our early Saints blessed many wells, which were afterwards naturally held in reverence by the people. This fact is clearly and strikingly illustrated from the following passage from the ancient Life of St. Columkille, taken from the *Leabhar Breac*:—

“He blessed three hundred miraculous crosses,
He blessed *three hundred wells*, which were constant.”

The following singular occurrences recorded in Adamnan’s life of the same Saint, have also a direct bearing on the same subject. Speaking of a certain well in the country of the Picts, which was famous amongst the pagans of the district, he states that “those who drank of this fountain, or purposely

¹ *Memoir of Dr. Lombard*, p. 53.

² *Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 467.

washed their hands or feet in it, were struck by demoniacal art, and returned leprous or blind, or suffering from weakness or other kinds of infirmity." Having ascertained those singular facts, the Saint came there on a certain day.¹ "But he having first raised his holy hand and invoked the name of Christ, washed his hands and feet, and then with his companions drank of the water which he had blessed. And from that day the demons departed from the fountain; and not only was it permitted to injure no one, but moreover many diseases amongst the people were cured by this same fountain after the blessing of the Saint and his washing in it." And again, the same writer mentions another singular instance of a miraculous well. "On another occasion, when the Saint was on a pilgrimage, a child was presented him for baptism by his parents, and because there was no water in the neighbourhood, the Saint, turning aside to a rock that was near, knelt down and prayed for a short time; and after having prayed, rising up, he blessed the face of the rock, and immediately there gushed from it an abundant stream of water, in which he forthwith baptized the child . . . where there is seen to the present day a well called by the name of St. Columba."²

In addition to all this, it should be remembered that many Saints, especially those of the Third Order, who generally lived on herbs and water, in complete solitude, generally selected a site for their hermitage close to some fountain, and spent years of peace, piety, and prayer, by those fountains of which they drank. Hence it is no way wonderful that such fountains should be associated with their names and history.

And we have the amplest evidence that our holy wells were venerated throughout Ireland from the earliest ages of our Christian history. The *Book of Lecan* speaks of Tubber Lughna, which, according to O'Donovan,³ is the Well of Luchna, the nephew of St. Patrick. Dr. Petrie tells us of a holy well called Tubber Maine,—a well dedicated to the memory of St. Manius, a disciple of St. Patrick. Tighernach the annalist tells us of a certain holy well at Clonmacnoise dedicated to St. Fineen or Fingen, and called Tubber Fingen. "A.D. 756, Gorman . . . it was he that was more than a year in the water of Tiprait Fingen (St. Fineen's Well) at Clonmacnoise, and died on his pilgrimage to Cluain." Petrie, speaking of the well, says: "The well alluded to in the preceding passage still bears the name given to it by the annalists, and is held in the greatest veneration."

¹ *Life of Columba*, Dublin ed., p. 73.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 200.

The facts advanced prove conclusively, that holy wells were venerated in Ireland from the earliest and brightest period of our Christian history, and the reasons assigned constitute, we will venture to state, a strong argument in justification of the practice. In later times, the circumstances of the country operated powerfully in developing the love of the Irish people for those wells reputed holy in the history and traditions of the country. For centuries the Catholic worship was banished, the churches of our people were despoiled, or reduced to ashes, while the faithful clergy were dragged to dungeons or death, or ruthlessly driven into exile. Under those circumstances, it only remained for the faithful Irish, to seek out the most retired spots which the history of a bright and glorious past represented as sacred, and there recommend themselves to the God of their fathers, through the intercession of the Saints whose names and holy examples were associated with those places, both by history and tradition.

Instances might be cited on the authority of writers of eminence, even in comparatively modern times, to show that Divine favours were frequently bestowed on those who sought them in such places with a strong faith, and through the intercession of the Saints. The venerable O'Flaherty¹ does not hesitate to adduce the following case, of which he speaks from personal knowledge, with reference to the grave of St. Colman: "I have seen one grievously tormented by a thorn thrust into his eye, who, by lying soe in St. Colman's burying-place, had it miraculously taken out without the least feeling of the patient, the marke whereof in the corner of his eye still remains."

It may here be stated that even the trees planted within the enclosures of our ancient sanctuaries, received not unfrequently a share of popular veneration. And as this fact is regarded by hostile writers as another of the many so-called proofs of the hopeless superstition of the Irish, it may be referred to here. These trees were called in the Irish language "*Fidneamedh*," i.e. "trees of the sanctuary," and were objects of special attention frequently on the part of the founders and superiors of Irish monasteries. St. Patrick is believed to have planted a yew tree at Newry, which was afterwards regarded with so much veneration, that its burning, 1162, is chronicled by the Four Masters. Giraldus speaks of St. Bridget's tree as existing in his time.² And even in our own times, the remains of the yew tree supposed to have been planted at Glendalough by St. Kevin, were pointed out. A similar tradition exists, according

¹ *Iar Connaught*, p. 89.

² *Dissertations on Irish Hist.* p. 157.

to which St. Colman is said to have planted a tree at Kilmacduagh, which continued even in Colgan's time to be held in special veneration. It is referred to by Cotton as having been planted near the church. The tree, he tells us, was supposed to have possessed extraordinary properties. And Cotton¹ adds that portions of the tree were usually taken away by the people as relics.² Indeed, the belief in its miraculous properties was widespread. Even the smallest portion of the Cuaile Mic Duagh, as it was popularly called, even in Colgan's time, was regarded as a valuable safeguard against danger. He gives in his narrative some instances of a very singular character of protection thus obtained, which the reader will find given in the Appendix. We believe it was planted a little way west of the cathedral and near St. Colman's tomb. But it has long since disappeared.

It is clear, therefore, that at Kilmacduagh, as at other Irish sanctuaries, the yew tree, or "Cuaile," and holy well, were regarded as objects of popular veneration, especially on the occasions of the pilgrimage or "Turas." They were interesting memorials of their patron's life and labours, at which a tribute might be justly and fittingly paid to his memory.

But the holy well at Kilmacduagh seems destined to be soon entirely lost to public notice. Its site has been much encroached upon by an awkward road fence. In addition, the efforts recently made by the owner to drain the adjoining lands leaves the well usually dry. And as he is one for whom the past seems to possess but little interest, in whom it is powerless to awake "thoughts Divine," it is almost inevitable that accumulating rubbish will soon completely hide the once celebrated holy well of Kilmacduagh.

Though unwilling to burden those pages with a narrative of the marvels said to have been effected at this well, through the intercession of St. Colman, the writer thinks the following singular story, given to him on credible testimony, worth recording. It is supposed to have occurred towards the close of the last century, and must strongly remind one of the miracle recorded by Tighernach as having occurred at Tubber Fingen, Clonmacnoise.

A boy of five or six years old, happened to escape the vigilance of his parents, who resided in the vicinity. While at play on the brink of the well, the child happened to fall in.

¹ *Fasti*, p. 199.

² "Auxit actiam loci reverentiam plantata a sancto viro haud procul ab ipsa ecclesia quædam arbor vulgo Cuaile Mic Duagh, i.e. palus Mic Duagh appellata."

The anxious parents missed the child after some time, and only after a long and diligent search found him head downwards in the water. They naturally thought him drowned. But great indeed was their surprise, when, on taking him out, they found him alive and well. Being asked how he felt in the water, the child stated he was protected there by a venerable old man of sweet countenance, and long grey hair. The grateful parents thanked God and St. Colman Mac Duagh, to whose miraculous interposition they attributed the safety of their child.

Throughout the diocese of Kilmacduagh there are several holy wells dedicated to St. Colman, each popularly known as "Tubber Mac Duagh," at most, if not all, of which the patron is still venerated by the devotional "Turas," or pilgrimage.

About a mile south of the cathedral, on the confines of Clare and Galway, there is Tubber Mac Duagh, still frequented by the pious votaries of St. Colman. I mention it first, only because it is nearest to Kilmacduagh.

At the Saint's reputed birthplace, at Corker in Kiltartan, there is another Tubber Mac Duagh, to which I have already referred. It is still visited by pilgrims, and is held in great veneration by the people of the locality. It was shaded by some very ancient hawthorns, some of which remain to the present day. Within the memory of living men, some of those old trees were stealthily cut down. The act was reprobated by the people of the district, though it occurred at a season when there was some scarcity of fuel. General suspicion pointed to one man, who was, in fact, principally concerned in the act. And, strange to say, a singular malformation of features made itself painfully noticeable on him soon after, and continued during the remainder of his life. The man was well known to many still living, and the fact was regarded as a mark of the Divine displeasure at his conduct.

At a short distance from the ruins of Guaire's ruined palace at Kinvara, there is another Tubber Mac Duagh. An interesting description of the well, with a pretty accurate sketch of its position and surroundings, was published by Dr. Petrie in the *Dublin Penny Journal*. He considers that St. Colman must have on some occasion, administered the sacrament of baptism there. And, while accepting that opinion as very probable, we think that the same opinion may apply equally to the other holy wells dedicated to his name in the diocese. It is close to the sea-shore, it has the usual circular stone enclosure. A stone cross is erected there; but it is rude and modern. It is sheltered by a steep rising ground on the north, and seaward by a decaying cluster of ancient hawthorns. Here, too, even

the present day, pilgrims may be seen piously performing their "Turas" in honour of St. Colman.

There is another Tubber Mac Duagh at Caherglissane, in the same parish, at about three miles south-east of Kinvara. It is perhaps in its position and surroundings the most interesting of any in the diocese. Though not more than two feet square by two feet deep, it contains an unfailing supply of purest water. It is overshadowed by a splendid ash, which casts its roots into the earth on either side of the fountain. It has a stone enclosure, and is also surrounded by clusters of hawthorns and hazels.

Within a few yards on either side are two similar enclosures; without water, also overgrown with hazel and underwood.

Close to the entrance to the holy well is the Leaba Mac Duagh, or St. Colman's Bed. As seen at present, it is simply a natural arbour, formed by a cluster of whitethorn and hazel. The branches thus shelter a slight excavation carpeted with moss and ivy, in which tradition says our Saint sometimes sought repose. It is situated at almost mid distance between Kilmacduagh and Kinvara. It is not improbable that our Saint on his visits to his royal kinsman may have journeyed this way, and remained to repose and pray in this secluded spot. Under the leafy shelter of the trees, with the air fragrant with the perfume of the wild-flowers and the hawthorn blossoms, and with the crystal waters of the spring close by to refresh him, he could for a little forget the cares of his pastoral charge, and, fancying himself once more in his beloved solitude at Burren, unite himself more intimately to God. Even at the present day, the solitude of this locality is striking. South-west, about a distance of half a mile, is the church of St. Enda, now known as Kilena. And about a mile eastwards is the very ancient oratory of Kilomorán, on the margin of its weird lake. The deep and yawning chasms which are numerous there are memorials of the great Lisbon earthquake, which appeared for the first time at the moment the capital of Portugal was destroyed, on which occasion a portion of the adjoining Castle of Caherglissane was wrecked.

Here, too, the pilgrimages in honour of St. Colman are still continued, and until recently, at least, resting in the "Leaba" was usually regarded as an important portion of the pilgrimage for those who sought there, through the Saint's intercession, restoration to health. It is probably not so frequently visited as some of the other holy wells, because, perhaps, of its remote situation. Remote as it is, however, a visit will amply repay those who may be anxious to learn what the traditions of the diocese

may teach regarding the veneration in which its holy patron was popularly held.

In the parish of Kilbecanty there are two holy wells dedicated to St. Colman. One is situated about two miles east of Gort, in the village of Rakerin. The other is on the eastern shore of Lough Cutra lake. Here the fountain flows from under a large sheltering rock, on the face of which there is a cross rudely sculptured, and the date 1745.

The last of those holy wells in the diocese dedicated to St. Colman which I shall notice, is one situated in the parish of Kilchrist, and adjoining the Clonfert diocese. In the well and its surroundings there is much that is quaint and picturesque. Springing from the side of a gentle mound, it is surrounded by an enclosure of strongly-built and seemingly ancient masonry. It is shaded by the spreading branches of an ash. There is also a much larger tree, which is now fast decaying. The rich undulating meadow-lands which surround it are dotted with trees and intersected with hedgerows. It is pretty probable that the mound adjoining the well, which is now grass-grown, was the site of a little oratory in the past. Some wrought stones, time-coloured and moss-grown, such as carved window mullions, remain there. Were the mound excavated, additional evidence might be found to justify this supposition. There is also a stone cross there with the following rudely carved inscription :

“ O Blessed Trinity, have mercy
On us. Blessed angels, make intercession
for us, 173 iii ” (*recte* 1733).

Here, too, pilgrimages are still made in honour of St. Colman.

This spirit of pilgrimage, not only to St. Colman's Church, but also to the places dedicated to his name and memory in popular traditions, must be regarded as a powerful and enduring evidence of the faith of our people in the efficacy of his prayers. And in the peasant who prays by some famous holy well to an Irish Saint, or who invokes his intercession within the crumbling ruin that helps to perpetuate his memory and name, we can only see a reflex of the spirit and piety which year after year in our time has been leading men to Lourdes and Paray, and other shrines of world-wide fame.

CHAPTER XIV.

Kilmacduagh from the death of Guaire to the close of the Danish occupation—Chieftains of Aidhne during the period—Flan Mac Lonan, Chief Poet of Ireland, a native of Aidhne—His poems—Died A.D. 896—Episcopal succession.

IN the year A.D. 662, the remains of King Guaire,¹ “who died penitently,” were laid in their last resting-place with “great honour and veneration.” He left three sons—(1) Nar, who was progenitor of the O’Moghans, for a short period chieftains of Aidhne; (2) Arthgal, ancestor of the O’Clerys, O’Heynes, and Mac Gilla Kellys (Kilkellys); and (3) Aoedh, ancestor of the Cinel Enda. Of the O’Moghans, the descendants of Nar, we have but scant records in our annals. The most important reference to them that we can discover is that they for a time retained the chieftaincy of the territory. They were “Chiefs of Cinel Guaire and of Ceanrighe,” until Mac Giolla Ceallaigh, who represented the more energetic descendants of Feargal, deprived them of the chieftaincy of their ancestral territory.²

Arthgal, second son of Guaire, had a son Feargal, who succeeded to the crown of Connaught. His reign seems to have been short and uneventful. His death is recorded by our annalists A.D. 694.

On the death of Feargal Aidhne, grandson of Guaire, the provincial sceptre passed for ever from the tribes of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne to the Hy Bruin tribes, who were collateral branches of the same great family. The Hy Bruin tribes, known in more recent times as the O’Flahertys and O’Connors, were descended from Duach Gallach, King of Connaught, who died A.D. 420.

The transfer of the royal residence from Gortinsiguair and Kinvara, was calculated to deprive the territory of Aidhne of much of its former prestige. However, the chieftains who

¹ *Manners and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 314.

² *Tribes of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 62. O’Donovan says it is probable that the name O’Moghan is now anglicised Mooney, of which there are some respectable families in Westmeath.

ruled the territory impressed themselves on the history of the period with a boldness that was not unworthy of their historic and royal descent. The following entries with reference to them are found in the annals of the Four Masters:—

“In 763, Conchobar, son of Commascach, Lord of Aidhne, died. This Commascach was great-grandson of King Feargal.

“In 768, Art, also called Arthgal, son of Flaitnia, chief of Aidhne, was slain. This Flaitnia was second son of Feargal Aidhne.”

In A.D. 780, we find that there was another great battle fought at Carn Conail, in Kilbecanty, in which the tribes of Hy Fiachrach were defeated by Tibraide, son of Taog, King of Connaught. The battlefield was the same on which Guaire had been defeated more than a century earlier. There is no mention made of the leader of the Hy Fiachrach tribes on the occasion.

Cleirigh, who was grandson of Comasach already referred to, is regarded as the founder of the O'Clery family, who retained the chieftaincy of Aidhne till the close of the tenth century, and who continued to be after favourably known in the history of the country. The Kilkellys were also of the same line.

Cleirigh had two sons, Maelfavail and Eidhin, the progenitor of the O'Heynes, who succeeded the O'Clerys and Kilkellys as lords of Aidhne. The death of Maelfavail is recorded by the Four Masters, A.D. 887.

Maelfavail had two sons, Tighernach and Flan. Tighernach succeeded to the chieftaincy. The annalists record his death, A.D. 916.

The successor of Tighernach in the chieftaincy was Maelmacduagh, a name which indicates the reverence in which the patron of the diocese continued to be held. In its literal sense Maelmacduagh meant tonsured (*i.e.* consecrated) to Mac Duagh, the patron of the territory. The Four Masters tell us he was slain by the foreigners, A.D. 920. He may have been a son of Tighernach, but of this we have no historical evidence.

In the same year, A.D. 920, the death of Aedh, son of Lonan O'Guaire, Tanist of Aidhne, is recorded by the Four Masters.

The murder of Maelmacduagh by the foreigners in A.D. 920, is one of the earliest intimations given by our annalists of the presence of the Danes in the diocese of Kilmacduagh. However, we find by reference to Miss Stokes's valuable map,¹ illustrative of the Danish incursions on our country, that the

¹ *Early Christian Architecture, Ireland.*

foreigners invaded Corcomroe in A.D. 816, when the churches of Glan Columkille and Oughtmama were the only churches there to excite their cupidity or hatred. Their line of march on the occasion seems to have been by Kilmacduagh to Oranmore and Lough Corrib (Orbsen).

The Four Masters tell us that in 928 the "foreigners of Luimneach went up Lough Orbsen, and the islands of the lake were plundered by them." It is certain that in the territory of Aidhne the Danes met, not merely with spirited opposition, but with crushing defeat. In A.D. 938 it is recorded that "Aralt, grandson of Imhar, i.e. the son of Sitric, Lord of the foreigners of Luimneach, was killed in Connaught by the Ceanraigh of Aidhne." In reference to this entry of the annalists, Mr. O'Donovan tells us that "the Ceanraigh of Aidhne were a sept seated in Ard Aidhne, near Ardrahan, in the barony of Kiltartan and county of Galway." Though he does not mention the exact site of this important victory over the Danes, we consider there is ample evidence to justify us in stating that it was within the present townland of "Raheen," in the parish of Ardrahan. The *Annals of Clonmacnoise* record the same event, though assigning a different date, and expressly mention RATHYNEY as the site, thus: "Harold (Aralt) O'Hymar (Imhar), King of the Danes of Limerick, was killed in Connaught at Rathyney." O'Donovan distinctly states that the event recorded by the Four Masters is identical with that recorded by the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, notwithstanding a difference in chronology.¹

There can be no doubt that those events occurred when Flann, brother of Tighernach, was Lord of Aidhne. He seems to have succeeded Maelmacduagh as lord of the territory. The annalists record his death, A.D. 950. The notice of his death, as given by the Four Masters, shows clearly that he was regarded as a man of eminence,—even as a recognised aspirant to the crown of Connaught: "Flann Ua Cleirigh, Lord of South Connaught, and royal heir to all Connaught, was slain by the men of Munster."

We do not find that his son Comhaltan aspired, as his father did, to the throne. But we know that he inherited the lordship of his ancestral territory, and that in military prestige he was at least as eminent as his father. In the year A.D. 964 he defeated Feargal O'Ruarc, King of Connaught, aided by his ally O'Gara. The slain on the occasion numbered seven hundred. The record of the Four Masters with reference to the event may be thus summarised: "A victory was gained by

¹ The date in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* is A.D. 833.

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Comhaltan Ua Cleirigh, *i.e.* Lord of Ui Fiachrach Aidhne . . . on Feargal Ua Ruarc, when seven hundred were lost." The death of this powerful chief is recorded: "A.D. 976, Comhaltan Ua Cleirigh, Lord of Ui Fiachrach Aidhne, died."

In A.D. 989, Muirceadhach Ua Cleirigh, who succeeded Comhaltan in the lordship of Aidhne, died.

The activity of the son of Comhaltan after the death of Muirceadhach is recorded by the annalists. He evidently endeavoured to assert the paternal claim to the lordship of their territory. In A.D. 992, Ruadhri, son of Cosgrach, Lord of South Connaught, was slain by Conchobar, son of Maelseachlain, and by the son of Comhaltan Ua Cleirigh. In A.D. 998, the son of Comhaltan Ua Cleirigh is again referred to by the annalists, in connection with a triumph over the son of the chief of the O'Maddens: "Diarmuid, son of Dunadhach, Lord of Siol Anmchadacha, was slain by the son of Comhaltan Ua Cleirigh, Lord of Aidhne;" he therefore succeeded in attaining to the coveted position of lord or chief of the territory. O'Donovan thinks that the son of Clery referred to in those notices was Giolla Ceallaigh O'Clery, who was himself slain by Taog O'Kelly, Lord of Hy Maine, in A.D. 1003. It would seem that the engagement in which he lost his life was one of more than usual importance. "In A.D. 1003 a battle was fought between Taog O'Kelly with the Hy Many, and the Hy Fiachrach Aidhne with the men of West Connaught, in which were slain Giolla Cheallaigh Mac Comhaltan O'Clery, Lord of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, . . . and many others."

O'Donovan adds that "this Giolla Cheallaigh is the progenitor after whom the family of Kilkelly or Killikelly have taken their surname."

Giolla Ceallaigh O'Clery was succeeded in the lordship of Aidhne by one of the O'Heynes, who then for the first time secured the lordship of the territory. We do not refer to him in this chapter, as we shall hereafter have occasion to refer to him at some length.

Cugeola, grandson of Giolla Ceallaigh, succeeded to the chieftaincy. He was the last of the O'Clery family who received the allegiance of the clans of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne. His career must have been uneventful, as the annalists record his death only, which occurred A.D. 1025. We shall, however, see in a future chapter that the O'Clerys retained a high position amongst their clansmen until the close of the thirteenth century, when they were driven out of their possessions by the De Burgos.

Though we contemplate with pain the petty quarrels which

left the Irish chieftains powerless for a combined national effort against the incursions of the Northern hordes, we must at the same time admire the persevering fearlessness with which they continued to resist them for over two centuries, until triumph completely crowned their efforts at Clontarf. The heroism of our people at that period had perhaps few parallels in history. The Northmen, though often defeated, would return in increased numbers to engage again in plunder and bloodshed; as wave succeeds wave, to dash themselves in unavailing fury against the crags of some rock-bound coast. Our Irish chiefs, though too often engaged in petty warfare amongst themselves, seldom failed to meet those pagan plunderers with a determined spirit of resistance; and frequently their resistance was crowned with success, as in the case of the victory already recorded, which the chiefs of Aidhne gained over the Northmen at Raheen.

But long before that event, the people of Aidhne, in common with the entire western province, had ample reason to fear the presence of those barbarians. As early as the year 835, Turgesius, the fierce leader of those barbarians, invaded Connaught, and ravaged the entire province. Our annalists speak of this invasion as a "*vastatio crudelissima*," a devastation of a most cruel character. Influenced by an intense hatred of the Christian religion, as well as by the prospect of plunder, they constantly attacked the monasteries and churches. They robbed the altars of their precious ornaments, they seized the sacred vessels; and the shrines, which were costly with gold and gems, they carried with them, flinging the relics to the winds or into the flames. And after churches and monasteries were thus sacrilegiously plundered, they were generally reduced to ashes by those barbarians, while their helpless inmates were put to the sword, or dragged into slavery worse than death.

These constantly-recurring scenes of bloodshed, sacrilege, and rapine, suggest and explain the origin and urgent need of places of refuge, to which the clergy might fly for safety, and in which the treasures of the monasteries and churches might be comparatively secure. We have the most ample historical evidence to show that our round towers were used for this purpose during the Danish occupation. Even those who endeavour to establish a prehistoric origin for the towers, cannot question the accuracy of this evidence. It is very noteworthy, too, that those structures are never noticed or referred to by our annalists until the time when the need just mentioned was well and widely felt. And while our annalists testify that they were then used for the purposes indicated,

they also testify, alas! that they did not always afford sufficient protection to our ecclesiastics against the hostility of our pagan enemies.

After overrunning the province, Turgesius took steps to establish his authority there. Keating tells us that he erected a fort at "Lough Ribb which commanded the country about. He plundered Clonmacnoise, Tirdaglass, and Lothra."

In course of time Turgesius was reinforced by a large body of his countrymen, who effected a landing on the west coast.

In Miss Stokes's interesting and valuable map of the Danish incursions,¹ we see that in A.D. 866 they effected a landing near Kilcolgan, probably at Maree. On this occasion they passed through the entire territory of Aidhne, and we cannot doubt that, on the occasion, so notable a church and monastery as those of Kilmacduagh did not escape profanation and plunder. It may be interesting to mention even here that Bishop Colman, son of Donchadthaigh, was then not long dead.

We also see, from the map referred to, that the barbarians extended their incursions from Inis Cealtra to Baeth in Aidhne, which, from its position on the map, may, we think, be identified as the ancient church at "Beagh," situated a short distance east of the present town of Gort.

Considering that this terrible struggle was maintained for so many generations, and considering, too, the lawlessness which usually results from a system of offensive or defensive warfare, no matter how just, the wonder is that religion and religious institutions could have survived, and that any records of that interesting period could have been preserved. It is certain that those barbarians, with the true instincts of destruction, sought to destroy even our monastic libraries,—more valued than treasures of silver and gold. In the general ruin it was not strange that very many of our libraries were actually destroyed. It is beyond doubt that many of the most valuable historical treasures of our early Church were then lost for ever. This destruction of our ancient records was a misfortune which fell more heavily on Connaught than on any of the other provinces. Ware, speaking of Connaught at the period, tells us that "almost all the ancient charters and registers of the bishops of that province are lost, to the great detriment of the Church, except some few bare catalogues."² These causes considered, it is no wonder that we find the notices of our distinguished and learned men in the diocese of Kilmacduagh during the period, few and unsatisfactory; and that the notices

¹ *Early Irish Christian Architecture.*

² *Antiquities*, p. 148.

of the episcopal succession in the diocese are equally obscure. Yet all is not obscure. Indeed, it is a subject of the deepest surprise to ascertain that, despite the prevailing disorder, the work of education was still continued throughout the land; and this at a period when other European countries were steeped in darkest ignorance. The annalists mention¹ several learned and distinguished men during the latter half of the ninth century. The schools of Cloumacnoise and Devenish, of Kildare and Durrow, of Roscommon and Tallaght, and of many other places, were maintained, and continued to produce men whose names have been transmitted to us as remarkable for their eminence in learning and wisdom. There are equally gratifying evidences of the same intellectual activity during the second half of the tenth century. Lanigan, writing of this period, says: "It is clear that learning continued to be cultivated during this whole period, notwithstanding its having been dreadfully troubled by almost constant wars between the Irish and the Danes, or between themselves."²

The evidences which have reached us of the successful cultivation of learning in this troubled period by descendants of the ancient tribes of the Southern Hy Fiachrach, are interesting. The Four Masters speak of Connmhach, a descendant of Guaire, a learned man who lived at Clonmacnoise. They record his death, A.D. 806, thus: "Connmhach, son of Durbotha, a descendant of Guaire Aidhne, scribe of Clonmacnoise . . . died."

The death of Indrect, Bishop of Kilmacduagh, is recorded by the annalists, A.D. 814; and in the same paragraph the deaths of many other eminent ecclesiastics are recorded. The death of Ailbe of Ceanmhara is noticed. From the context, therefore, we can have little doubt that Ailbe, too, was one of the distinguished ecclesiastics of the period. There can be no doubt as to the identity of Ceanmhara, as O'Donovan tells us it is Kinvara, "a small seaport town in a parish of the same name, in the west of Kiltartan barony, County Galway," of which he states St. Coman is patron.

Amongst the eminent ecclesiastics of that age, Cormac O'Killeen of the "Hy Fiachrach Aidhne" holds a very distinguished place. He was a man of recognised piety and learning. As Comarb of Ciaran and Coman, he must have had charge of several ecclesiastical institutions. And he was himself the builder of the great church at Tomgraney, with its Clogteach, or round tower.

¹ Lanigan, vol. ii. p. 370.

² *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 370.

The notice of his death already given from the *Chronicon Scotorum* is as follows: "A.D. 964, Cormac Ua Cillin of the Ui Fiachrach Aidhne, Comarb of Ciaran and Coman, and Comarb of Tuaim Greine, by whom the great church of Tuaim Greine and its Cloigtech were constructed, sapiens et senex et episcopus, quievit in Christo."

The Irish Bards have been always regarded as amongst the most favoured class in Ireland; and as they were the most privileged, so, too, they were amongst the most learned. Their course of studies was long. The poet was also obliged to be free from every charge that could be a reproach to men of learning.

Flan Mac Lonan of Aidhne holds perhaps the highest place amongst the Irish Bards of the middle ages. He was fourth in descent from Torpa, who was great-grandson of Guaire the king.

He seems to have inherited his poetic inspiration in a great measure from his distinguished mother Laitheog, who was herself a poetess of repute.

Of her compositions, O'Curry¹ tells us that there is only a fragment extant, which is addressed to her son. It exhorts him to liberality and generosity such as became a distinguished poet and scholar as he was, and opens with the following beautiful lines:—

"Blessing upon thee, O Flann of Aidhne,
Receive from thy mother counsel;
Let not thy noble career be without hospitality,
Since to thee is granted whatever thou seekest."

O'Curry also informs us that the poem was quoted centuries (1452) afterwards by Brian Ruadh Mac Conmidhe, and that its author is styled the "Nurse of the Learned." The poem consisted of forty-eight lines, and its chief purpose seems to have been to urge him to the practice of such generous hospitality as became his high station.

Three of his extant poems are described by O'Riely in his *Irish Writers*. Of these, he, however, says that they "are not possessed of any extraordinary beauties."² (1) A poem of eighty-eight verses on the defeat of Flann Sionna by Lorcan, King of Munster; (2) A poem of forty-eight verses in praise of the actions of Lorcan; (3) A poem of forty-five verses on the fortress of Ceann Coradh enclosure of harvest stores. O'Curry obtained copies of four other poems attributed in ancient

¹ *Manners and Customs of Ancient Erin*, vol. ii. p. 98.

² *Irish Writers*, p. 59.

manuscripts to Mac Lonan, of which O'Riely had no knowledge. Those poems are noticed at great length by the learned O'Curry. It will not be out of place here to give his learned analyses of a few of those poems, and in his own graphic words.

His elegy on the death of the son of Dalach, he states, possesses a "curious historical value," and he continues: "The Chief of Tirconnell died in the year 902; and on hearing of the sad event from his servant Mac Nagcuach, the poet, who, it appears, was no stranger to his mansion and his hospitality, wrote those verses, consisting of sixty-four stanzas, which he sent forthwith to the north; and in them he dwells with considerable minuteness on his own reception in former times by the deceased chief, and on the various gifts and presents he had received from him. From the nature of the presents thus described, and the circumstances under which they were given, and sometimes procured by the donor, this poem presents to us a very interesting glimpse of the mode of life at the court of Eignechan at the time.

"The most curious part of this poem, however, very valuable as it is in a historic point of view, is that in which we are told that the chief found himself compelled to purchase peace and exemption from plunder and devastation for his territory, from the 'Danish pirates,' who were at this time committing fearful depredations along the seaboard of the island. This peace and exemption was purchased by the chief consenting to the marriage of his three beautiful daughters to three of the pirate commanders." One of the ladies took the earliest opportunity of flying from her husband, and carried with her a casket containing trinkets of great value. "When the pirate found his wife and his casket gone, he flew in a rage to her father, and threatened to have his territory ravaged if he did not restore to him his casket. This Eignechan undertook to do, and he invited the Dane to come on a certain day with his brother commanders, and all their immediate followers, to his court, when the gold would be restored and the company royally entertained. The Danes arrived, and were well entertained accordingly; after which the company retired to the lawn of the court, where stood a tree upon which the Tirconnellian warriors were accustomed to try their comparative strength and dexterity, and the metal and sharpness of their swords, by striking their mightiest strokes into its trunk. Eignechan then stood up to open the sports; and, drawing his sword, he struck at the tree, but designedly missed it, and the weapon, glancing off with immense force, struck his reputed son-in-law on the head, killing him

on the spot. This was a preconcerted signal for the Tirconnellians, who instantly rushed on the rest of the band of their enemies, and quickly put them all to the sword.

"The number of the Danes slain on this occasion may be inferred from the stated number of their ships, which was one hundred and twenty; and it is stated that not one of their crews escaped. Eignechan then demanded the casket of gold from his daughter, and gave it all away on the spot in proper proportions to the tribes and to the chief churches of his principality. Just, however, as he had concluded the distribution of the whole of the piratical spoil, Mac Lonan, with his company of learned men and pupils, happened to arrive on the lawn on a professional visit to his patron. And here we have a characteristic trait of the manners of the times. When the chief saw the poet, and found himself with empty hands, he blushed and was silent; but his generous people, perceiving his confusion, immediately knew the cause, and came forward to a man, placing each his part of the gold in the hands of his chief. Eignechan's face brightened; he redivided the gold, giving the poet a share of it proportionate with his rank and profession, and disposing of the remainder amongst those who had so generously relieved him of his embarrassment."

Another poem of this eminent man is well worthy of attention. It consists of one hundred and thirty-two lines. Its opening line—

"Delightful, delightful, lofty Echte"

—indicates the subject with which it deals,—the mountain ranges which form the eastern boundary of the diocese of Kilmacduagh.

The poet goes on then in a vigorous and clear style to give some account of the history of the mountain, and the tribes and warriors who in succession occupied it, made it their hunting-ground, and left their names on some parts of it, among whom he mentions Fin Mac Cumhail and his warriors.¹ He then enumerates by name all the remarkable places, the hills, peaks, lakes, rivers, fords, woods, etc.; and he concludes with a vigorous eulogium on the Dalcassians of Clare, their munificence and loftiness of soul, of which the poet gives a very curious specimen. He relates that on one occasion he met a Dalcassian at Magh Fine, in the county of Galway, who had just concluded a service of twelve months to a man of that county. Having met the poet on his way home, he addressed him in these words:—

¹ *Manners and Customs of Ancient Erin*, vol. ii. p. 99.

“He said to me in prudent words,
Sing to me the history of my country,
It is sweet to my soul to hear it.
Thereupon I sang for him the poem.
Nor then did he show aught of loth :
All that he had earned—not mean or meagre—
To me he gave without deduction.”

We are informed by O'Curry that Mac Lonan was murdered in Clare by a party of robbers from the county of Waterford. The record of his death, as found in the Four Masters, is noteworthy, and may fittingly be quoted here: “A.D. 892, Flann, son of Lonan, the Virgil of the race of Scota, chief poet of the Gaeidhil, the best poet that was in Ireland in his time, was secretly murdered by the sons of Corrbuidhe—who were of the Ui Fothaith—at Loch Dachaech in Deisi-Mumhan.” Such a laudatory notice of the deceased poet clearly shows that he was regarded by his countrymen as one of the most gifted of our mediæval laureates. He is referred to in the *Annals of Ulster* as Flan Mac Lonan O'Guairé. According to the *Innisfallen Annals*, he died A.D. 896.

For some centuries after the death of St. COLMAN MAC DUAGH, the episcopal succession in the diocese which he had founded continued to be involved in considerable obscurity. But it may be added that a similar obscurity envelopes the history of the episcopal succession in most of the Irish Sees during the period of the Danish occupation. In many cases the historical records were, as we have seen, destroyed with the monasteries and churches; in many cases the succession was interrupted by long intervals, owing to the incursions of the foreigners; and in many cases also, owing to the same causes, the bishops sought security in complete seclusion. We do not doubt that the Bishops of Kilmacduagh sometimes sought that security within the mountain ranges which sheltered St. Colman's monastery at Oughtmama. This supposition would derive at least some plausibility from the example of the founder of the See himself. But we think it derives additional confirmation from the invocation in Aengus's Litany, in which, according to Petrie, the intercession of the “seven holy Bishops of Oughtmama, in Corcomruadh,” is invoked. It is not, therefore, we think, improbable that those “seven holy Bishops of Oughtmama” were Bishops of Kilmacduagh.

The first of St. Colman's successors in the See of Kilmacduagh whose name is recorded is ST. INDRECT. His death

in the year A.D. 814 is thus recorded by the Four Masters: "In the twenty-second year of Aedh Dernidhe, Indreachteach, Bishop of Cill Mic Duagh . . . died." The words of the annalists leave no room for doubting the identity of the See, and were there any doubts possible, they would be removed by O'Donovan's editorial note, in which it is expressly stated that the See referred to is that of Kilmacduagh. His death as Bishop of Kilmacduagh is also recorded by Ware, Colgan, and Lanigan.¹ Unfortunately, however, those writers have not preserved any facts of interest regarding his holy life.

In the year A.D. 846, we find the death of COLMAN, son of Donncothaigh, successor of Colman of Cill Mic Duagh, recorded by the Four Masters. There can be no doubt that he was the immediate successor of St. Indrect in the See. But though his episcopate and death are referred to on the high authority of our annalists, his name is entirely omitted by Ware and other authorities who profess to furnish a list of the bishops of the See.

Until the year A.D. 967, our annalists give no other entry relative to the See of Kilmacduagh. But in that year we find the following record: "DONNCHADH, son of Cathlan, Abbot of Cill Mic Duagh . . . died." Though we know that the office of abbot was frequently combined in our early Irish Church with that of bishop, yet we are unable to say with certainty that this Donnchadh was also bishop of the See.

¹ *Eccles. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 266.

CHAPTER XV.

The Chieftains of Aidhne—Brian Boroimhe marries Mor, daughter of Flan, Lord of Aidhne—Maelrunaidh O'Heyne commands a division of the Irish army at Clontarf—Is slain in that engagement, with most of his tribe.

WE have seen in the foregoing chapter that Cugeola O'Clery, who died A.D. 1025, was the last chieftain of his name to whom the clans of Aidhne yielded allegiance. A junior branch of the family had already risen to eminence, which was destined to retain for centuries the chieftaincy of their native territory. Its founder was Eidhin, second son of Cleirigh, whose death as chief of Aidhne is recorded, A.D. 887, and he is regarded by the O'Heynes of Kilmacduagh as their common ancestor. He had one son Flan, and one daughter Mor, who was the first wife of Ireland's supreme monarch, Brian of the Tributes.

The chieftains of Aidhne had approved themselves brave, and their royal lineage lent additional prestige to their military successes. These were characteristics which the brave Munster prince, who, in the opening of the eleventh century, attained supreme power in Ireland, was not slow to perceive and appreciate. Brian, son of Cenedeih, was indeed already connected with the western province by a very near and dear tie. His mother Beibhionn was daughter of the King of West Connaught. But his marriage alliance with the chieftains of Aidhne, by espousing the Princess Mor,¹ daughter of Flan, rendered his connection with the western province still more intimate. By this marriage there were three sons,—Murchadh, Conchobar, and Flan, who, with their royal father, were slain on the bloody field of Clontarf.²

It is recorded that Murchadh, while yet a boy, distinguished himself, A.D. 978, when in a hand-to-hand engagement he slew the chief of Hy Fighenty, on which occasion Brian became sole and supreme King of Munster. His connection with Connaught secured for him the powerful and willing support of the western clans.

Both Maelrunaidh and Maelfavail, sons of Flan, succeeded

¹ *Manners and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 393.

² *Loc. cit.*

to the chieftaincy of Aidhne. Maelrunaidh, who from his piety was surnamed "na Padre,"—of the prayer,—took a prominent part in the great national effort to destroy the aggression of the Northmen. Brian's most active supporters in effecting the great muster of the West, were, with O'Connor, the provincial king, O'Kelly, Prince of Hy Maine, and O'Heyne of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne.

Keating, in referring to O'Kelly's action on this occasion, in mustering a large number of men, adds: "And this gave encouragement to the princes of Aidhne, with many others of the first quality and interest in their country, to gather what strength they were able, which amounted to a considerable number, because of their near relation to Brian Boromhe, whose mother was a princess of that province."¹

The second division of Brian's forces at Clontarf, which consisted of the Connaught troops, was commanded by O'Connor, King of Connaught, Maelrunaidh, Prince of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, O'Kelly, Prince of Hy Maine, and O'Flaherty of West Connaught. They were supported by a strong body of Munster troops. This powerful corps was to engage the second wing of the enemy, which, according to some writers, was led by the fierce warrior Brodar.

The character of the engagement is known to all. It is perhaps most graphically summarised in the words of the Four Masters: "The foreigners of the west of Europe assembled against Brian, and they took with them ten hundred men *with coats of mail*. A spirited, fierce, violent, vengeful, and furious battle was fought between them, the likeness of which was not to be found at that time."²

But the mail-clad warriors, with their countrymen, were defeated, and the power of the Danes was crushed for ever in our land.

The victory gained on that memorable occasion was, however, purchased by the blood of Ireland's noblest and bravest. Ireland's monarch Brian, "the Augustus of the West of Europe, in the eighty-eighth year of his age,"³ was amongst the slain; and with him was his son Murchadh, grandson of Flan O'Heyne, and heir-apparent to the sovereignty. Immediately after those of the king's household lost on that field of glory, we find honourable mention of O'Kelly of Hy Maine, and Maelrunaidh, Lord of Aidhne, who on that day also sacrificed their lives for their country's weal. It is perhaps impossible to form any accurate estimate of the numbers of

¹ Keating, p. 496.

² *Ibid.*, A.D. 1013.

³ Four Masters, 1014.

the slain, as they are variously computed; that they were very numerous is certain. According to a tradition which O'Donovan regards as of authority, the carnage amongst the Connaught clans was so dreadful, that "very few of the O'Kellys or O'Heynes survived it."¹

There are few events in the chequered history of our country which Irish students may dwell upon with such natural feelings of pride, as the glorious victory gained by the monarch Brian at Clontarf, A.D. 1014. We must admire the genius of the prince who evoked order from the confusion of over two centuries of lawless turbulence; who created strength from comparative weakness, and union from discords which held a nation so long divided. We must admire the valour of a people who, galled to madness by continuous aggression and crying injustice, resolved to drive for ever from their shores the cruel oppressors of their religion and race, or perish in one grand and general effort for freedom. And we may perhaps, without weakness, drop a tear upon the page which records the heroism of the monarch, who, while the shouts of his victorious army came ringing in his ears, fell, clasping to his bosom the sacred symbol of man's redemption.

As regards the monarch's efforts to promote the religious and material interests of the country, we cannot over-estimate his untiring activity and success. He rebuilt the monasteries in a style of elegance to which they had not hitherto attained. He also laboured to restore the libraries which the Northmen had destroyed. For this object he commissioned men of learning to go abroad and purchase new supplies.

"He sent professors and masters to teach wisdom and knowledge, and to buy books beyond the sea and the great ocean, because their writings and their books in every church and every sanctuary where they were burned and thrown into the waters by the plunderers from the beginning to the end."²

As might be expected, the erection and protection of churches was the object of his special care. In his life we read that "by him were founded cells and churches, and were made stone houses, bell houses, and wood houses in it"³ (Ireland).

And again: "It is Brian that gave out seven monasteries, both furniture, and cattle, and land, and thirty-two bell-houses."

We believe it will be admitted that the only bell-houses of that period of which history knows anything are our round

¹ Four Masters, A.D. 1013.

² *Wars of the Gael with the Gaedhill.*

³ *Life by Mac Liag.*

towers, which were also used for the various other purposes of protection and defence which we have already indicated. And though the number of bell-houses attributed to Brian by his biographer be large, yet we do not find that the names are particularised in more than one instance, that, namely, of the tower of Tomgraney.

In the history of the *Wars of the Gaedhill with the Gael*, we have similar entries showing his active energy in the construction and repairs of churches and towers: "By him were erected also noble churches in Erin and their sanctuaries. . . . Many works also, *and repairs*, were made by him. By him were erected the church of Cill Dalua, and the church of Iniscealtra, and the Clochteach of Tuaim Greine, and many other works in like manner."

In the case of the churches mentioned in the foregoing passage, it is only to the restoration of those churches that reference is made. Many other churches were similarly rebuilt by him. We cannot, therefore, think that the chief church of Aidhne received no share of the monarch's patronage. His intimate connection with its chief lay patrons, the O'Heynes, renders such a supposition in the last degree improbable; and, as already indicated, we can scarcely doubt that the restoration of St. Colman's Church there, and the erection of its tower, was one of the earliest works in which he engaged.

Apart altogether from historical evidence, similarity in the architectural alterations effected in the churches of Killaloe, Inis Cealtra, and Tomgraney, during the monarch's reign, are noticed by such modern authorities as Brash and Miss Stokes. Now, the general features of the oldest portions of the Kilmacduagh tower and cathedral are quite similar, and belong to the same period. They are so classified by Miss Stokes, but belong rather to its opening than to its close. Though in the cathedral and tower of Kilmacduagh we have no traces of Romanesque, we have the latest and best of the old pelasgic work,—the large polygonal blocks of well-dressed ashlar, and the cemented and closely-fitting joints.

So similar, indeed, is the masonry to which we are referring in Tomgraney and Kilmacduagh, that the description of the one, which we take from Mr. Brash, exactly applies to the other: "The west end of Tomgraney church is the finest specimen of the primitive type in our island; its massive pelasgic-looking doorway, and grand old masonry, strike both antiquary and architect with astonishment." These words apply without a change to Kilmacduagh.

CHAPTER XVI.

Chieftains of Kilmacduagh in the eleventh and twelfth centuries—Wars between the Princes of Thomond and Connaught—Hugh O'Connor slain at Turlogh Aidhne, near Clarinbridge—Raids on Thomond—Kilmacduagh invaded, 1116, by O'Brien—Roveheagh attacked—O'Brien retreats—Again, 1117, invades Kilmacduagh—O'Brien defeated—Chiefs of Aidhne inaugurated at Roveheagh—In 1133 Turlogh O'Brien invades Kilmacduagh—Destroys Roveheagh and ravages the West—O'Connor invades Munster 1151—Herenachs, or lay patrons, farm the Termon, or Church lands—O'Heynes Herenachs of Kilmacduagh—Synod of Kella.

MAELFAVAIL O'HEYNE, brother of Maelrunaidh, the hero of Clontarf, attained to the chieftaincy of Aidhne soon after A.D. 1025. He seems to have retained the chieftaincy of his territory for the unusual period of twenty-three years. His death is recorded by the annalists, A.D. 1048.

He was succeeded in the chieftaincy by his son Cugeola. But of this chieftain we have hardly any record. O'Donovan thinks he may be the Lord of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, of whom the annalists record that he slew Donald Ruadh O'Brien A.D. 1056. This no doubt occurred in one of those fatal struggles between the O'Briens and O'Connors, which continued with little interruption during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and in which the chieftains of Aidhne usually took part. Such a fatal conflict took place at Corcomroe, just about that particular date, on which occasion Donogh O'Brien suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of his nephew and his Connaught allies.

Those struggles originated in the mutual jealousies of the princes of the house of O'Brien. No sooner had they consigned the remains of their heroic father to his honoured grave, after the victory of Clontarf, than this spirit of dissension manifested itself, with the result that the influence which should naturally belong to the family of Ireland's late monarch was much weakened. The kings of Connaught were quick to notice those elements of weakness in the royal house of Munster, and to profit by them. In the divisions of their powerful neigh-

bours they saw a favourable opportunity of aspiring to more than mere provincial rule. Accordingly, we see them, a few years after Clontarf,¹ invading Thomond, and plundering and destroying Kincora. By this act of aggression was inaugurated a long period of sanguinary strife between the two provinces. The conterminous districts of Clare and Galway became necessarily the theatre of most of those recurring engagements. Indeed, the civil history of North Thomond and of Aidhne might for nearly two hundred years after be summarised as devoted to strife and bloodshed through the rivalry of those contending royal houses.

Hugh O'Connor had early espoused the claims of Turlogh, grandson of Brian Boromhe, against Donogh, that monarch's youngest son.² This combination led to the crushing defeat of Donogh's troops at Corcomroe about 1055, to which we have already referred.³ O'Connor, desirous of giving as much completeness as possible to Donogh's defeat, led his Connaught troops against Kincora. On this occasion he destroyed not merely the fortress, but the town and church of Killaloe.

Though Turlogh O'Brien had availed himself of the support of his Western allies in crushing his powerful rival, he seems at the same time to have distrusted their zeal. He accordingly availed himself of the support of the King of Leinster to invade Connaught and humble its ambitious king. The invasion ended in disaster. O'Conuor had intimation of his enemies' movements, and, having carefully prepared an ambushade, into which they fell, they were defeated with loss. King Hugh O'Connor himself fell a few years later at Turlogh Aidhne, near Clarinbridge, A.D. 1067. O'Donovan tells us that this Turlogh Aidhne is probably the same place as Turlogh Art in Aidhne, between Moyseola and Kilcornan, which, as we have seen in a former chapter, is one of the most remarkable of our early battlefields. The notice of the O'Connor's fall, which we find in the annals, is so suggestive, that it may, we think, be inserted here.

"The battle of Turlach Aidhnaich,⁴ between Aedh of the Broken Spear, O'Connor, King of Connaught, and Aedh, the son of Art Uallach Ua Ruairc, and the men of Breifne along with him: Where fell Aedh O'Conchobhair, King of the Province of Connaught, the helmsman of the valour of Leath Chuinn; and the chiefs of Connaught fell along with him."

Roderick O'Connor succeeded as King of Connaught. Less fortunate than his predecessor, he was dethroned by Turlogh

¹ A.D. 1016.

² *History of the Dalcas*, Cronnolly, p. 287.

³ *Memoirs of the O'Briens*, p. 44.

⁴ A.D. 1067.

O'Brien, and it was only on the death of Turlogh that he attempted to reassert his authority as king. Soon after the accession of Mortogh, Turlogh O'Brien's second son, O'Connor invaded Thomond¹ with a powerful army, and defeated Mortogh O'Brien on the Shannon, and again at Corcomroe. Indeed, Corcomroe was ravaged by the Western troops three times that year! And, speaking of his raids there, the annalists add: "And it is wonderful if he left any cattle or people without destroying on those occasions." In a naval engagement, the Munster forces were once more defeated by the Connaught troops. O'Connor soon after, aided by Mac Loughlin, Prince of Aileach, marched on Kincora, which he left in ruins, with many other places of importance.

In the opening years of the twelfth century, we find the energies of the Connaught king as active as ever. In 1115 he "plundered the country" as far as Limerick.² And in the following year he marched against Kincora, which he again completely ruined. His gallant rival was, indeed, prevented by illness from offering any effective opposition.

Meantime, the command of the Dalgais was assumed by Dermot, brother of King Mortogh O'Brien. In order to avenge recent defeats and humiliations, he invaded Aidhne, A.D. 1116, and proceeded to attack Roveheagh, then a fortress of importance, which was situated in the modern parish of Clarinbridge.³ After a fierce attack on the fortress, Dermot O'Brien was compelled to retreat to Thomond by a hasty flight, having "left behind them their provisions, their horses, their arms, and their armour."⁴

To avenge his defeat, Dermot O'Brien was in the field in the following year, A.D. 1117. He again invaded Aidhne and plundered it. But the Connaught forces, quickly summoned together, and commanded by Cathal O'Connor, were sent in pursuit, and defeated them, pursuing them to the mountains of Burren and Echtge, and committing "acts of conflagration and slaughter."⁵

Roveheagh, which is referred to in the preceding passage, was the place of inauguration for the chiefs of Aidhne. It must have been, therefore, a place of considerable importance and of strength.

We are informed by O'Donovan⁶ that the place of inauguration of Irish chieftains was "always a celebrated or remarkable

¹ A.D. 1088.

² *Memoir of the O'Briens*, p. 60.

³ North-west of the parish of Kileely, barony of Dunkellin, County Galway.

⁴ *Four Masters*, A.D. 1116.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1118.

⁶ *Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 451.

place, appointed of old for the purpose, where there was a stone with the impression of two feet," believed to mark the size of the feet of the first chief of the territory. The historian of the territory should be present at the inauguration. An oath was administered to the chief, by which he bound himself to respect the laws and customs of his tribe and territory. As a symbol of authority, a white wand was placed in his hand as he stood in the supposed footprints of his predecessor. There were also other ceremonies observed, some of which were of a distinctly religious character. But, in every instance, it was indispensable that the chief or prince should be descended from the original conqueror of the territory, free from personal blemish, and of an age to lead his troops.

We find no notice of any recognised chief of Aidhne during the closing half of the eleventh century, notwithstanding the important events which mark its history. The succession from Cugeola, the last Lord of Aidhne, whom we have noticed, is given as follows by O'Donovan:¹—

"Giolla na Naomb O'Heyne was son of Cugeola ;

Flann was son of Giolla na Naomb ;

Connor was son of Flann ;

Hugh O'Heyne was son of Connor."

There can be little doubt that this Hugh O'Heyne was the recognised chief of Aidhne, and the same Lord of Aidhne who in 1121 aided O'Connor in effecting a disastrous invasion of Munster. Soon after the events of 1117, Turlogh O'Connor, then aspiring to the position of monarch of Ireland, invaded Munster, and marched against Kincora, which he again destroyed. Continuing his march southward, he burned Cashel and Lismore, and ravaged St. Carthag's tennon lands. In this incursion O'Connor was supported by O'Flaherty of West Connaught,² and by Hugh O'Heyne, Lord of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, both of whom were slain. The *Annals of Ulster*, recording O'Heyne's death on that memorable occasion, speak of him as "King of O'Fiachrach." Roused by such sacrilegious outrages, the Munster forces rally under Connor O'Brien, and, attacking the enemy at Ardfinan, gain a complete victory.³

In A.D. 1124, a strong castle was erected at Galway, where two of the sons of Auslis O'Heyne were slain by O'Flaherty of Iar Connaught. The annalists, recording the death, A.D. 1125, state that it occurred through treachery. There is no reason to believe that this Auslis O'Heyne or his sons were chiefs of their native territory. Hugh, Lord of Aidhne, seems to have been suc-

¹ *Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 398.

² *Four Masters*, A.D. 1121.

³ *Iar Connaught*, p. 374.

ceeded by his son, Gillikelly O'Heyne, who was slain with his son Hugh, A.D. 1153.

Towards the middle of the century, A.D. 1132, we find Turlogh O'Brien, King of Munster, preparing to avenge the humiliations to which his beautiful province had been so recently subjected. He accordingly marched into Aidhne, A.D. 1133. He laid siege to Roveheagh, seized and levelled the fort, and destroyed the historic "red beech" which cast the shelter of ancient branches over the inauguration-stone of the territorial chiefs. O'Donovan, commenting on this entry of the annalists, says: "This tree, which was evidently the inauguration-tree of the Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, gave name to the hamlet of Roveheagh in the parish of Kileely, barony of Dunkellin and county of Galway." The fort was, he thinks, a circular "caisseal," or stone wall, built in the cyclopean fashion around the tree.¹ Marching soon after towards Athlone, O'Brien encountered the King of Connaught, whom he defeated with great slaughter. Among the slain was O'Flaherty of Iar Connaught, by whom, as we have seen, the sons of Auslis O'Heyne had been treacherously slain. Turlogh O'Connor was compelled to fly before the victorious Munster troops into the fastnesses of West Connaught. Meantime the victors laid waste "the entire of Connaught, from the river Drowes to the Shannon, and to the southern mountains of Echtge, and took with them a prey of a thousand cows."²

Encouraged and aided by Teigue, brother of Turlogh O'Brien, Turlogh O'Connor invaded Munster, A.D. 1151.³ He had on this occasion secured the support of the infamous Leinster king, MacMorrhough. The annalists tell us that they "plundered Munster before them till they reached Moin Mor,"⁴ in the present parish of Emly, County Tipperary. There a fierce struggle took place between O'Brien and the confederates, in which O'Brien was defeated, with a loss of seven thousand men,—"a slaughter unparalleled throughout the war of succession." Having banished Turlogh O'Brien, O'Connor asserted his supremacy over Munster, and was recognised as Ard-Righ with opposition. He accordingly divided Munster, and appointed two subordinate kings, assigning the sovereignty of Thomond to Teigue O'Brien, and that of Desmond to Dermot Mac Carthy. The exiled King of Munster, however, sought and secured the aid of Mac Loughlin, Prince of Aileach, and of the Northern tribes. O'Connor, supported by his Connaught troops and his Munster allies, marched without delay into Westmeath. As a

¹ *Iar Connaught*, p. 375.

³ *Four Masters*.

² *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

powerful detachment of the Connaught forces, under command of Roderick O'Connor,¹ heir-apparent, were pitching their tents at Fardrum, County Westmeath, the Northmen rushed upon them unexpectedly, and defeated them with great slaughter. Giollacheallaigh Ua Eidhin, Lord of Aidhne, and his son Aedh (Hugh) are the first amongst the chiefs who fell on that fatal day, whose names are given by the Four Masters.

The chieftainship of Aidhne, thus rendered vacant by the death of Gillikelly O'Heyne, was assumed by his second son, Gilla na Naomb,² of whom the Irish annals preserve no record.

In 1154 we find Turlogh O'Connor once more engaged in one of those predatory incursions so frequent during his reign, in which his son was slain, with one of the subordinate chiefs of Aidhne,—Donnchadh O'Cathail, Lord of Cinel Aedh in Echtge, the eastern district of Aidhne.

The hostility between the Munster chiefs and those of South Connaught, fostered by the ambition of these princes, seemed only to grow in intensity with time, as we shall see in a future chapter. And though Turlogh O'Connor maintained till his death in A.D. 1156 his authority as Ard-Righ with opposition, it must be felt that the success of his ambitious aims was purchased at a very high price. Nor is it easy, on a review of his reign, to see his special claims on the high-sounding and somewhat adulatory terms in which he is referred to by the annalists as "the splendour of Ireland, and Augustus of the West."

This brief outline of the civil history of St. Colman Mac Duagh's diocese during one of the most troubled periods of our history, will help us to understand more clearly the ecclesiastical aspects of the history of the period. If we see abuses with pain, which robbed the country of much of its earlier fame, we can also see that they originated in warfare, and were continued by the turbulent conduct of petty chieftains. The picture of prevailing abuses under which the Irish Church groaned in the middle of the eleventh century, is graphically drawn by the Four Masters. Writing under date 1050, they say: "There grew up dishonesty amongst all, so that no protection was extended to church or fortress, gossiped or mutual oath." But the Synod of Killaloe, held in that very year, which "enacted a law and a restraint on every injustice,"³ showed the anxiety of the Church to deal with those evils. Early in the twelfth century the work of reform was still more energetically continued by St. Celsus of Armagh, whose sanctity

¹ Four Masters, A.D. 1153.

² "Servant of the Saints."

³ Four Masters.

and influence was recognised by natives and foreigners alike. The same great work of reform, continued with still greater energy by St. Malachy, seems to have been crowned with signal success by the celebration of the Synod of Kells, convened in A.D. 1152 under Cardinal Paparo.

It was natural, perhaps necessary, that the acts of violence, aggression, and lawlessness which marked the period should tend to social disorganisation, and prove fatal to the interests of the Church. The Church groaned under the oppression of the laity. The descendants of those by whom the Church was originally endowed became her greatest oppressors, and frequently seized the revenues of the Church, and her offices of honour and authority only for themselves. Montalembert, referring to this abuse, writes: "After the ninth century, in consequence of the relaxation of discipline, the invasion of married clerks, and the increasing value of land, the line of spiritual descent confounded itself more and more with that of natural inheritance. And then arose a crowd of abbots purely lay and hereditary, as proud of being the descendants of some holy founder, as they were happy to possess the vast domains with which the foundation had been gradually enriched."¹

It is well known that this crying abuse extended so far that the See of Armagh² continued to be held for fifteen generations by lay intruders. In the instructions given by Pope Innocent III. to Cardinal Paparo regarding the celebration of the Council of Kells, he refers to this evil as "that pernicious practice which allowed sons and grandsons to succeed to their fathers and grandfathers in ecclesiastical benefices."³ To this truly pernicious practice St. Bernard ascribes the evils by which the Church was afflicted in the twelfth century.

Those lay intruders are commonly known in Irish history as "Herenachs." Their office was intended to be a means of relieving ecclesiastics of the distracting charge of temporalities by transferring them to the care of laymen. It was, therefore, originally useful, and had the sanction of the Church. It was natural that those selected for such offices of trust, should be of the families by whom the endowments of the churches or monasteries were originally made. But those families soon claimed election to those offices as a matter of right. They could present for election to the office any member of the family whom they wished, though recognising the bishop's right to reject him "for just reasons." In such a case the family would proceed to a new election. It was only when

¹ *Monks of the West*, vol. iii. p. 287.

² Ware.

³ *Comment. de Regno Hib.*, Lombard, p. 99.

the family became extinct, or failed to agree as to a choice, that the right of election of Herenachs was ceded to the clergy. When the family became extinct, the bishop and clergy were to choose another family from which to select their Herenachs, under the usual conditions.¹

The Church lands, usually designated "termon" lands, of which the Herenachs obtained charge, were free from all secular or State taxes, and were charged only, as Ware tells us, "with certain pensions to be paid yearly to the bishop of the diocese whereto they belonged."² But in farming those termon lands they generally consulted most for their own interests, disregarding the rights of the churches which they were bound to protect. Being generally laymen and married, their cupidity was stimulated by a desire to enrich their children. And as the evil increased with time, the authority and control of abbot and bishop was entirely ignored. Even Gerald Barry assures us of this. He writes, "Though the consent of the bishop was originally necessary to the appointment of the Herenach, yet, in course of time, many of them maintained the abbey lands in their person in defiance of both temporal and spiritual authority." It was thus that those men even dared to assume the name as well as the emoluments of abbot, and sometimes even of bishop.

Under the title "Coarb"—a term also familiar to Irish students—we not unfrequently meet the Irish lay bishop of our mediæval Church. Its meaning, therefore, is analogous to that of Herenach, and is sometimes used for it. But it is most generally used to designate a successor to the dignity of prelate. The term, no doubt, may be sometimes used to designate canonically consecrated bishops. This is the opinion of Sir John Davis. But it is certain that the Coarbs were very frequently laymen who usurped the position and emoluments of bishop. But though assuming the insignia of the episcopal office, and arrogating to themselves the influence and titles of abbots or bishops, they were careful to engage duly consecrated ecclesiastics for the discharge of the sacred functions of their office. Hence, though having neither orders nor ecclesiastical training, they are frequently spoken of as abbots and bishops in our histories. It is not to be wondered at that such men should have exercised an evil influence on the religious houses and sees which were subject to their authority. In vain did the Church remonstrate against the injustice and profanation. The evil went on increasing, until at length it was met by the active opposition of St.

¹ Ware.

² Ware's *Antiq.* p. 43.

Malachy, and of the other great prelates who adorned the Irish Church at the period, by the scathing invectives of St. Bernard, and by the marked censure of the Pope.

It would, however, be an error to assume that this great abuse was unknown outside Ireland. It was also well known in Germany and France, though perhaps less general in those countries than in Ireland.

The Church lands were, as we have seen, called "termon" lands, from the Latin word *terminus*, a boundary. The limits of such lands were determined by the bishop and prince of the territory. It was a matter of great importance that the limits of those termon lands, should be easily known, as they secured a certain right of sanctuary and important civil exemptions for the tenants who lived upon them.

The termon lands of Kilmacduagh were extensive. Harris mentions a deed of sale effected by a certain Roland Lynch, Protestant Bishop of Kilmacduagh, to Robert Blake, of the lands given by King Guaire to the See, and consisting of twenty-eight denominations or town-lands, for £5 sterling a year. This number of town-lands is not much less than those of which the parish of Kilmacduagh consists at present. We think it not improbable that the village of Tarmon, where a rude stone cross stood until recently, marked the southern limit of the Kilmacduagh Church lands; while a similar cross, which may still be seen at the village of Cranna, may have marked their limit on the north.

The O'Heynes, direct descendants of the first royal patron of Kilmacduagh, were, as might be expected, Herenachs of the See. At even a comparatively late period we find Edmond O'Heyne mentioned as Herenach of Kilmacduagh. There is no evidence, however, that they abused their position as trustees of the Church lands. There is, on the other hand, presumptive evidence that their generosity to the See was not unworthy of the descendants of the open-handed and charitable Guaire. The splendid monastery, rebuilt under their patronage for the Canons Regular of St. Augustine on the site of St. Colman's monastery, is still popularly known as "Hynes Abbey." Even at the present day the striking remains of its ornate architecture command the admiration of every visitor.

But we seek in vain for one of the family who was Bishop of Kilmacduagh, or "Coarb" of St. Colman. It would have been only in harmony with the spirit of the times, and a comparatively easy matter, to place some "junior member of the family" in possession of the dignity and its emoluments.

We seek in vain for an O'Heyne amongst the bishops of the See. Yet we find that the family governed some of our most important Irish Sees with wisdom, sanctity, and learning. Two bishops of the name assisted at the Synod of Kells,—namely, Hugh O'Heyne,¹ who is styled Archbishop of Connaught, and Aedh or Hugh O'Heyne, Bishop of Cork. In 1205, O'Heyne, Archbishop of Cashel, retired from his diocese to Holy Cross Abbey. Connor O'Heyne, Bishop of Killaloe, attended the Fourth Lateran Council, and died 1217. In A.D. 1438² we find John O'Heynes, of the Kinvara family, governing the See of Clonfert. The absence of their name, therefore, from the bishops of the See of which they were patrons, would seem to indicate on their part a strong disapproval of one of the worst abuses of the age in connection with lay patronage.

Under the circumstances of those troubled ages, it was not unnatural that abuses should have arisen in Ireland. And when, in A.D. 1152, Cardinal Paparo, Legate of Pope Eugene III., opened the Council of Kells, the suppression of this lay ascendancy was one of the great questions with which the three hundred ecclesiastics assembled there were called upon to deal.

Another measure, full of interest in itself and of utility to the Irish Church, which occupied the special attention of the Synod, was a reduction in the number of Sees and a readjustment of Irish dioceses.

Up to this period the limits of diocese in Ireland, though often conterminous with the territory of the tribe or clan, were not always clearly defined. There were also, prior to this period, many bishops in Ireland without any fixed sees whatever. Hence the number of bishops in Ireland in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and earlier, was very large. This can be no matter of surprise, if it be true, as advanced by many writers, that St. Patrick consecrated not less than three hundred and fifty bishops³ in our country.

The number of bishops was therefore, from an early period, in excess of the number of Sees. We are even informed by Lombard⁴ that a diocese might sometimes have as many bishops as it had churches. There can be little doubt that this was frequently owing to lay patronage. Indeed, we are assured by Lombard that Ireland had a larger number of bishops than England, Scotland, and islands of the British seas together.

¹ Keating, p. 518.

² *Hib. Dom.* p. 220.

³ *Monks of the West*, vol. iii. p. 281 ; Lanigan, vol. i. p. 335.

⁴ *Com. De Regno Hib.*, p. 31.

But the reduction of the number of Sees and the formation of parishes, though necessarily a work of extreme difficulty, was, with the co-operation of the Irish Church, successfully effected by the Cardinal Legate.

While respecting the primacy of Armagh, he established an Archiepiscopal See in each province, and assigned to each a certain number of suffragan Sees. The entire number of suffragan Sees then established in Ireland is estimated by Dr. Carew¹ as thirty-four.

The amalgamation of the old dioceses, as given by Ware,² is very interesting. But for our purposes it is only necessary to see the arrangement of Sees in the western province.

Under Guaire were the Sees of Mayo, Killala, Roscommon, Achondry, Clonmacnoise, and Kilmacogh. The quaint Keating³ gives nearly the same ecclesiastical division. "The jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Tuam extends over the dioceses of Mayo, Killala, Roscommon, Clonfert, Achonry, Cluain Mac Nois, and Kilmacogh, in Irish Cill Mac Duagh. But these," he adds, "are now fewer, and some of them are entirely unknown." The See of Mayo was afterwards united to Tuam. The diocese of Roscommon is now known as Elphin. The diocese of Clonmacnoise was united to the diocese of Ardagh, after a protracted ecclesiastical controversy. The diocese of Emagh-dime, not mentioned, was united to Tuam in 1324. The union is regarded by Mr. Hardiman as "as singular an instance of ecclesiastical rapacity as occurs in the ecclesiastical annals of Ireland."⁴ It is therefore clear that, amidst the changes and amalgamations, the independence and territorial extent of the diocese of Kilmacduagh were respected by the Legate and the Synod of Kells.

Of the Bishops of Kilmacduagh during the period under review we discover hardly any record. From A.D. 967, the date of Abbot Donchadh's death, to the Synod of Kells, we have only one entry referring to them in the *Annals*.

In A.D. 1093 the Four Masters record the death of the successor of Colman of Cill Mac Duagh. From the *Annals of Ulster* it would appear that his name was AILILL O'NIALLAN. In the fuller entry of the *Ulster Annals* he is styled Coarb of Kiaran, Cronan, and Mac Duagh.

¹ *Eccles. Hist.* p. 130.

² *Hist. of Ireland*, p. 518.

³ *Antiq.* p. 39.

⁴ *Hardiman, Hist. of Galway*, p. 234.

CHAPTER XVII.

Chieftains of Kilmacduagh in the thirteenth century—Aims of Roderick O'Connor frustrated by the rivalry of his children—Treachery of Murrough O'Connor—Roderick retires to Aidhne—He abdicates—Battle of Kilmacduagh, 1199—Its consequences—Invasions of Kilmacduagh by O'Brien—O'Heyne is blinded by O'Connor—Owen O'Heyne defeats O'Brien—Battle of Ardrahan, 1225—The De Burgos—Was William de Burgo conqueror of Connaught?—Episcopal succession.

RODERICK O'CONNOR, who, as we have seen, was defeated at Fardrum, A.D. 1153, was intimately connected with the territory of Aidhne and its chieftains. After the death of Gillikelly O'Heyne, who fell at Fardrum in that fatal struggle, his son, Giolla na Naomb, succeeded to the chieftaincy. We are told by O'Donovan that the future monarch of Ireland resided in the territory of Aidhne during Giolla na Naomb's time; and there can be no doubt that he received from its chiefs a loyal support in asserting his claim to supreme power. In the year 1154 we find that Donnchadh Ua Cathail, Lord of Cinel Aedh of Echtge, was slain with his own son, in one of Roderick's unsuccessful "incursions."¹ In 1159 we find that O'Shaughnessy of Cinel Aedh of Echtge is amongst the distinguished men, enumerated by the annalists, who supported O'Connor at Ath Firdia, and were slain on the occasion. In 1166, Roderick O'Connor was inaugurated monarch of Ireland,—“as honourably,” say the annalists, “as any King of Gaeidhil was ever inaugurated.”

Though his rule was regarded as one of “wisdom and moderation,” his enemies were forced to acknowledge his military successes, and his friends could see with pride that his great ambition was to give unity and strength to the disconnected elements of Irish nationality. The wisdom and necessity of his policy for the nation was soon made evident by the English “Invasion,” which brought such disasters on the Irish race. Instead of united action in opposing the invaders, we find our provincial kings and chieftains occupied

¹ Four Masters; *Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 374.

by their old feuds and jealousies. In the rivalry and dissensions of our native princes we find the true source of the success of the English adventurers of the period. The venerable Charles O'Connor of Ballinagar hesitates not to ascribe their success to the fatal rivalry of his own ancestors,—the Connaught kings. "Because," he writes, "they were not themselves steady to each other, they were crushed by lawless power and the usurpation of foreigners. May God forgive them their sins." Commenting on this remarkable statement, O'Curry says: "This is a singular admission on the part of the best Irish historian of his time. But it is a fact capable of positive historical demonstration, that the downfall of the Irish monarchy and of Irish independence was owing to the barbarous selfishness of the house of O'Connor, and their treachery towards each other, with all the disastrous consequences of that treachery to the country at large, more than to any other cause within or without the kingdom of Ireland."¹

The success of the convention or synod which the monarch convened at Athboy, to which came the successor of St. Patrick and the chiefs of Leathcuin, both lay and ecclesiastical, seemed to justify a hope of better things. "They² passed many good resolutions at this meeting respecting veneration for churches and clerics, and control of tribes and territories, so that women used to traverse Ireland alone." Though there were "thirteen thousand horsemen" at that convention, and "it separated in peace and amity," yet, unfortunately for Ireland, the union of which it gave promise did not last. As soon as Mac Murrough returned to Ireland with his English allies, to destroy the independence of his native land, Mac Carthy and O'Brien at once tendered their submission, if not their allegiance, to the invaders. And when the English adventurers appeared for the first time in Connaught,—A.D. 1177,—it was under the treacherous guidance of Murrough O'Connor, the monarch's own son,³ that they appeared there. In punishment of his treachery, Murrough had his eyes put out by orders of the monarch, and was thus rendered ineligible for the office of Tanist, or successor to the throne, to which he aspired.

Fresh dissensions sprang up among Roderick's sons and nephews. In one of their pitiable family quarrels, fifteen princes of the tribe, as we are informed,⁴ fell. Speaking of those facts, the annalists say that "a general war broke out

¹ MSS. Materials, *Irish Hist.* p. 115.

² Four Masters.

³ *Iar Connaught*, p. 379.

⁴ D'Arcy Magee, p. 185.

amongst the princes,¹ and in the contests between them many were slain." But the spirit of treason remained with his family. He was in 1189 practically deposed and exiled by his son, Connor Moinmoy. In 1191² he was obliged to fly from his faithless family, and accept the protection of the faithful chieftains of Aidhne, with whom he once more resided. It is likely that the aged king regarded those singular events in the light of a new rendering of the inspired epigram, "Vanity of vanities." Certain it is that he soon after retired to the quiet cloisters of the Abbey of Cong, and there prepared himself for a better kingdom and a more precious crown. In 1198 the remains of the last monarch of Ireland were laid in the grave beneath the shadow of the towers of Clonmacnoise. But the solemn echoes of the last requiem chanted over his grave had hardly died away over the waters of the Shannon, when his degenerate sons and relations once more engaged in a deadly struggle for the crown. This time the influential claimants were Cathal Carragh, son of Connor Moinmoy, and Cathal Crovedearg, better known, perhaps, by the English rendering of his name as "Cathal the Red-handed,"³ his grand-uncle. Each had his supporters as well in Aidhne as through the entire province. But the rivals sought support also amongst the Norman adventurers, who witnessed this unnatural struggle with intense gratification. Hence we find those designing allies fomenting the discord by becoming the allies, now of one party, then of the other. To them it mattered little which side might prove victorious, their aim being to divide and weaken. After some indecisive engagements, the contending armies met in great force at Kilmacduagh, A.D. 1199. William Fitz Adelm de Burgo was the ally of Cathal Carragh on the occasion; while Crovedearg had the support of De Lacy and De Courcy. The fight was a fierce one, and ended in a complete victory for Cathal Carragh. Three of the five battalions opposed to him were cut down, while the two surviving battalions fled in disorder to Rindoun, near Loughrea, where many more were cut down.⁴ The *Annals of Innisfallen* tell us that this memorable battle took place a little to the west of Kilmacduagh,—a broken ground, and but ill suited to the movements of military bodies. Fitz Adelm and his surviving followers retired to Meelick (O'Madden), from which he was soon expelled.

¹ A.D. 1186.

² Four Masters.

³ Cathal Crovedearg was a younger brother of the deceased monarch Roderick.

⁴ Four Masters.

Crovedearg was banished by his now successful rival. He soon returned, reinforced on this occasion by Fitz Adelm. They passed by Tuam to Boyle, where Cathal Carragh had assembled his forces to oppose them. Here Cathal Carragh was accidentally killed in a skirmish, and Crovedearg remained the recognised provincial king. The astute Norman was already secretly plotting the death of his *protégé*; but, say the annalists, "God protected" the king from his evil designs. It was probably to avenge his intended treachery that the Connacians rushed upon his men and killed seven hundred of them.

But De Burgo soon returned, breathing vengeance against the province. On this occasion "he plundered Connaught, as well churches as territories,"¹ A.D. 1204. It is not likely he would forget Kilmacduagh, the scene of his former struggle. But, as a fact, we find that the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* expressly inform us that he "took the spoils of the churches of O'Fiagrath." The Four Masters add "that God and His Saints took vengeance on him for that; for he died of a singular disease too shameful to be described."

There can be no doubt he was guilty of the greatest and most revolting atrocities on the occasion of that sanguinary raid. He put all to the sword without distinction of class or sex. Even the clergy were butchered as well as the laity. Having plundered the religious houses, he set fire to them; so that from Kilmacduagh to Clonmacnoise the churches and monasteries were reduced to ashes. For these atrocities he was excommunicated by the clergy of Connaught, and was denied Christian interment within the province, though afterwards interred in the monastery of Athassel, County Tipperary, which he had founded.

But those terrible calamities occasioned throughout the districts of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, through the ambition of the Connaught princes, were to be equalled, if not surpassed, by those which the feuds of the O'Briens were to bring immediately on that unhappy district. I shall allow Mr. Cronnelly to give the story.²

"The Four Masters, under date 1210, record the death of Murtoigh Muimhneach, son of Turlogh More O'Brien. This Murtoigh, in 1207, led his predatory forces into Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, and plundered fifteen towns and villages in that territory, viz. Gortinsiguair, Rue, Kilmacduagh, Cahirmore, Kinvara, Cloughballymore, Kilcolgan, Dunkellin, Athenry, Ardahan, Kiltiernan, Killeenavara, Drumharsny, Aran, and Dromacoo.

¹ Four Masters.

² *Hist. of the Dalcas*, p. 289.

"The people of Hy Fiachrach were again visited in 1225 by Murtogh, son of Donal, and brother to Donogh Cairbreagh O'Brien, who, with the English of Desmond, overran the country, and left not a four-footed beast from Island Eddy to Athenry, or from Tuam to Echtge. Four of the Lagenian chiefs in Murtogh's army were slain on this occasion, and they were interred at Creg na n Uaim, in the vicinity of Cloughballymore House, where some upright stones mark their graves."

The significance of recent events was not lost on Cathal Crovedearg. He at once aimed at redressing the evils into which his early ambition had plunged the province. He comprehended thoroughly the dangers with which the Irish chieftains were threatened, not less by even the friendly alliances of the English adventurers, than by their avowed hostility. In a military age he was acknowledged to be a brave soldier. His successes were numerous, and wisely tempered with mercy and moderation. It is much to be regretted that he was not spared to carry out his wise reforms. Like his royal father, he grew weary of royalty, and retired to Abbey Knockmoy, of which he was himself the founder and generous patron; and here he prepared himself for his approaching dissolution. Singularly enough, "an awful heavy shower which fell in Connaught" at this time was regarded as a presage of his approaching end. He died in 1224, "remarkable," says D'Arcy Magee, "for ardour of mind, meekness in prosperity, fortitude under defeat, prudence in civil business, undaunted bravery in battle, and a piety of life beyond his contemporaries."

Immediately on the death of Cathal Crovedearg, the government was assumed by his son, Hugh O'Connor. In his father's reign he was recognised Tanist, "and had the hostages of Connaught in his hands" at the time of his father's death. But in the next year after his accession he was actively opposed by Turlogh and Hugh, sons of Roderick, and by most of the provincial chieftains. Indeed, his accession was but the signal for another outburst of those bloody feuds amongst the O'Connor princes, that ended in ruin for themselves and their country. It is not strange, however, that his accession to his father's throne should have met with active and general opposition. As Tanist he had already evinced a spirit of cruelty which the chieftains of the West were quick to resent. Without cause or apparent justification, he put out the eyes of Donnchadh O'Heyne of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne in 1212. There can be little doubt that this act, judged even by the rough standard of the period, was as illegal as it was cruel, for the annalists distinctly say it was done without the permission of the king.

"Donnchadh O'Heyne had his eyes put out by Aodh (Hugh), the son of Cathal Crovedearg O'Connor, without the permission of O'Connor himself."

By this act of revolting cruelty, Donnchadh O'Heyne was rendered permanently ineligible for the chieftaincy of his native territory, to which he seems to have been entitled.¹ O'Donovan has no doubt that he was grandson of Aodh (Hugh) O'Heyne, who, as has been already stated, was slain in A.D. 1153. He seems also to imply that Connor O'Heyne, whose death is recorded by the annalists, A.D. 1211,² and Cúgeola O'Heyne, who died A.D. 1212,³ were his brothers. Eoghan O'Heyne, son of Giolla na Naomb O'Heyne, succeeded to the chieftaincy in A.D. 1225. In Eoghan O'Heyne we find one of the most active chieftains in the West of Ireland. He seems to have continued an uncompromising opponent of Hugh O'Connor's authority.

While alienating the loyalty and support of his Southern chieftains by his cruelty, Hugh incurred the displeasure of the most powerful of the Northern chieftains by his injustice. By robbing Mac Geraghty of his territory, he provoked the hostility of O'Neil, who marched southwards, invaded O'Connor's territory by Athlone, and, after inflicting on him merited chastisement, he joined the disaffected chieftains of Connaught in inaugurating Turlogh O'Connor provincial king.

Cruelty and injustice are not unusually allied with baseness. We cannot be surprised to discover this trait, therefore, in the character of Hugh O'Connor. To recover, if possible, the throne from which he had been justly deposed, he at once sought an alliance with the English invaders, who were then encamped at Athlone. The support which he eagerly solicited was willingly promised. The Four Masters, in their quaint style, take care to tell us that "the English received him gladly, and kept him amongst them with affection for some time afterwards." Some Irish chieftains were found so forgetful of the national honour as to rally around him. Amongst those were O'Melaghlin of Meath, and Donogh Cairbreagh O'Brien,⁴ his own maternal uncle. With those powerful allies he commenced the work of plunder and bloodshed in the north of the province almost without opposition. The news of their success in the north of Connaught reached the English of Desmond, who, "as soon as they heard what good things the Lord Justice and his English followers had obtained in Connaught at that time," joined Murtoigh O'Brien in invading Connaught on the south. We are told by the annalists that this incursion was signalised

¹ *Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 399.

² *Four Masters*.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Memoir of the O'Briens*, p. 100.

by carnage. "They slew all the people that they caught, and burned their dwellings and villages." Deploring the misfortunes with which the province was visited at the time, the annalists add, "Women and children, the feeble and the lowly poor, perished by cold and famine in this war."

The spectacle thus presented to us is one over which the Irish student may shed a tear. But it was one but too well calculated to give sincere pleasure to the English adventurers of the period. The only effect which this carnival of bloodshed in Aidhne and South Connaught had on Hugh O'Connor, was a feeling of jealousy that he himself had no share in the plunder of South Connaught, as he had in the northern districts of the province.

The chieftains of Aidhne did not suffer this like passive slaves. Owen O'Heyne was, as we have seen, lord of the territory at the period. He was energetic, brave, and active; in a word,¹ "one of the most conspicuous chieftains that ever ruled the territory." But, unable to contend with such powerful forces, he wisely awaited such reinforcements as Turlogh O'Connor was able to send him, under command of his brother, Hugh O'Connor. Meantime O'Brien and his English friends, continuing their raid unopposed, effected a junction with Hugh O'Connor and his English allies. It may be assumed that he made peace with his royal nephew, "on behalf of his people and cows," without difficulty. Fearing no opposition now in the Southern districts which he had so ruthlessly ravaged, he sent on "a detachment of his people before him with immense spoils."²

The Lord of Aidhne was vigilant, and ready with his "select men." He boldly attacked the Munster troops, seized their "immense spoils," and detained their chiefs as hostages. A peace treaty was soon after solemnly entered into, binding O'Brien, on the one side, to respect the territory of Aidhne, and make no hostile incursions on it in future, and obliging O'Heyne, on the other side, to set the hostages free. But it would seem that the obligations of solemn treaties, as well as the claims of patriotism, were equally disregarded by this degenerate descendant of the hero of Clontarf. We find him immediately after violating his solemn engagement, and once more joining his royal nephew, Hugh O'Connor, and his English allies.

While O'Heyne and his patriotic followers were turning their successes to account, Hugh O'Connor, who heard of them

¹ *Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 399.

² *Four Masters*.

with amazement, set about reorganising a new armament. He accordingly appealed once more to his English friends for reinforcements. He was not disappointed, for, say the Four Masters, "the English responded to his call *cheerfully and expeditiously*." He needed them, as the chiefs of the entire province had at that time united to support his rival, Turlogh O'Connor. The English of Leinster, who were despatched to his support, were commanded by William Grace. He despatched a powerful army, under the command of his brother, Felim O'Connor, and other distinguished officers, into Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, to wreak vengeance on its brave chieftain. They marched to Ardrahan, O'Heyne's principal residence, and at that time a town of considerable importance; and entered the town unopposed, seemingly with the object of besieging and plundering the residence, and of making arrangements to overrun the country.

Meantime intelligence of the danger which threatened the Lord of Aidhne reached his faithful friends in West and North Connaught. The O'Dowds of Northern Hy Fiachrach, and the O'Flahertys of Connemara, "with one mind and accord, followed the English, until they came very close to them."¹ Travelling all night, they resolved to attack the English in Ardrahan in the early morning. A strong and select detachment was placed under the command of Tuathal O'Connor and young O'Dowd, for the dangerous work of storming the town. Animated with the spirit of their leaders, the soldiers fought "boldly and spiritedly," and routed the English from the town, east and west. They perhaps desired the open country as more favourable for their movements. However, the retreat soon ended in a disorderly flight. A large party fled eastward towards the Echtge Mountains, amongst whom was the English commander, who vainly endeavoured by feats of personal daring to reanimate his men. He was first wounded by O'Connor, but was slain by O'Dowd.

Those, however, who fled westward were more fortunate. Though O'Flaherty had been placed with some reserves on that side, the flying English took him unawares, and succeeded in cutting their way through his lines, and effecting a successful retreat. The Lord of Iar Connaught was taken unprepared, considering, no doubt, the defeat in the town, and the disorderly flight to the east, as final. Such was the splendid victory gained at Ardrahan, A.D. 1225, a victory to which one of our national poets, anxious to arouse and sustain the patriotism of the Connaughtmen of this century, by reminding

¹ Four Masters.

them of the valour of their ancestors, refers in the following well-known lines:—

“For often in O'Connor's van
To triumph dashed each Connaught clan ;
And fleet as deer the Normans ran
Through Corlieu's pass and Ardrahan.”

After this defeat the fortunes of Hugh O'Connor declined rapidly. Hated and despised by the princes and people of his province, he was about to be deserted by his false and interested allies. Having been at length expelled from his native province, he was invited to a conference at Dublin by the English, whose real object was to make him prisoner there. Though rescued from the plot by a generous friend, he was soon after arrested by Jeofrey March, Lord Justice of Ireland (*sic*), and executed, A.D. 1228. By the people of his own province he was reputed cruel, false, and unjust. Hence he was despised and distrusted. He died the victim of his own treachery.

The peace which his death brought to the province was like the rest which death brings,—“a necessary tranquillity,” say the annalists, “for there was not a church or territory in Connaught at that time that had not been plundered and desolated.” And the evils of war were now supplemented by evils of a still more dreadful character. A desolating plague raged through the country,—“a heavy burning sickness,”—by which the towns were depopulated completely, and their streets were left as silent as those of the cities of the dead. It is difficult indeed to realise a condition of greater wretchedness than that to which the districts of Aidhne had been reduced at this period.

The influence of the Normans was making itself widely felt. But there can be no doubt that their growing ascendancy in the West was attributable more to the fatal jealousies of the O'Connor princes, than to their acknowledged valour, their armour, or their superior military training. In our next chapter we shall see some of the acknowledged descendants of Niall of the Hostages driven from their ancestral territory of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne by the representatives of Fitz Adelm de Burgo, whose career has been already briefly noticed. And when we remember the part which De Burgo had taken in the events of his time in Ireland,—when, in addition, we recollect that he was the founder of a family which, for good or for evil, has influenced the history of Aidhne and of Ireland for over seven hundred years,—we may naturally be expected to give some

additional details regarding the descent and character of this remarkable man. He was remarkable amongst the many remarkable men who accompanied him to Ireland in 1171. It must be admitted that he holds a high place among the many adventurers of his race who came to plunder Ireland; and it must be also admitted that he possessed many qualities which eminently fitted him for his mission. He was astute, ambitious, daring, unreliable, and false. And yet, though many vices cast their shadow on his character, it must be also admitted that he founded in this country a powerful house, which gave, even to the cause of Ireland, some very able and distinguished supporters, and to the Irish Church many bright ornaments.

Fitz Adelm de Burgo was descended from Serlo de Burgo, who married Arlotta, the mother of William the Conqueror of England.¹ By this marriage Serlo de Burgo was father of Robert and of William. William de Burgo married Agnes, daughter of Louis, the seventh King of France. Of this marriage were born Adelm and John. Of Adelm, William Fitz Adelm de Burgo was son and representative.

De Burgo's birth and connections therefore rendered it natural, perhaps necessary, that his share in the eventful history of his time should be one of importance. But he was careful to strengthen his position yet more by his marriage with the daughter of Henry II., King of England, who, it would seem, had died previous to his arrival in Ireland. In Ireland, however, he soon found a solace for his affliction in a marriage with the daughter of Donald O'Brien, King of Munster. By this alliance the astute Norman secured the support or neutrality of one of the most powerful of the Southern Irish princes.

After the death of Earl Strongbow, the government of Ireland devolved for a time on Raymond Le Gros. Owing, however, to unfavourable representations made to the king, Le Gros² was recalled, and De Burgo appointed viceroy. After entering on his duties as viceroy, he received large grants of land at Castle Connell, near Limerick, which remain to this day in the hands of his descendants.³ In 1179 he obtained from the king a grant of the entire province of Connaught,⁴ though in direct violation of the terms of the treaty, solemnly entered into at Windsor between King Henry and the Irish monarch. De Burgo had neither time nor opportunity for asserting his shadowy claim to the province.

¹ The reader knows that William was illegitimate.

² Mac Geoghegan, p. 278.

³ *Ibid.* p. 296.

⁴ Hardiman's *Galway*, p. 45.

But the quarrels of the degenerate family of O'Connor afforded him an easy and favourable pretext for promoting his own interests, by fomenting their jealousies, and encouraging them in their fatal and unpatriotic rivalry. Self-aggrandisement was Fitz Adelm de Burgo's highest aim. He was implacable as an enemy. As a friend he was unreliable. He was revengeful, and his revenge was untempered by mercy. He was cruel, and his cruelty knew neither pity nor compassion. Though he was himself the founder of a monastery,¹ neither churches nor monasteries were sacred in his eyes. He pillaged and burned them, and put their unoffending inmates to the sword. Indeed, his spoliation of monasteries and churches seems to rival that of Turgesius himself. Such is substantially the character of De Burgo, as depicted by the well-known court historian, Gerald Barry,² who would naturally wish to speak with bated breath of so powerful a subject, and one so closely allied to the court. Yet it is his pen that describes him as always plotting, always false, always hiding the poison in honey,—always the snake concealed in the grass. He was, says Keating, "miserably covetous,"³ and to this sordid covetousness he is said to have added vices of a still more degrading character.⁴

It is no wonder, therefore, that the learned author of the *Hibernia Dominicana*—a De Burgo himself, and a writer who gives prominence to the remarkable and noteworthy features in the history of his very remarkable family—should be content with a simple reference to William Fitz Adelm de Burgo, without any reference to his career or character.

Mac Geoghegan endeavours to become his apologist to a certain extent, but, as O'Donovan assures us, "to no effect." "They have not been able to find a good trait in his character on record."⁵ To attempt to change the verdict of history is censurable; to hide it is equally culpable.

"Nor florid prose, nor honeyed lies of rhyme,
Can blazon evil deeds, or consecrate a crime."

If we except a spirit of reckless daring, we fail to discern in his character a solitary trait calculated to raise him beyond the level of contempt or hatred. As a military adventurer, he is referred to by some historians as the "Conqueror of Connaught."

¹ Athassel, County Tipperary.

² *Hib. Expugnata*, lib. ii. c. xvi.

³ *History of Ireland*, p. 541.

⁴ "Vir vino veneroque deditus" (*Hib. Expugnata*).

⁵ *Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 72.

Lord Macaulay refers to him as "the Norman knight, who, at the head of a handful of warriors, scattered the Celts of Connaught."¹ But Macaulay is seldom at much trouble in aiming at accuracy, when speaking of Ireland; and in this passage he seems to have consulted more for the rhythm of his sentence than for the character of the Celts of Connaught.

We have already seen the character of this successful raid, which was successful for the time because unopposed, and unopposed because unexpected. Had the Celts of Connaught been conquered by De Burgo and his "handful of warriors," it is difficult to see how those Celts could twenty-one years afterwards have defeated the English at Ardrahan. It is equally difficult to see how they could, if vanquished, have deposed and banished England's *protégé*, Hugh O'Connor. Cathal Crovedearg did not permit the prestige of the Western province to sink so low. We even find that King John, on his arrival in Ireland, deemed it wise to treat with him as deferentially as Henry II. had treated with Roderick O'Connor nearly forty years before. Hence, whatever may have been De Burgo's claims to the character of a successful military adventurer, he has none to the title of "Conqueror of Connaught," so gratuitously given him by some of his admirers.

We have seen that the independence of the See of Kilmacduagh was respected by the Synod of Kells. From that period downwards the episcopal succession in the See can be traced with but few interruptions.

REGNAD O'RUAN, son of Cellaig, is the first whose name we find recorded after the Synod as Bishop of Kilmacduagh. He died A.D. 1178. Though he may probably have been bishop when the National Synod was being celebrated at Kells, he does not appear to have attended there. It is at least certain that his name does not appear on the list given by Mac Geoghegan and others. But it is perhaps very noteworthy that the number of *bishops* who attended that council was only twenty-three, though there were thirty-eight independent Sees constituted by its authority.²

The death of GILLAKELLY O'RUAN, Bishop of Kilmacduagh, is recorded by the Four Masters, A.D. 1203. He may probably have been Regnad O'Ruan's immediate successor. He ruled the diocese on the occasion of the fatal struggle at Kilmacduagh. It is a curious fact that we find the Sees of Tuam, Kilmacduagh, Achondry, and Killala at this period occupied by bishops of this name.

¹ *History of England.*

² *Malone's Church History*, p. 20.

O'KELLY, whose death as Bishop of Hy Fiachrach is recorded by the annalists in A.D. 1214, must have been Bishop O'Ruan's immediate successor. O'Donovan expressly states that the Hy Fiachrach referred to by the annalists is the diocese of Kilmacduagh, as the Bishop of Northern Hy Fiachrach then, and for many years after, was Cormac O'Tarpaidh.

O'SHAUGHNESSY seems to have succeeded. His death is recorded A.D. 1223. The O'Shaughnessy family, even prior to this period, held a distinguished place amongst the chieftains of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne. In the annals the family are often referred to as the Kineal Aedh. And because they occupied the eastern portion of Aidhne, which extends along the Echtge Mountains, they are sometimes referred to as "Kineal Aedh na Echtge." As Aedh,¹ from whom the O'Shaughnessys were descended, was great-grandfather of St. Colman Mac Duagh, the O'Shaughnessys were the kinsmen of the holy founder of Kilmacduagh. And it may be said with truth, that one of the distinctive features in the character of the family for centuries, was its hospitality, and its reverence for its holy kinsman and patron, Mac Duagh. They were the hereditary custodians of the crozier and girdle of the Saint, and had them enriched with gold and gems. They handed them down as a sacred charge from sire to son, and guarded them with jealous care.² Our annalists and hagiographers alike attest that those venerated relics possessed miraculous powers. Hence the crozier was used to give a solemn and sacred sanction to treaties, and the violation of treaties so ratified was regarded as a public crime. It is such a violation of treaty that is referred to, A.D. 1223, as affecting the O'Shaughnessy family. "The son of Giolla na Naomb O'Shaughnessy was slain by the Clan Cuilen, a deed by which the Bachal Mor of St. Colman, son of Duagh, was profaned." We are unable to learn the cause which led to this crime on the part of the MacNamaras or Clan Cuilen. But O'Donovan explains,³ and informs us that "when parties were sworn on a crozier, or any relic, to observe certain conditions, such as to offer protection to a man in case he made his appearance, and that such an oath was afterwards violated, the crozier or relic, in the language of those annals, was said to be profaned." There can be no doubt that the profanation of St. Colman's crozier recorded by our annalists was of the nature indicated by their learned annotator.

The crozier and girdle of St. Colman also continued to be guarded with jealous care in the O'Shaughnessy family from

¹ *Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 374.

² *Vide Colgan.*

³ *Four Masters*, A.D. 1223.

generation to generation. Even in the days of Father Colgan, the "crozier and belt ornamented with gems and gold" were still in their possession, and were still used to add in popular estimation to the sanction of oaths or other solemn undertakings.

But, after this ancient and influential family was cast into obscurity by the adverse judgment of Mansfield, towards the close of the last century, the crozier passed into other hands.

As we are informed by O'Donovan that the family became allied to the Butlers of Cregg by the marriage of Helen, sister of Colonel William O'Shaughnessy, with Theobald Butler, Esq., on the ruin of the Gort baronets, the crozier passed into the possession of the Butlers. Even then it was frequently used as a means of influencing the possessors of goods fraudulently obtained to yield up their illicit property to the owners. The writer has had the good fortune of knowing a very old man,¹ who remembers his father to have obtained the crozier from the Cregg family for a like purpose. He saw the crozier on the occasion.

We are assured by O'Donovan that it passed into the possession of George Petrie early in this century, and is preserved in the valuable collection of that distinguished antiquary, now in the museum of our National Academy. "This relic," he writes, "is yet extant, but in bad preservation. It is in the cabinet of George Petrie, Esq., author of the *Essay on the Round Towers*, etc."

It has been identified, and differs in little from the Irish croziers of the period, with which those who have examined the treasures of the Academy are familiar. The same delicate filigree ornamentation, the same beautiful enamels, are there still, though many of the jewels are lost with which the interlacing bands were artistically studded. Little more, however, than the head of the crozier remains. Such is the treasure of which the O'Shaughnessy family were the custodians for centuries. It may well be assumed that Bishop O'Shaughnessy was as worthy of wielding as of guarding the venerated crozier of his holy kinsman.

MAELMURRY O'CONNOR, who succeeded, died in 1224. By the Four Masters he is called O'Conmaic, Bishop of Hy Fiachrach and Kinelea. Referring to this entry, O'Donovan remarks, "By this the annalists mean the Bishop of Kilmacduagh."

ODO, Chanter of Kilmacduagh, succeeded. He was elected A.D. 1227. The date of his death is not recorded.

¹ The old man was John Keane of Gort, recently dead.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The De Burgos drive the O'Flahertys from Moyseola—Richard de Burgo as king-maker—Owen O'Heyne, Chief of Kilmacduagh, makes peace with the English—They help him to invade Thomond—He helps the English in Connemara—His death—Walter de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, seizes the Castle of Ardahan, 1264—The O'Clerys driven from Kilmacduagh by his sons—Their lands are seized by Hubert and Redmond Burke, younger brothers of the Red Earl—Battle of Athenry—Episcopal succession.

THE grant of the Province of Connaught to Fitz Adelm de Burgo, made by Henry II., A.D. 1179, was a violation of the treaty which Henry had made at Windsor with the "Last Monarch of Ireland." Fitz Adelm was unable, as we have seen, to assert his unjust claim.

Following the example of his royal predecessor, Henry III., in A.D. 1215, made a grant of "the whole kingdom of Connaught,"¹ to Richard, son of William Fitz Adelm. But no efforts were made to enforce even this grant till after the death of Cathal Crovedearg. The Red-handed King of Connaught would tolerate no such aggression. In 1225, the Earl Marshal of Ireland received instructions to seize the province, and give it to De Burgo at the yearly rent of 300 marks for ever.² It does not, however, appear that the "Earl Marshal" paid any particular attention to those remarkable instructions. In the year 1227, Richard de Burgo was appointed Governor of Ireland, a position most favourable to the attainment of even his most ambitious aims. He was not slow in utilising all the advantages of his position.

He seems to have been a brave soldier. But, though endowed with military qualities of a high order, his ardour was tempered with much of the calculating astuteness of his father. And, like the other adventurers of his race, he was careful to strengthen his position by marriage alliance. In this he was also successful, as he married Hodierna, grand-daughter of Cathal Crovedearg. He became thus closely allied to the great reigning family of the West, whose territory he intended

¹ Hardiman's *Galway*, p. 46.

² *Loc. cit.*

to appropriate, and whose power he purposed to destroy. Were the princes of the West united, as they should have been, his efforts would have been useless. He saw this, and therefore resolved to divide still more the already disunited princes of Connaught. One of his first acts, therefore, was to act the rôle of king-maker, and set up Hugh, son of Cathal Crovedearg, as king. For De Burgo, the rôle of king-maker was as easy as it was politic at the time; as the aspirants to royal honours amongst the O'Connor princes were then very numerous. Felim, son of Roderick, was the recognised king.

One of the first of the Western chiefs who rose to oppose the pretensions of De Burgo's royal puppet was O'Flaherty, whose territory at that period extended along the eastern shores of the Corrib, through the districts now known as the barony of Clare. O'Flaherty was but poorly supported. Hugh O'Connor, by the aid of his foreign allies, soon overran the province, harassing and spoiling his helpless countrymen wherever he passed. The results were disastrous. The Four Masters tell us that "excessive dearth prevailed in Connaught in consequence of the wars of the sons of Roderick O'Connor."

O'Flaherty was one of his first victims. He was attacked and driven with his tribe from his native territory of Moyseola,—or Clare barony,¹—which was immediately seized by De Burgo, and extensively castellated by him and his followers. Driven from Moyseola, O'Flaherty fortified himself in his castle at Galway. But from this too he was, after a brave resistance, driven by De Burgo, and obliged to take refuge in the wilds of Iar Connaught (Connemara), a great portion of which he afterwards retained, with his tribe. The advantages of such a position as that of Dun Gallive (Galway) was at once clear to De Burgo. He therefore erected a strong fortress there in A.D. 1232. Two years earlier, he had deposed his protégé, Hugh O'Connor, and for some little time, Felim, his brother, was regarded as his successor. Two years later, however, he restored Hugh to his mimic royal state. In 1232 the fact is recorded by our annalists in the following suggestive words: "The Kingdom of Connaught was given to Hugh, the son of Roderick, by the son of Mac William Burke." He must have been anxious to impress the chieftains of the West with a sense of his great authority, and with a knowledge of the powerlessness of the O'Connors.

Some efforts were made, though weak and unsuccessful, to check this daring aggression. In 1232 several of the Connaught chieftains rallied round Connor, son of Hugh O'Connor, and

¹ *Iar Connaught.*

made an incursion into the Tuathas or districts along the west side of the Shannon. But "Connor, with Gilla Kelly O'Heyne, and the son of Donogh Mac Dermott, and many others along with them, were slain."

We do not, however, find that Gilla Kelly O'Heyne's distinguished kinsman Eoghan had any part in the efforts thus inaugurated. Indeed, we find Eoghan O'Heyne, only ten years after the victory of Ardrahan, on "the warmest terms of friendship with the English."¹

Perhaps this is not very much to be wondered at. As the O'Connor princes were so false to one another, it is not much to be wondered at that a similar spirit should have influenced the less popular chieftains and popular leaders.

In forming this discreditable alliance with the English, O'Heyne was influenced with a desire to be avenged on Donogh Cairbreagh O'Brien, by whom the territory of Kilmacduagh had been so recently plundered and wasted. He had no difficulty in inducing them to consent to his project, the invasion of Thomond. He had, with Richard de Burgo, many of the most powerful of the Anglo-Normans amongst his supporters. His cause was supported by Fitz Maurice, the Lord Deputy, De Lacy, Earl of Ulster, the Chief Baron of Leinster, and Lord John Cogan, who commanded the English of Munster. After a private consultation, held at the request of Eoghan O'Heyne, it was determined that they should enter Thomond "without giving the Momonians any notice of their intentions." This they accordingly did, A.D. 1235, committing, as the Four Masters tell us, "great depredations."

When King Felim O'Connor, son of Cathal Crovedearg, became aware that the English troops had left for Munster, he proceeded immediately to the relief of Donogh O'Brien, his uncle. On his arrival in Munster, skirmishes between his and the English troops were of daily occurrence. "At length a pitched battle took place, in which the united forces of the Connacians fought bravely against the English; but the English troops, consisting of infantry and cavalry, who were all clad in armour, at length vanquished them, and killed numbers both of the Connacians and Momonians, but especially of the latter, in consequence of Donnchadh Cairbreach O'Brien. . . . The following day O'Brien made peace with the English, and gave them hostages. The English then returned to Connaught, and went first to Aodh O'Flaherty, who made peace with them rather than that they should plunder his people and carry off his cattle."²

¹ *Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 400.

² *Ibid.* p. 401.

Felim O'Connor, the defeated king, had retreated to Connemara, "leaving the country desolate to the English as he passed," and expecting to find an ally in O'Flaherty.

He naturally calculated on the support of the first victims of De Burgo's aggressive selfishness. In this, however, he was disappointed. O'Flaherty felt that he might copy the selfishness of the O'Connor princes with some advantage to himself. His old ally O'Heyne had followed their example. Hugh O'Flaherty accordingly "made his peace with the English;"¹ and we find him with O'Heyne actively aiding the English. Both chieftains came with a great army to the relief of the Lord Justice, who with his troops had pursued the Irish to Connemara. They also sent to his aid a large number of boats, which with great labour they had transported overland for a long distance to Leenane in Killery Bay. The English troops were thus enabled to sail from Leenane to Clew Bay, where they "committed incredible slaughter through the numerous islands there." This expedition, supported and led by those renegade Irish chieftains, "left the Connacians bereft of food, raiment, and cattle, and the country of peace and tranquillity,—the Gaels themselves plundering and destroying each other."² It is impossible to exempt O'Heyne from being in a great measure responsible for those sad results. We seek in vain for justification of his unpatriotic conduct, nor is there any evidence that his alliance with the English had been afterwards severed.

In A.D. 1236,³ Brian, son of Turlogh O'Connor, was set up by the English as another royal puppet. With his English allies he committed "great depredations" on his kinsmen and countrymen, who retaliated in turn, "so that the country was destroyed between both parties."

Many of the Connaught chieftains once more rallied round Felim O'Connor with their forces, and induced him to march to Rindoun,⁴ where Brian O'Connor, with Owen O'Heyne, and his other allies, "had all the cows of the country."⁵ The raid was successful. But the forces were engaged in carrying away the booty in different directions, and the king was consequently left with but a small bodyguard. Observing this Brian O'Connor and Owen O'Heyne fell upon him "with a party of horse and many foot soldiers."⁶ King Felim defended himself bravely and successfully against this unexpected attack. De Burgo must have recognised his success, for the

¹ A.D. 1235.

³ Four Masters.

⁵ Four Masters.

² *Iar Connaught*, p. 50.

⁴ Near Loughrea on the Shannon.

⁶ *Ibid.*

annalists tell us "that as soon as he had learned that O'Connor had defeated all who had turned against him, he joined them to reduce them."

We have no further notice of Eoghan O'Heyne, until we find his death recorded briefly by the annalists, A.D. 1252: "Owen O'Heyne, Lord of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, died." Though he lived to see the death of Richard de Burgo, A.D. 1243, he saw alien ascendancy established on a permanent basis in his native province. The Norman castles erected at Loughree, Galway, and through the districts of Moyseola, spoke clearly of an ascendancy which promised to be enduring, and which O'Heyne himself had helped effectually to build up. He did not live to see that ascendancy established over an important portion of his own territory by the capture of O'Heyne's castle at Ardrahan; by the expulsion of the O'Clerys from the territory of Kilmacduagh, and the seizure of their possessions.

Having been summoned to France by the English king, Henry III., Richard de Burgo died on the voyage, A.D. 1245, and was buried at Bourdeaux with almost regal pomp.

His son, Walter de Burgo, inherited his authority and influence. He was also the first of his family who became Earl of Ulster. This high distinction he obtained through his wife, who was daughter and heiress of Hugh de Lacy. Walter de Burgo seems to have studied closely the aims and policy of his distinguished father. We find him accordingly plundering and seizing "Gno More and Gno Beg," the districts now comprised by the barony of Moycullen, and taking "possession of all Lough Corrib," A.D. 1257.¹ In 1258 we find it recorded by the annalists that "a great war broke out between the English, during which were burned Ardrahan, Kilcolgan, and many street towns and much corn."² It is difficult to say what part De Burgo may have had in those transactions.

In 1263 a great portion of the districts of Kilmacduagh was again ravaged. On this occasion, however, it was not the work of the English. Donnell Oge O'Donnell had effected a junction with the troops of Hugh O'Connor at the Curliu Mountains; and, having marched into Clanrickarde, "they totally ravaged the country as far as Echtge and Galway."³ In 1264 the castles of Long Mask and of Ardrahan were taken by Walter de Burgo.⁴ The castle at Ardrahan was the chief residence of the O'Heynes, and with its capture we can date the growth and extension of the authority of the De Burgos through the districts of Kilmacduagh. Walter de Burgo soon after opposed the pretensions of Hugh O'Connor to the throne, and was

¹ Four Masters.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

defeated with considerable loss near Carrick-on-Shannon. Walter de Burgo did not long survive his defeat. He retired to his castle in Galway, and died there in A.D. 1271.

We think it very probable that the expulsion of the O'Clerys, former chieftains of Aidhne, occurred soon after the Castle of Ardahan was wrested from the O'Heynes by Walter de Burgo. It is certain that they were driven from their ancestral possessions in Aidhne by the De Burgos, as the O'Flahertys had been driven out from Moyseola a generation earlier by Richard de Burgo. O'Donovan does not give the exact date; he only states in a general way that their expulsion may be referred to the second half of the thirteenth century.

Though the chieftainship of Aidhne had passed from the O'Clerys after the death of Braon O'Clery, A.D. 1033, the family continued for seven generations¹ to hold prominent positions as subordinate chieftains in their ancestral territory. O'Donovan is of opinion that it was in the time of Domhnal, seventh in descent from Eoghan, who died 1063, that they were forced by their Norman plunderers to fly from their ancestral possessions.

Domhnal O'Clery had four sons. The oldest, John, surnamed "the Comely," was founder of the most remarkable branch of the family, which in two generations after became permanently settled in Donegal. There, under the patronage of the powerful chieftains of Tirconnell, they became remarkable as historians, some of whom have acquired imperishable fame. From this illustrious stem are descended Michael and Conary O'Clery, two of the most able compilers of the annals of the Four Masters.

Daniel O'Clery, the second son, was ancestor of the O'Clerys of Tirawley.²

From Thomas, the third son, are descended the O'Clerys of Breifny O'Riely, a territory which comprised the entire county of Cavan, with the exception of two baronies.

Cormac, the youngest son, was ancestor of the O'Clerys of Kilkenny.

We have not been able to find the exact limits of the O'Clery territory in Aidhne authoritatively fixed. We think, however, that they held a considerable portion of the north-eastern districts of Kilmacduagh at the time of their expulsion. And we think this assumption sufficiently established by the fact that these districts were seized and appropriated at that period by the two younger sons of Walter de Burgo, Hubert and Red-

¹ *Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 394.

² *Ibid.* p. 394.

mond, brothers of the Red Earl¹ of Ulster. Hubert de Burgo was founder of the Iser Kelly family, known as the Mac Hubert Burkes. Their castle stands, in splendid preservation, within the demesne lands of the present proprietors. The present castle is, however, evidently modern,—the date 1603 found on a mantelpiece within the castle is probably the date of its erection,—and stands probably on the ruins of the far older family residence, the antiquity of which is shown by the records of our annalists. We find the death of Richard, son of Hubert de Burgo of Iser Kelly, recorded, A.D. 1406.² We also find that Ulick Carraghe Mac Hubert Burke resided at Iser Kelly, and had his castle plundered by O'Donnell, on the occasion of that chieftain's memorable raid on Clanrickarde at the close of the sixteenth century.

Redmond Burke, to whom we have referred, brother of the Red Earl of Ulster, and son of Walter De Burgo, seems to have seized another very important portion of the O'Clery possessions. Redmond Burke was the ancestor of the Burkes of the extensive district known as "Oireaght Redmond."³ This district of the Mac Redmond Burkes included 58½ quarters of land in Ballycahalan parish, Kilbecanty, and Ballyconnell and Ballylisbrayne. At Ballyconnell, the ruins of one of their castles may still be seen. Another stood on the north-east side of Ballyturrin hill, and is now nearly destroyed.

While Hubert and Redmond de Burgo established themselves permanently in those fertile districts of Kilmacduagh, their eldest brother Richard succeeded his father as Earl of Ulster. From his complexion he was popularly known as the "Red Earl." With the earldom of Ulster, which he inherited from his father, he also claimed the title of "Lord of Connaught."⁴ The "Red Earl" was admittedly the most powerful subject in Ireland in his time. He claimed the lordship "in demayne and sarvice" of a vast extent of the country, and lost little time in attempting to assert his pretensions.⁵ In 1286 he invaded Connaught with a great army, "and many monasteries and churches throughout the province were destroyed by him."⁶

In 1289 he again invaded Connaught, but was met at Roscommon by Manus O'Connor, son of Connor Roe, King of Connaught, and successfully opposed. In 1294 he was arrested by John Fitzgerald, who seems to have charged him with secretly encouraging the Scotch revolt under his kinsman

¹ *Hib. Dominicana*, p. 274.

² *Iar Connaught*, p. 324.

³ *Ibid.* p. 189.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 225.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 32.

⁶ *Four Masters*.

Bruce. He was quickly liberated, however, by order of the king, on giving the Government assurances of his loyalty. He joined the king in his invasion of Scotland in 1296, and gained for himself and his Irish associates a painful notoriety for cruelty and sacrilege.¹ When King Edward invaded Scotland in 1303, the Red Earl went to his assistance with a large fleet. On the eve of his departure from Dublin, the earl created as many as thirty-three knights. This expedition seems to have been marked with signal success. In consequence of these services, the Red Earl was made general of the Irish forces in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Gascoigne. He was soon after appointed keeper of the castles of Athlone, Rindoun, and Roscommon, and also exempted by letters patent from the annual tribute of 500 marks, which he was previously bound to pay to the crown for his Connaught possessions.

The year of our Lord 1315 was an eventful one for Ireland. In that year Edward Bruce landed in Antrim with a fleet of three hundred ships. He immediately proceeded to have himself proclaimed king, having first filled the hearts of the people of Ulster with a dread of his cruelties.²

It should be remembered that Ellen, eldest daughter of Walter De Burgo, and aunt of the Red Earl, was wife of Edward Bruce. Yet the earl lost no time in marching against him, but was defeated.

Felim O'Connor, King of Connaught, had also marched to oppose the invaders. But by promises made by the wily Scottish prince, which appealed directly to O'Connor's selfishness, he was induced to return to Connaught, where he found that Rory, son of Cathal O'Connor, had usurped the royal authority. A battle ensued, in which Felim, supported by De Bermingham and the English of the West, was victorious, and his rival, with many of his chief supporters, was slain.

Jealous of the De Burgo ascendancy, and probably encouraged by Bruce, Felim O'Connor now prepared to make a supreme effort to destroy his power. Accordingly, mustering a "very great army,"³ he marched to Atheury, with a determination to destroy if possible the power of his selfish English patrons. It was the 10th of August 1316. He was met by the English under command of De Burgo and De Bermingham.

"A fierce and spirited engagement took place between them, in which the Irish were at last defeated. Felim O'Connor, from whom the Irish expected more than from any Gael then living, was slain."⁴ That the Irish fought with determination

¹ Four Masters.

² Four Masters.

³ *Annals of Clonmacnoise.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

is clear from the record of their losses on that day, which are variously estimated from 8000 to 11,000 men, with many of the provincial chiefs. Though outnumbering the English on the occasion (probably), the superior discipline and arms of the English secured the victory. On that fatal field perished the hopes of supremacy so long cherished by that ill-starred family the O'Connors. The victims of their own petty jealousies, they dragged down with them in their fall the destinies of Connaught and of its chieftains. In recognition of their services to the English crown on that occasion, the De Berminghams were created Barons of Athenry.

Like his predecessors, the Red Earl erected castles, amongst which we may mention those of Ballymote and Castle Connell. He founded and endowed monasteries, among which may be mentioned the Dominican Abbey of Carlingford, and the Carmelite Abbey of Loughrea, A.D. 1300. He died A.D. 1326, and was buried with his ancestor at Athassel. His death is thus recorded by the annalists: "Richard Burke, *i.e.* the Red Earl, Lord of Ulster and of the greater part of Connaught, the choicest of all the English in Ireland, died at the close of the summer."

The De Burgos had turned their opportunities to the best account, and there can be no doubt that after the battle of Athenry they were in reality, as well as in name, representatives of English authority throughout a great portion of Connaught. The dissensions of the O'Connors had done their work. No wonder the provincial chieftains should have sunk into a lethargy of weariness at the fatal and continuous struggles of those unworthy aspirants to kingly power. Disunion was everywhere around them. They saw their territories continuously ravaged by war, and their people perishing by the still more awful visitation of famine, by which, according to our annalists, "they were almost reduced to the necessity of eating one another."¹ It was not till after their rivalry had brought ruin on themselves and on their country, that the "O'Connors agreed to settle the conflicting claims of rival candidates for succession, by dividing what remained of the common inheritance."² And from this date downwards, we have the O'Connor "Dun," and the O'Connor "Roe."

Turning from the troubled political history of Kilmacduagh in the thirteenth century, to the episcopal succession, there we find that we can trace its bishops with tolerable accuracy.

We have seen that Odo, or Hugh, was elected A.D. 1227.

CONNOR O'MURRAY succeeded. The date of his election is

¹ Four Masters, A.D. 1318.

² D'Arcy Magee, p. 281.

not given. But as his death occurred A.D. 1247,¹ there can be no reasonable doubt that he was Odo's immediate successor. His death is thus recorded by the Four Masters: "Connor O'Murray, Bishop of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, died at Bristol."

At first sight it appears strange to read of the prelate's death at Bristol. But, with a knowledge of the social disorders that prevailed in the diocese at the period, as well as throughout the province, it will be understood as a natural or necessary consequence of those disorders. Hence many of the clergy and the learned men were obliged to go into exile. O'Murray, like many other bishops and ecclesiastics of the period, had to bend before the storm, and to seek in exile for the safety of which they were for a little deprived at home, through the temporary excesses of a misgoverned and starving people.

GELASIUS MAC SCÉLAIG succeeded. He ruled the See but for a short period, as we find his death recorded, A.D. 1249.

MAURICE ILEYAN died A.D. 1283. Bishop Ileyan may have been the immediate successor of Gelasius. Maurice Ileyan was a Dominican, and was buried in the Dominican convent² of Atheny. About a century later we find two other prelates of his name, probably of his family, ruling the diocese, and, like him, members of the illustrious order of Friars Preachers. The name is probably a corruption of O'Lane, a family name still found in the diocese. It was through him the Canons Regular were established at Kilmacduagh.

The old monastery, which was probably in ruins since the sacrilegious raid of William Fitz Adelm in the beginning of the century, was rebuilt by him, and he had the happiness of hearing the Divine praises chanted there once more by the Canons, who took possession of it the year before his death. As the O'Heynes were the Herenachs, or lay patrons, of the monastery at that period and after, it bears their name even still. It is known to the Irish-speaking people as "Teampaill Muintir Heyne." The beautiful chapel and portions of the monastery still remain, and have been already described in those pages.

We know that Ireland was indebted to St. Malachy for the introduction of the Canons Regular to Ireland, and in their introduction we observe the first deviation from the monastic system previously prevailing in the country. That system had suffered during the period of the Danish occupation. It was but natural that constant strife and national disorder should result in the partial decadence of religious observances and ecclesiastical discipline. The high esteem in

¹ Four Masters.

² *His. Dominicana*, p. 223.

which the holy Primate St. Malachy was held by his contemporaries, must have facilitated his religious reforms considerably. The introduction of the Canons was also facilitated by the similarity which existed between their rules and observances, and those by which the old Irish monastic institutions were regulated. While retaining many of the practices of the old Irish monastic institutions, they discharged the active duties of missionary life.¹ Hence, in order that they might the more effectually discharge those onerous duties, they held themselves exempt from the rigorous practices common in our early monasteries. The zeal of the new congregations, and the similarity of their observances in many respects to those with which the nation was familiar in the past, recommended the Canons Regular to the Irish bishops as a religious society suited to the exigencies of the period. But though introduced to Ireland by St. Malachy, it was not till after the English invasion that the number of their monasteries became particularly large.² These remarks are intended only to throw a little light on the character of the monks established in the thirteenth century at Kilmacduagh by Bishop Ileyan.

DAVID O'LEDAGHAN succeeded soon after the death of Maurice Ileyan. We find him obtaining restitution of the temporalities of the See, July 13, A.D. 1284. He died A.D. 1290, having occupied the See for about six years, and was buried at Athenry. The *Annals of Clonmacnoise* tell us that O'Ledaghan had been Abbot of Esroe, then of Boyle, and afterwards of Knockmoy, from which he was transferred to the See of Kilmacduagh.

LAURENCE O'LOUGHLIN succeeded. He was previously Abbot of Boyle and of Samario. He died A.D. 1307.

LUKE died A.D. 1325.

A taxation of Irish Sees made by Pope Nicholas, A.D. 1291, is of much interest, as it shows the estimated value of the Sees at that period. It is given in full in the Appendix to this volume. Here it may be sufficient to give the taxation of Kilmacduagh with the other Connaught diocese:—

	£	s.	d.
Clonfert Bishop's Revenue,	66	13	0
„ Benefices,	16	7	0
Tuam Bishop's Revenue,	115	6	11
Kilmacduagh Bishop's Revenue,	33	7	9
„ Only a few of the Benefices given,	33	7	9
Achondry Bishop's Revenue,	14	0	0
Enaghduane Bishop's Revenue,	18	0	0

¹ Carew, *Eccles. History of Ireland*, p. 201.

² Dr. Lanigan, vol. i. p. 185.

The reader will find from this ancient document that the bishop's revenue in the small diocese of Kilmacduagh was high in comparison with the revenues of many other Irish Sees. It exceeded the episcopal revenues of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise together. It exceeded the revenue of either Derry or Raphoe. It exceeded the revenue of the See of Waterford, and was far in excess of Ross. And in the province of Connaught the revenues of Achondry and Annaghdown united did not even equal those of Kilmacduagh. It should be remembered that money was much more valuable then than now. Dr. S. Malone,¹ in his interesting remarks on this taxation, suggests that we may suppose that money was then thirty times more valuable than it is in our day.

¹ *Eccles. History of Ireland.*

CHAPTER XIX.

On the death of the Earl of Ulster, the Clanricarde territory is claimed by the Connaught De Burgos—William of Annaghkeen first Mac William Oughter—Various branches of the O'Heyne family—The O'Cahills and O'Shaughnessys—The episcopal succession.

THE extensive territory claimed in Galway by the Burkes, on the death of the Earl of Ulster, was usually known as "Clanricarde." We find that the territory was so designated by our annalists as early as the year 1360. It was probably so called from Richard, the famous "Red Earl," though there are those who think it received this designation from "Ricard," son of Mac William "Oughter," after the De Burgo revolt.

The territory known as Clanricarde includes the six southern baronies of Galway,¹ viz. Clare, Athenry, Leitrim, Loughreagh, Dunkellin, and Kiltartan (Kiltargeth). The very large baronies of Dunkellin, Kiltartan, and portions of Loughreagh are comprised in the diocese of Kilmacduagh. But though extensive portions of the north-eastern districts of Kilmacduagh were appropriated by the De Burgos, the chief portions of the lands of Aidhne territory remained in the hands of the territorial chieftains. In the case of men who claimed to hold by royal grant, as did the De Burgos, the somewhat shadowy claim to "knight service," as it was called, was often advanced by the English, though seldom respected by the subordinate chieftains. Indeed, the injustice of the demand was so obvious, that it was recognised only through necessity. The actual possessions of the De Burgos in Aidhne never extended much beyond the O'Clery territory, and portions of the territory of the O'Cahills in the east of Kinelea. It is only with a knowledge of the foregoing facts that the "exaggerated statement of the possessions"² of the De Burgos found in the Trinity College MSS., and inserted by Mac Firis in his book of genealogies, can be understood:—

"The Red Earl was Lord in demayne and sarvice for the most part from Bealagh-Lughyd in Tuamona to Balliehany, which is an hundred miles, and from the Norbagh (Forbagh)

¹ *Hy Maine*, pp. 18 and 70.

² *Iar Connaught*, p. 189.

by the seaside to Bailie Mac Skanlon by Dundalke, and also from Limbricke to Waterford, besides all his lands in four shires, and in the county of Kilkenny and Tipperary."¹ Mr. Hardiman thinks that Mac Firbis merely copied this statement from the Trinity College MSS. In any case it is untrue. William De Burgo succeeded to the titles and extensive possessions of the Red Earl, and was therefore third Earl of Ulster.² Hardiman speaks of him as the grandson of the Red Earl. By the more accurate De Burgo, he is referred to as the grandson of Walter de Burgo. In 1331 he was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland, and married the Lady Maud,³ daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster. On the 6th of June, A.D. 1333, he was foully murdered at Carrigfergus, in the twenty-first year of his age. The murder was perpetrated at the instigation of Richard Mandeville, in revenge for the arrest of his brother. He left an only daughter, Elizabeth, to inherit his titles and vast possessions.

Elizabeth, who was educated in England, married Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the son of Edward III., A.D. 1359; by this marriage he became Earl of Ulster and Lord of Connaught, and in 1361⁴ he was sent to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant.

His only daughter Philippa was given in marriage, in the thirteenth year of her age, to Edmond Mortimer, Earl of March. Through him the De Burgo titles and estates passed through Richard Plantagenet to Edward IV. of England.

But when, on the marriage of the Duke of Clarence, the junior branches of the De Burgos saw that their possessions and titles were about to become crown property, they resolved to hold at least their Connaught possessions in defiance of the Government. They accordingly took possession of the De Burgo territories in Connaught; but the Government, either through policy or weakness, made no effort to resist the usurpation. The Duke of Clarence meantime urged his claims to his usurped property in Connaught as strongly as he could. His remonstrances only led to the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the justice of his claims. The Commission did somewhat tardy justice to His Grace, by deferring their report till after his death, and declaring then that Galway⁵ and certain other important portions of the county belonged to him by right of his wife.

In the Parliament held at Kilkenny, A.D. 1342, at which the Duke of Clarence presided,⁶ there were several penal enactments passed against the use of the Irish language and adoption

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² *Hist. of Galway*, p. 54.

³ *Burke's Peerage*.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Hardiman, *Galway*, p. 57.

⁶ *Dissertations on Irish History*, pp. 105-111.

of Irish customs. These enactments, it is thought, were aimed directly against the De Burgos, who had not only set English law at defiance, but had also adopted the language and customs of the Irish. "Renouncing English laws and language," they ostentatiously adopted the laws, language, and dress of Irish, in order to conciliate the sympathy and secure the support of the Irish chieftains. These were the circumstances under which the De Burgos deemed it expedient to become "more Irish than the Irish themselves."

The leaders under whom this defiant and daring movement was carried out, were Sir Edmond de Burgo, surnamed "Albanach," from the long period of twenty-two years which he spent in Scotland, and William de Burgo, surnamed of Annaghkeen, from his castle in the barony of Clare. They were brothers and sons of William Leigh de Burgo, who died 1324, and was buried at Galway in the Franciscan monastery of which he was founder. William Leigh de Burgo was son of William of Athankip,¹ a distinguished soldier, who died on the battlefield of Athankip, A.D. 1270. William of Athankip was second son of Richard "the Great," and therefore grandson of William, first Earl of Ulster. Having succeeded in their ambitious aims, they divided their newly-acquired possessions amongst themselves, Edmond retaining the Mayo possessions, and becoming the founder of the Mayo family, who in modern times choose to designate themselves Bourkes; while William retained the Galway possessions commonly known as Clanricarde. Each in his own district affected the style and title of an Irish chief, and became known as the Mac William. And as the terms *Eighter* (lower) and *Oughter* (upper) were supposed to designate accurately the relative situations of their territories, Edmond de Burgo was the Mac William *Eighter*, and William de Burgo became known as the Mac William *Oughter*. It is certain that the Mac William of the period was on his accession inaugurated with the usual pomp attendant on the inauguration of an Irish chieftain. "*Cahir an Earla*," the probable inauguration stone or mound of the Clanricarde Burkes, is still pointed out close to the ruined castle of the De Burgos at Dunkellin, near Kilcolgan. It is also close to the place of the O'Heynes' inauguration. The daring proceedings referred to would probably have brought on the De Burgos the displeasure of the Government, had it occurred at another time. But England was then occupied by other and greater troubles. Besides, the Government's chief aim was to keep the native Irish in check, and as the De Burgos were amongst the most successful

¹ *Hib. Dom.* p. 224.

representatives of English aggression in Ireland, their revolt was easily condoned.

Mac William, ancestor of the Burkes of Clanricarde, died 1337, and was succeeded by his son Ricard, surnamed "Oge." We have seen that there are some writers who think it was from this "Ricard," and not from the "Red Earl," that Clanricarde was so designated. He strengthened his position by an alliance with one of the chieftains of Hy Maine, Murchadh O'Madden, who is designated as "patron of the literati of Ireland."¹ He accordingly married the Lady More, daughter of Murchadh O'Madden, who died A.D. 1383. It would appear that it was by this intermarriage with the O'Maddens that the Burkes first acquired their Portumna estates. He died in 1387, four years after his wife, leaving three sons, Ulick, Thomas, and John.

John went to Munster to reside, and there he was commonly known as John Galway. He founded there an influential family, who have continued to retain the designation.

We shall see more clearly in our next chapter the other branches of the De Burgo family established in the diocese of Kilmacduagh before the close of the fifteenth century.

After the death of Eoghan O'Heyne, A.D. 1253, the notices of his family which are preserved in our annals are few and meagre. They saw, perhaps, in the fate of their kinsmen, the O'Clerys, the danger of ineffectual resistance. But from those few notices of them which are extant in the second half of the thirteenth century, we can infer that they accommodated themselves to the new order of things.

The family of Eoghan O'Heyne was continued through his son John, who had a son Hugh, who had a son Donogh, who, according to our annalists, was slain A.D. 1340. But the only record of those generations preserved by our annalists is that of the death of Donogh at the hands of his own kinsmen.

In A.D. 1261, the Four Masters state that "Mulfavale O'Heyne slew Hugh O'Connor, for which O'Heyne was himself slain by the English," A.D. 1263. In the beginning of the next century, 1326, the death of Nicholas O'Heyne is recorded.

Donogh, great-grandson of Eoghan O'Heyne, had two sons who were successively "Lords" of Aidhne, Owen and Muir-cheartach. Owen was slain by his kinsmen, A.D. 1340. His brother survived as chief representative of the family. In 1377 the three sons of O'Heyne, with many chiefs of Clanricarde, were slain by MacNamara. In 1407, O'Heyne joined

¹ *Hy Maine*, p. 146.

Mac William Burke of Clanricarde, and Cathal, son of Rory O'Connor, King (*sic*) of Connaught, and fought at the battle of Killaghy¹ against O'Connor Roe, at which they were defeated. The Mac William Redmond Mac Hubert Burke (of Iser Kelly) and O'Heyne were taken prisoners. The O'Heyne who was taken prisoner on the occasion was, O'Donovan thinks, Aedh Buidhe, son of Muirheartach.²

We find Aedh Buidhe O'Heyne given as one of the earliest representatives of the Lydecane branch of the family. It is extremely probable that, after the capture of the Castle of Ardrahan by De Burgo, the chief branch of the family settled at Lydecane, situated about two miles and a half south-east of the then more historic and ancient residence at Ardrahan. The interesting castle which they erected there is still extant, and exceedingly well preserved. Even the slight watch-turret which crowns the summit is perfect. And when in after times an O'Heyne was elected chief of Hy Fiachrach Aidline, as in the case of Eoghan Mautagh O'Heyne in 1578, we find the appointment from the Lydecane branch of the family.

We find some notable offshoots of this family, the most important of which were those of Dunowen and Dungaíre.

Dunowen is described by O'Donovan³ as "a townland, containing the ruins of a fort, in which stood a castle, in the parish and barony of Kiltartan." In this description the learned antiquarian is guilty of a slight error. The townland, though situated in the barony of Kiltartan, belongs to the parish of Kilmacduagh. The vast fort of Dunowen is in its ruins even at the present day interesting and striking. It was of great strength. It was built of stone, without mortar, and of great thickness. It ran along the verge of a precipitous crag, which rises abruptly from the lakes by which it is surrounded on the east and west. It enclosed a very extensive oblong plateau. O'Donovan did not mean that the castle of which he speaks stood within the fort. It contains no trace of such a structure. There is, however, a ruined castle a little westward, though outside the townland, which may be the castle to which he refers. The forests of Coole and Garryland, which surround the lakes and rock-fortress of Dunowen, constitute a picture of rare sylvan loveliness, in which lake and crag and forest glades are beautifully blended. The founder of this branch of the O'Heyne family was third son of

¹ A village in Roscommon, but in the O'Kelly country.—*Hy Mains*.

² *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 403.

³ *Ibid.* p. 67.

Flan O'Heyne, who was great-grandson of the Eoghan Buidhe O'Heyne¹ already referred to.

His fourth son, Flan, was founder of the Dunguaire family, Describing the residence of this branch of the family, O'Donovan speaks of it as a "fortified residence, now Dungorey, a castle in good preservation, situated immediately to the east of the little seaport town of Kinvara, in the barony of Kiltartan. This castle was erected on the site of the palace of Guaire Aidhne, King of Connaught, the ancestor of the O'Heynes, who erected this and several other castles in its vicinity."² The situation of the castle is picturesque. Rising from the historic Dun, its octagonal fortification runs around the old enclosure of the Dun; it flings its shadows on the placid waters of the sheltered bay and on the adjoining holy well of St. Colman. It reminds the writer, by its outline and position, of Bamborough Castle, on the coast of Northumberland.

I have omitted to refer to Ruadhri na Coille O'Heyne, an elder brother. Though the particular portion of the district in which this family resided is not known, it is certain he was chief of his name in 1578.³ He is referred to by the Four Masters in that year as a man who "from the beginning of his career until his death was a man distinguished for hospitality and prowess."

Edmond O'Heyne, lay patron, or "Herenach," of the Church lands of Kilmacduagh, was also a member of this family.

Our references to the O'Shaughnessys, chiefs of the south-eastern districts of Aidhne, have been few since we recorded the death of the O'Shaughnessy who fell at the battle of Ardee, 1159. They, with their kinsmen the O'Cahills, were lords of the eastern portions of Aidhne, known as Kinel Aodha or Kinelea. O'Duggan, in his topographical poem, refers to them in the following words:—

"Two kings of Cinel Aodha there are,
O'Shaughnessy whom I will not shun;
Of them is O'Cathail of learned men,
Smooth his fields and his fertile mountains."

We find from the notices extant in our annals that the district of Kinelea consisted of an eastern and western division, each of which had its independent chief sometimes; more usually the two districts were subject to one chief. The rivalry between the O'Cahills and their kinsmen the O'Shaughnessys, the territorial lords, was often sharp and fierce. In

¹ Genealogical Table, *Hy Fiachrach*.

² *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 67.

³ O'Donovan, Genealogical Table, *Hy Fiachrach*.

1197 we find Maoeachlain Riabach O'Shaughnessy described by our annalists as "lord of half the territory of Cinel Aodha."

In 1222 we find that Giolla Mochoine O'Cathail was lord of Cinel Aodha East and West. This chieftain was slain by O'Shaughnessy, at the instigation of his own people. This seems to have been the last occasion on which any member of the O'Cahill family was recognised as chieftain of Kinelea. Accordingly the O'Shaughnessys were afterwards the sole recognised aspirants to that honour.

During the remaining portion of the thirteenth century they are frequently referred to by our annalists.

We have seen that they were the recognised custodians of the crozier and cincture of their holy kinsman, St. Colman, to which we have already referred. In 1224 the Four Masters record the death of "Giolla na Naomb Crom O'Shaughnessy, lord of the western part of Cinel Aodha na Echtge."

In 1240 they tell us that "Hugh, son of Giolla na Naomb Crom O'Shaughnessy, was slain by Conchobar, son of Aodh, son of Cathal Crovedearg O'Connor."

In 1403 we find that Mortogh Garve O'Shaughnessy, "Tanist of Fiachrach Ayne, was killed by those of Imaine."¹

In 1408 we find the death of John Cam O'Shaughnessy recorded by the Four Masters. He was slain by O'Loughlin "in a game on the green at Clonrode."

The chief residence of this ancient family was erected on a little island on the site of the palace of Guaire—their royal ancestor—at Gort. There the family dispensed for centuries a lavish hospitality, "worthy of their great progenitor."² But though this historic pile escaped the vandalism of Ludlow's soldiers, it was levelled to the earth, towards the close of the last century, to supply materials for building the present military barrack which occupies its site.

The castles of Fiddane and Ardameelavane were theirs also. They are probably not older than the Tudor period, and are perfectly preserved. They shall, however, be referred to more in detail hereafter.

It is not easy to say who was the immediate successor of Luke, Bishop of Kilmacduagh, who, as we have seen, died A.D. 1325.

In the list of prelates of the See, we usually find the name of a certain JOHN, styled "Dean" of Kilmacduagh. He is referred to as living in 1347, when it is stated he came into trouble by the wicked courses of a bastard son, called "Gillananeve," and was fined twenty shillings. Such entries afford

¹ *Annals of Clonmacnoise.*

² *Vita Kerovani.*

no real evidence that John was bishop. It should also be remembered that laymen frequently held ecclesiastical offices with the emoluments attached to them. "*Herenachs*," or lay bishops, as we have seen, were not uncommon then, as for centuries before then; and, as might have been expected, their influence was prejudicial to the best interests of the Church. Holding the revenues of the See, and exercising some of its authority, they were free from its responsibilities, and able to discharge the sacred functions of their office only through others duly consecrated. Besides, it should not be forgotten that at this period English authority was making itself widely felt, and was frequently used to make the Church subservient to the State. Hence it sometimes happened that persons were advanced to high ecclesiastical offices without piety or learning, to the great prejudice of religion. Dr. Kelly,¹ writing of this period, and in this connection, uses the following eloquent and impressive words: "To remove Irishmen from all offices of trust, honour, and power, not suddenly but gradually, was the fundamental maxim of English policy in Ireland. The encroachments on the liberty of the Church very probably were of the same character. In 1360 the mask was completely thrown off, by that famous mandate issued by James, Earl of Ormond, by whom it was enacted that no archbishop, bishop, abbot, or prior should promote any mere Irishman to any ecclesiastical benefice or cathedral dignity among the English, through any motive of consanguinity, affinity, or other cause whatsoever."

At even an earlier period (1317), similar abuses are referred to with pathetic eloquence by Donal O'Neil, in that memorable remonstrance which he addressed to the Supreme Pontiff, in the name of the clergy and nobility of Ireland.

If, therefore, John were Bishop of Kilmacduagh, we think that his promotion to the See may have its explanation in the abuses which have been just referred to.

NICHOLAS ruled the diocese of Kilmacduagh from A.D. 1360 to A.D. 1370. He could have been John's immediate successor. It is, however, probable that the See was vacant for some time.

GREGORY ILEYAN died A.D. 1395. He was a Dominican.² And as he was of the same order, so too we think it probable that he was of the same family as his distinguished predecessor in the See, Maurice Ileyan, who died A.D. 1283. However, he was buried in the church of his order at Roscommon, and not with his predecessor at Athenry.

¹ *Dissertation on Irish History*, p. 127.

² *Hib. Dom.*

It is impossible to say when the bishops ceased to reside in the monastery at Kilmacduagh. But there is amongst the ruins there a noteworthy structure of the fourteenth century, which very many regard as the episcopal residence. We have seen that Dr. Pococke thought so. It is popularly known as "Seanclogh," *i.e.* the old building. Mr. Brash¹ thinks, with every intelligent observer, that it must have been built for purely secular purposes. It stands at a little distance from St. John's Oratory, and about 200 yards north-east of the cathedral. It is a large square pile, without gables, and standing two storeys high. With the exception of a portion of the southern side wall, the masonry is uninjured. The lower storey was but dimly lighted by a few narrow loop-holes. But the upper storey must have been well lighted, as there are still there a few well-preserved double lancet windows. There is also a fireplace there. The floors, which must have been of wood, have entirely disappeared.

The building in its general outline bears a rather striking resemblance to the Castle of Ardrahan; and, from the character of its masonry, there can be little doubt that it belongs to the fourteenth century, when the constantly-recurring military raids rendered residences of such a character desirable even for the bishops. We may therefore assume that Seanclogh was the episcopal palace.

NICHOLAS ILEYAN succeeded to the See in the same year, under the pontificate of Boniface IX. He too was a Dominican. He died A.D. 1399, having ruled the diocese only four years, and was buried in the Dominican convent of Athenry.

"Nicholas Ileyan post Gregorium Ileyan in Cœnobio nostro Roscommonensi humatum successit Epis Duacensis in Conacia sub Arch Tuamensis, A.D. 1395, Bonifacio Nono Pontifice, et ex hac vita migravit, A.D. 1399."

JOHN ICOMAID succeeded, A.D. 1401. He also was a Dominican. He died after a short reign, and was buried at Athenry.

EUGENE O'FELAN succeeded to the See on the 23rd September, A.D. 1409. He is also called O'Stolayn. At the time of his nomination to the See he was under age, but received the necessary dispensation from the Holy See, as appears from the following extract: "1409 Sep. die 23 Sep. S. D. N. providit ecclesiæ Duacensi in Hibernia vacante per . . . Domini Eugenii O'Sholayn et dispensavit cum eo super defectu natalitium."² He was translated to Killaloe 1418.

¹ *Ecclesiastical Architecture, Ireland*, p. 108.

² *Vatican*.

DERMOT O'DONEIHIEGU succeeded on the 6th July, A.D. 1418. The name is evidently a corruption of the Irish name O'Donohoe. He was Dean of Kilmacduagh prior to his appointment. "Provisum est ecclesiæ Duacensi vacanti per translationem Eugenii ad Laonen; de persona Dermitii O'Doneihiegu Decani Duacensis."¹ His reign was very brief.

In A.D. 1419, on the 23rd October, JOHN JIOMBARG was nominated his successor. He was Abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Our Lady de "Petra fertili" at Corcomroe. He was nominated to the See of Kilmacduagh by Pope Martin III. It would appear that his nomination took place at Florence. "Provisum est Ecclesiæ St. Colemani Macduach Duac vacanti de persona fratris Johannis Iomburg Abbatis monasterii Stæ Mariæ . . . 'de petra fertili,' Corcomroe Ord. Cisterc. Finab Dive."²

¹ *Vatican.*

² *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XX.

Corcomroe territory coextensive with Kilfenora Diocese—The O'Connors and O'Loughlins, its chieftains—The Abbey erected, A.D. 1200, for Cistercians—A branch house established at Kilahanny—John, Abbot of Corcomroe, Bishop of Kilmacduagh—Existing remains at Corcomroe—Connor O'Brien killed at the battle of Suidhne, A.D. 1267—Battle of Corcomroe, A.D. 1317—Monument of O'Loughlin, King of Burren—O'Loughlin of Mucinis executed by Captain Brabazon, A.D. 1548—Grants of the Abbey lands made to O'Brien of Ennistymon, with the lands of the O'Connors—The O'Dalys of Finievara—Donogh More O'Daly, the Ovid of Ireland, and other bards of Burren.

THE Abbey of Corcomroe, though not within the diocese of Kilmacduagh, is situated on its immediate boundary, close to St. Colman's monastery at Oughtmama. As we have seen, it gave a bishop to the diocese. And we know that it must of necessity have exercised a lasting influence on the surrounding districts. We therefore think that a brief notice of it must prove interesting here.

The name Corcomroe is said to be derived from "corc," progeny, and "Moruadh," the third son of Meave, Queen of Connaught. The territory designated by this name extends along the north-western shores of Clare, and is exactly co-extensive with the present diocese of Kilfenora, and is conterminous with the diocese of Kilmacduagh. The territory is therefore an extensive one. The scenery of the district is bold and striking, and, notwithstanding the lofty limestone hills with which the district is studded, it is by no means wanting in fertility. The territory was originally governed by one chieftain, or petty king, who was inaugurated at "Carn Mic Taluis,"¹ the large stone cairn in the valley of Kilshanny now known as "Cairn Connaught."

It would seem that the blessings of the Christian religion were somewhat slow in reaching the tribes of Corcomroe, as was the case in some of the islands on the western coast. Lanigan attributes their conversion to St. Benignus.² Hence for a considerable period after the surrounding territories had

¹ *Four Masters*, A.D. 1573.

² Lanigan, vol. i. p. 375.

become Christian, Corcomroe was, in part at least, pagan. It is in that connection D. F. Mac Carthy, speaking of St. Enda, tells us how

"He himself came hither with his flock
To teach the infidels from Corcomroe."

In course of time the district was divided into Eastern and Western Corcomroe, each of which had its chief. West Corcomroe was governed by the O'Connors of the Rudrician race, whose castles may still be seen at Lahinch, Liscannor, and Ballinalackan. East Corcomroe, more usually known as Burren, was governed by their kinsmen the O'Loughlins, whose castles may still be seen where the weird valleys of Burren open on the inlets of Galway Bay. The fact that both septs were of Ulster, and therefore unconnected with the Dalcais, may in part account for the frequency with which they disregarded the authority of the Princes of Thomond.

This Cistercian monastery is usually designated by the name of the territory, and was the most important religious establishment within its limits. It was also called the Abbey of Burren. Like most Cistercian monasteries, it was dedicated to Our Lady, and under the title "*de petra fertili*." It stands within the rugged mountain ranges in the townland of Abbey, —a designation which it clearly owes to the construction of the monastery within its limits. It is only about four miles from Kinvara, and though the armlets of the sea wash the shore close by at Mucinish and Finievara, the venerable pile is completely sheltered by hills from the rude storms of the Atlantic.

The date of the erection of Our Lady's Abbey at Corcomroe can be ascertained with considerable certainty. Though its erection is attributed by some¹ to Donald O'Brien, King of Munster,² A.D. 1194, there can be little doubt that it was erected in A.D. 1200, by Donogh Cairbreagh O'Brien.³ It was erected by this munificent prince for Cistercians, and was at first a branch of the house of that order on the Suir. It was, however, soon after made subject to the celebrated Abbey of Furness in Lancashire. We are told by Tongelinus that, soon after this annexation was effected, Abbot Patrick was sent from Furness to govern Corcomroe. In the course of a little time the good fathers were able to establish a new foundation at Kilshanny in East Corcomroe.⁴ Probably the lords of

¹ *Top. Hib.*

² Seward, also *Triumphalia S. Crucis*.

³ MSS. Materials, *Irish History*, p. 234.

⁴ In the *Triumphalia S. Crucis* it is said to have been "built and endowed by Donald O'Brien, 1194," and annexed to Corcomroe.

the territory were anxious to secure for themselves and their people the religious blessings which the Cistercian fathers were already conferring on the warlike tribes of Burren. It was near the historic cairn of Mic Talus, and within the fertile valley of Kilshanny, that the new foundation was established. The church and monastery were dedicated to St. Augustine. In the course of a little time the patron of the monastery was so revered in the district, that he was also recognised as the patron of the parish. Even at the present day may be seen, at the south side of the abbey church, a well, reputed holy from time immemorial, which is dedicated to St. Augustine. The "bell of Kilshanny," now preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, was till recently preserved and venerated in the district, as a valued and sacred relic of the Church. It was, till recently,¹ preserved by a poor family in the district, who were regarded as its hereditary custodians. From them it passed to our National Academy. The monastery has been completely ruined. It was granted with its "appurtenances, mills, and fisheries," says Archdall, to one Robert Hickman,² who has passed away with his plunder, and left no trace behind. The abbey church alone remains in fair preservation, but with evidences of several alterations.

We have seen that John, Abbot of Corcomroe, was elevated to the See of Kilmacduagh, A.D. 1419. From the brief notice preserved for us which refers to his appointment, we can have no doubt that he was regarded as a very distinguished man. "Sæculo XV. Johannes Abbas *inclaruit*, A.D. 1419, Episcopus Duacensis constituitur." But his history, like that of the few others whose names are incidentally mentioned as abbots of the monastery, is lost without hope of recovery. It may be said of the holy men who for centuries copied the sanctity of their great model, St. Bernard, within that mountain solitude, that their virtues are known only to God. The records of their holy lives have been destroyed with their monastery. And alas! for centuries, silence and ruin reign supreme, where piety and learning had a home. The ruins there speak forcibly of the spoilers' cruelty, and the sighing of the wind through the crumbling arches seems, in its sad monotone, to mourn for its departed inmates, and for the music that is hushed for ever within its walls.

Little remains, except extensive mounds and fragments of shattered masonry, to speak of cells and cloister, and of the other usual adjuncts of such an institution. But the church

¹ Archdall.

² See also *Triumphalia S. Crucis*.

is well preserved, and remains a splendid monument of the piety of the thirteenth century.

It stands at the north of the monastery, and completed the square at that side. Like most of our Cistercian churches, it is lofty and spacious. But our sense of its spacious proportions is in part weakened by the masonry of the belfry, which rises from the interior of the church, almost completely separating the choir from the body of the church. A low doorway is the sole communication between both, though in most other churches the belfry, when rising from the interior, rests upon comparatively wide and lofty arches.

The public entrance to the church was by a well-cut Gothic doorway in the western gable, which is surmounted by a double lancet window of great height. Cloisters stood on either side of the nave, which seem to have also answered the purpose of ordinary aisles, one of which still remains. They opened on the nave by an arcade now partially closed; and they gave access to the choir also. In the choir the visitor will be much struck by the beautiful groined chancel, and the vaulted side chapels, which are well preserved. The vaulted roof of the chancel is supported by splendidly-groined arches, ornamented with dentals and lozenge. The lighting is by a triple lancet in the east gable, which is widely splayed on the inside, showing some very chaste and well-wrought mouldings. The chancel arch, which, like the other arches of the church, is pointed, is beautifully moulded, and is supported on clustering columns, well executed, with bases and richly-carved capitals. It is noteworthy that, though the arches are Gothic, the ornamental details of the capitals throughout the church are Romanesque.

The side chapels adjoin the chancel on either side. Though stone roofed, like the chancel, they are plainly vaulted. These arched recesses are fronted by beautifully-cut stone arches, which rest on clustering columns, and are similar in most respects to those of the chancel arch.

A small doorway, situated about 10 or 12 feet above the level of the floor of the choir, gives access to a narrow stone stair, which led to the summit of the belfry. The belfry is, in fact, the central tower. Its summit has been injured, and at present it rises only some few feet over the gables of the abbey church. Within the chancel, the Sedilia on the Epistle side and the relic screen on the opposite side are interesting, and show some noteworthy specimens of Irish Romanesque ornament. But the tomb of Connor O'Brien, who was slain A.D. 1267, is the most interesting object there. It occupies a recess in the north

side wall of the chancel, and resembles in most respects an ordinary altar-tomb. A recumbent effigy of the young prince rests upon the tomb, carved in full relief and of life size. It is to be regretted that the effigy has been injured by time, or by the more destructive influence referred to by Dutton "of the giddy young men who amused themselves by mutilating some part of this ancient monument." The effigy is 6 feet 6 inches in length. We are assured by a writer in the *Saturday Magazine*, who would disguise himself under the shadow of the well-known initials "W. F. W.," that this effigy is regarded by archæologists as one of "the highest interest." He also states that it is regarded "as an unexceptional authority for the dress and appointments of Irish royalty of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century." The head was encircled with a crown, and from the portions which still remain, it seems to have been ornamented with the conventional "fleur-de-lis." "The chin and upper lip are shorn, but, as if to make amends for such curtailment, the hair of the head is represented fold upon fold in a magnificent 'coulin.' He is represented as lying in his mantle, his right hand grasps a sceptre terminating in a fleur-de-lis, while his left holds a reliquary which is suspended by a band from the neck of the figure. A kind of plaited gown with sleeves covers the body to below the knees; the feet, which rest upon a dog or some heraldic animal, are encased in shoes or brogues exactly like some specimens which may be seen in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. . . . As a monument the work is almost unique, but one other effigy of the kind being known to exist in Ireland,—the tomb of Phelim O'Connor, King of Connaught, in the Dominican Friary of Roscommon."

Connor O'Brien, better known as Conchobar "na Siudh-aineach," from the battlefield on which he died, was son of the generous founder of the abbey. His memory was therefore entitled to marks of special favour at the hands of the monks of Corcomroe. He was active and intrepid, and had well established his claim to the character of a brave and successful soldier. He defeated the English under Maurice Fitzgerald at Feakle, County Clare. He soon afterwards reduced his refractory kinsmen of Ormond to their allegiance. Meantime, the tribes of Corcomroe, at the instigation of their chieftains, the O'Connors and O'Loughlins, ceased to extend to him the usual recognition of his royal authority. In their revolt they received active encouragement from Donal (Conaghtach) O'Brien, uncle of the reigning prince. Having led his men through the Burren fastnesses, Connor O'Brien found the army of his rebellious chieftains

massed at the wood of Suidhne,¹ A.D. 1267, north of the abbey, and in its immediate vicinity, where the then wooded slopes cast their shadows on the placid waters of "Poul Doody." A fierce engagement ensued, in which O'Brien, with many of his best and bravest followers, was slain. It was natural that the monks of the abbey should treat with all possible respect the deceased young prince, the son and representative of their munificent founder. His remains were therefore laid in the beautiful altar-tomb within the abbey church, on which his recumbent effigy may still be seen. Like the forests of Burren, the wood of Suidhne has disappeared, but local traditions, which are in accord with the opinions of antiquarians, remove the difficulties which might exist as to its particular site.

Less than a century later, the quiet solitudes of Corcomroe were again disturbed by the thunders of battle. It was the year 1317. The combatants engaged on this occasion were rival branches of the O'Brien family. Donogh, grandson of Brian Roe, resolved to wrest the crown from the senior branch of the family. His pretensions were of course supported by Richard De Clare, and by those of the Dalcais who were devoted to English interests.

The supporters of the claims of the senior branch of the O'Briens rallied in large numbers around the standard of Dermot, who on the occasion represented Mortogh O'Brien, the recognised and legitimate prince. The rival forces met at Corcomroe.² The struggle which ensued was fierce and bloody, the valour displayed was worthy of a better cause. But the defeat of Donogh was decisive. He himself was amongst the fallen, slain, it is thought, by O'Connor of Western Corcomroe. Nearly all his followers were cut off, so that "the whole race of Brian Roe were nearly extirpated."

The victorious chieftain, however, arranged for the respectful interment of his fallen kinsmen in the adjoining abbey, "their remains having been interred in separate graves, and having distinguishing marks placed over each."³ But of "the distinguishing marks" there is unfortunately no trace in our day. Indeed, it can be truly said that most of the ancient monuments of the abbey have been completely destroyed.

There is, however, within the chancel, another monument which is pretty sure to attract attention. It bears the following rather pretentious epitaph: "O'Loughlin, King of Burren." The lettering, however, is modern, and in this respect in accord with the style of the tomb. It seems to have been the family vault of the O'Loughlins, who, till a late period, styled them-

¹ Archdall.

² *Memoir of the O'Briens*, p. 125.

³ *Ibid.*

selves "Kings of Burren." It may have been restored in the seventeenth or opening of the eighteenth century, nor can the epitaph be regarded as older than that period. It is well known that many petty chieftains assumed the title of "king" within their own territory. And we are told by O'Flaherty that, as recently as the close of the sixteenth century, Charles O'Loughlin of Newtown Castle, in the parish of Drumcreachy, chief of his name, was commonly called in the district "King of Burren." It is probable that the chieftains of Burren may have continued to indulge this pitiable affectation of royal authority, even after they had been robbed of authority and independence. For a long time at least their will was law within the Burren highlands. And their castles which still remain, speak eloquently of their authority and influence.

Charles O'Loughlin's castle at Newton is still well preserved, and stands within half a mile of the present village of Ballyvaughen. Probably the Castle of Ballyvaughen, which was taken A.D. 1569, by Lord Justice Sydney, belonged to this chieftain also. It is now almost completely ruined.

Owny O'Loughlin was Lord of Eastern Corcomroe and chief of his name, A.D. 1585. He, like many other Catholic gentlemen of the period, actuated with a vain hope of being able to retain their ancestral possessions, assisted at the Parliament convened at Dublin by Sir John Perrot in that year. He resided in Gregans Castle, which was one of the most important of the O'Loughlins' castles. Indeed, the entire Burren district was for a long time known as the Barony of Gregans. It stood in the western end of the Ballyvaughen valley, close to where the ascent of the hills is made by the modern well-known pass, the "Corkscrew" road. In our time, though sadly ruined, it forms an attractive feature in that weird and lovely valley.

But it was not wonderful that the lord of Gregans Castle should have felt the desirability of endeavouring to secure some share of favour with the authorities of those days. We find it recorded by our annalists, that his kinsman, Turlogh O'Loughlin of Mucinish Castle, was arrested by Captain Brabazon in the preceding year, A.D. 1584, and executed at Ennis. The sad event is thus recorded by the Four Masters: "Turlogh, the son of Owny, son of Melaghlin O'Loughlin (of Burren), was in the beginning of this month of March, in this year (1584), taken prisoner at Mucinis by Turlogh, the son of Dermott O'Brien, and put to death at Ennis by Captain Brabazon at the ensuing summer sessions." But those were evil days of carnage and plunder. And though Brabazon was then notorious for his injustice and cruelty, he found in the

O'Briens of Ennistymon willing instruments to carry out his policy in Clare. They had already received from the minions of Elizabeth the reward of their recreancy and apostasy. The grant originally made was renewed by Her Gracious Majesty to Sir Turlogh O'Brien of Ennistymon, A.D. 1585. The plunder of the O'Connors, Lords of Western Corcomroe, was part of the coveted bribe. But there are also set forth in this royal grant both the abbey lands of the ancient abbey, and "the rents bonnach bona subsidies and tributary lands in the territory of Thomond, and also its church livings." The castles of Mucinish, which belonged to the ill-fated Turlogh O'Loughlin, stand on the inlets of the sea which are nearest to the Abbey of Corcomroe. They are known as Old and New Mucinish. Old Mucinish was probably that which was occupied by O'Loughlin on the occasion of his arrest. O'Donovan, in a note to the Four Masters (1584), states that the castle was then in excellent preservation, and that it had been "lately repaired and beautifully furnished by its present proprietor, Captain Kirwan." It stood on the little strait through which the waters of the bay flow into the famous oyster-beds of Poul Doody.

Until about three years ago, the castle, with its enclosure and battlements, was perfect, when one side unexpectedly fell to the ground. It is much to be regretted that this interesting relic of the past is thus hopelessly ruined.

According to tradition, which O'Donovan seems to accept, it was here that the last of the Burren chieftains lived. His name was Uaithne Mor O'Loughlin. He lived in the first half of the last century.

The Castle of New Mucinish stands also on the sea, but nearer to the abbey. It commands a splendid view of the hills of Finievara, and of the ancient battlefield of Suidhne; but here also one side wall alone remains.

The fact that in 1598 the O'Loughlins¹ had as many as twenty castles within the fastnesses of Burren, would strikingly suggest their independence and authority. But that independence was even then quickly passing away. Even then they were sensible that their mountain fastnesses would prove an insufficient barrier to protect them against the rising tide of legalised plunder, by which the Irish chieftains were being deprived of their ancestral possessions. By a legal document dated some years previously (1591), they had actually transferred to Donogh, Earl of Thomond, the proprietary rights to their territory; so that, to use the words of the agreement, "it shall not be in the power of any of us, or of our

¹ *State of Ireland*, p. 26.

descendants, to cause a sod of this country to be pledged or sold, except with the consent of the *Earl of Thomond*, or of his heirs." This document is signed by Donogh, Earl of Thomond, and the O'Loughlins. Abject fear alone could have caused them to subscribe to the terms of such a document. They must have hoped that, as of old, though not always faithful vassals of his lordship's ancestors, they might at a favourable crisis expect some protection at his hands. However, the obligations which the earl contracted towards them by the terms of this document suggest only patronage that is as shadowy as it is ostentatious. "I, the Earl of Thomond, acknowledge upon my honour, that I promised that whatever portion of the lands or whatever castles belonging to the parties hereto may have been occupied or plundered, should be submitted to the arbitration of Boetius and John O'Tierney, and Owen O'Daly, such arbitration to be binding on me the earl."¹

But whatever rights may have been retained for the O'Loughlins by this document, they were lost in the Cromwellian period.

Amongst the witnesses to the document referred to we find the name of Owen O'Daly, an honoured name at that period in Burren. They were from an early date the hereditary bards of the chieftains of Burren.² Their residence was at Finievara in the immediate neighbourhood, where they kept a famous Bardic School. Our annalists and bards alike refer to it in terms of praise.

"The house of O'Dalaigh, great is its wealth,
Bestowing without folly at a white house ;
It were a sufficiently loud organ to hear the pupils
Reciting the melodies of the ancient schools."³

It would seem also that amongst the Irish bards there were few who sang so sweetly in the language of their country. Speaking of Donogh Mor O'Daly,³ the annalists tell us that he was a poet "who never was, and never will be, surpassed."⁴ O'Riely says of him that he was called the "Ovid of Ireland." And O'Donovan thinks that he might be so styled, though he adds, "It must be acknowledged that he could bear no comparison with the Roman Ovid in the soft luxuriance of his poetic imagery, or the daring flights of his genius."⁵ And he continues: "His poems are principally of a religious or moral character, and possess considerable merit,

¹ *Memoir of the O'Briens*, p. 499.

² A.D. 1244.

³ *Hy Maine*, p. 125.

⁴ *Four Masters*, A.D. 1224.

⁵ *Ibid.*

though not so much as to entitle him to the unqualified praise bestowed upon his powers by the Four Masters."

He was Abbot of Boyle, and in O'Riely's opinion his poems were chiefly remarkable for "gravity, dignity, and sweetness."¹

Of his extant poems O'Riely notices some thirty-one, though there are others attributed to him, the authorship of which he considers doubtful.

1. The first is a poem of forty-eight verses in praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary—beginning, "Nurse of three, Mother of the Son of God."

2. A hymn addressed to the Blessed Virgin—beginning, "O Holy Mary, O Mother of God." Sixty verses.

3. A hymn of one hundred and eighty-four verses, addressed to the Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ—beginning, "Hail to you, O Cross of the Godhead."

4. A poem of seventy-six verses on the vanity and instability of human life—beginning, "On thee I relied, O world."

5. A poem of one hundred and forty-four verses, on the goodness of God and the merits of our Redeemer—beginning, "God be my defence against the wrath of God."

6. A poem of one hundred and forty-four verses on the neglect of religion, and the punishment that attends the irreligious, and the necessity of penance—beginning, "A cloud has come over my faith."

7. A poem of one hundred and twenty verses on the death of a person of the name of Aengus, showing that he was only lent for a while from God to the world. It begins, "On a loan I had Aengus."

8. A penitential hymn of one hundred and twenty verses—beginning, "Repentance here to thee, O Lord."

9. A poem of one hundred and forty-eight verses in praise of the Blessed Virgin—beginning, "Promise of a blessing, the womb of Mary."

10. A prayer to the Deity, forty verses—beginning, "I believe in thee, O God of Heaven."

11. A poem of eighty-six verses on the necessity of reflecting that we must die. It begins, "O body, to thee belongs death."

12. A poem of sixty-four verses in praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It begins, "Praise not exhausted, the praise of Mary."

The remaining poems are perfectly similar in character, except that which holds the thirtieth place. It is a poem of

¹ *Irish Writers*, p. 90.

one hundred and sixteen lines on Richard, son of William de Burgo.

The poem which O'Riely notices in the last place must be regarded as the most important of his works. It consists of one thousand two hundred verses on the power, majesty, and goodness of God. These poems were in the possession of the Celtic Society when O'Riely wrote. This remarkable man was great-grandson of O'Daly of the Schools, who died in 1185 at Clonard. Close to what is still regarded as the site of the ancient family residence, a monument¹ to this venerable man may still be seen. It stands upon the sea-shore, and is a simple hexagonal pillar rising from a double plinth of the same form. It leans considerably from the perpendicular, and unless the masonry be restored or cemented, it is much to be feared that this interesting memorial of a distinguished family may soon disappear. It bears no inscription. On the wooded slopes on which the residence of the Skerrit family now stands, the ruins of the O'Daly residence were pointed out in Mr. O'Donovan's time. There seem to be no remaining traces of them at the present day. It was here that the great Bardic School was kept. It was here that the voices of scholars were heard swelling loudly and sweetly as a pealing organ as they recited the songs of their native land; and here, too, that the generous hospitality was dispensed for which that celebrated family continued to be so remarkable for centuries.

The poetic reputation of the family was admirably sustained in the fourteenth century by Geoffrey O'Daly, "chief professor of poetry in Munster;"² and in the opening of the fifteenth century by Carroll O'Daly, the popular Ollave of Corcomroe. O'Riely tells us that "several of his poems and tales are repeated from memory by the common people of the country; but we are not able to say where any good copies of them are to be found in manuscript." Amongst those that have come down to us through the centuries is that ever-popular melody "Eileen Aroon."

In the same year died another member of the family, Donogh O'Daly, who, from his facility in making verses, was called the "Budget of Poetry." In that century, indeed, many members of the family attained to eminence as poets.

There are two poems extant written by Aengus, son of Carroll (the Yellow) O'Daly,³ who died in 1420.

The first consists of one hundred and thirty-six verses. It

¹ *Iar Connaught*, p. 246.

² Died 1387.

³ O'Riely's *Irish Writers*.

is a description of the Castle of Carn Fraoich, built by Hugh O'Connor, King of Connaught.

The second consists of one hundred and sixty verses, written with a view to urge Art O'Maelseachlain to take arms against the English.

Farrel O'Daly was chief poet of Corcomroe till his death (1420), though he had been plundered by Sir John Talbot, "who gave no protection to either saint or sanctuary while in Ireland."

O'Riely also notices Aengus O'Daly "of the Divinity," who died in 1430. He was the author of four extant poems. The first is a thanksgiving after communion, in forty verses. The second consists of forty-eight verses, referring to the benefits arising from the Incarnation of the Son of God, and beginning with the line, "The salutation of Gabriel is the beginning of peace." The third is a prayer to St. John the Baptist, consisting of sixty verses. The fourth is a poem on the death of Donald McCarthy, Prince of Desmond. This poem is of considerable length, consisting of two hundred and eight verses. And nearly a hundred years later, when the death of Teigue O'Daly is recorded (A.D. 1514), he is referred to as a professor of poetry, and one who maintained a house of general hospitality. We are also told that he was buried at Corcomroe. He died at Finievara (Finaigh Bheara).

Even in more modern times there were vigorous branches of this ancient stock by which the time-honoured traditions of the family were worthily sustained. The chief branches acquired land and property in Galway, Roscommon, and Westmeath. It is from the Westmeath branch that the Castle Daly family near Gort claim to be descended.

Of the Galway branch in the time of James II., Denis Daly was Lord Justice of Common Pleas; and at the close of last century, Denis Daly, M.P., Galway, was described by Grattan¹ "as one of the best and ablest characters Ireland ever produced."

Within the walls of the Burren abbey one seeks with a natural interest for the tombs where those distinguished bards were laid to rest. But the search is vain. Not even a slab remains bearing the honoured names of the bards of Corcomroe. The possessions of the abbey and its treasures did not satisfy the plunderers. They would even efface every trace of its history.

There can be no doubt that the monastery remained in the hands of the religious for some time after its lands were con-

¹ Introduction, *Tribes of Ireland*.

fiscated. When O'Donnell effected his successful raid on Thomond, A.D. 1599, it was at Corcomroe Abbey he encamped on his return through Burren. Its character as a religious house would recommend it to the chivalrous Catholic chieftain, as a desirable resting-place, quite as much as its secluded situation.

In General Ludlow, the next great military leader whose name connects itself with the history of Burren,¹ we find a man who presents a complete contrast to the northern leader.

He had taken possession of Leimeneagh, the strong castle of Connor O'Brien, who was married to Mary, eldest daughter of Sir Turlogh Mac Mahon, but better known as the cruel "Mariagh Ruadh" of tradition. The castle consisted of an ordinary keep, to which was attached a strongly-built residence of the Tudor style, but one which spoke more of military requirements than of domestic comfort. Even Ludlow admitted that he found it "indifferent strong." He succeeded in taking it, however, and established there a strong and well-supplied garrison. In the immediate vicinity of such a garrison there could be no security for the inmates of the surrounding monasteries. There, within the desolate regions of Burren, Ludlow and his men were supreme; and their supremacy meant the complete ruin of everything Catholic. As to his methods, they are clearly put in his well-known aphorism as regarded Burren, "It did not contain wood enough to hang a man," a circumstance which may have occasioned him serious inconvenience. We can thus have no doubt that the complete ruin of Our Lady's Abbey de Petra fertili was the work of his fanatical followers.

¹ A.D. 1651.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Mac Williams of Clanricarde—Ulick "the Fair"—Ulick "the Red"—Ulick "of Knockto"—Battle of Knockto—Richard "the Great" of Dunkellin marries Lady Margaret Butler—He builds the castle and fort of Dunkellin—The Burkes inaugurated on "Cahir an Earla," near Roveheagh—He makes new grants to Athenry Abbey—Dies 1530—Ulick "na g-Ceann," unpopular with his kinsmen, is plundered by them—His energy—He is raised to the peerage at Greenwich, 1st July 1545—The court pageant—He is presented with Brian Boroimhe's harp—Receives a grant of the Church lands of Clonfert—Dies 1544—Litigation between his "wives"—Episcopal succession.

DURING the remainder of the fifteenth century we shall see the success of the Mac Williams (Oughter) in establishing themselves in Clanricarde, and in rendering their tenure of the portions of Aidhne on which they had encroached secure and permanent. Indeed, the history of the family constitutes the history of the diocese for nearly half that century. The native territorial chieftains looked on at an aggressive encroachment which they were powerless to stay. And the English Government, sufficiently occupied with its domestic wars in England, had but little time to interfere with its troublesome English settlers in Ireland.

The ostentatious assumption of Irish customs on the part of the De Burgos, did not in the least stay their old spirit of aggressiveness. Yet local chieftains, as the O'Heynes and the O'Shaughnessys, remained passive spectators, giving them neither opposition nor encouragement. Hence, in the extant notices of the history of the Clanricarde lords, from Ricard, whom we have noticed, to Richard of Dunkellin, we do not find the names of the chieftains of Aidhne occurring even once. But the De Burgos did not encroach further upon them during that period. And though we shall see that the strong Castle of Dunkellin was erected by Richard in the beginning of the next century, we have no reason to think that its erection showed either additional encroachment or new conquest.

Ulick Burke succeeded his father Richard as the Mac William Oughter. He was commonly known as Ulick "the

Fair," and got married to a daughter of the Prince of Thomond. These marriage alliances with the then powerful ruling family of Thomond, secured for the De Burgos reliable and powerful allies. Annabella, daughter of Mac William (Oughter), was mother of Connor O'Brien (na Srona), one of the most powerful princes of his time. It was mainly through their support that the Clanricarde Burkes were able to establish and maintain at least a nominal supremacy over their kinsmen, the Bourkes of Mayo. Ulick the Fair did not enjoy the chieftainship of Clanricarde for many years. His death is recorded by the annalists, A.D. 1424; and they add that "he died in his own house, after having vanquished the devil and the world." His remains were laid to rest in the Abbey of Athenry.

His son, Ulick "the Red," became his successor as Mac William and chief of Clanricarde. He rendered his alliance with the O'Briens¹ still closer by espousing the Lady Slaine, daughter of Connor, Prince of Thomond. She was a lady much esteemed, not merely for her noble descent, but also for her high personal character, to which our annalists bear most flattering testimony when they record her death, A.D. 1481. But Ulick the Red, or Ulick "of the Wine," as he was also called, needed all the support that his powerful kinsmen and allies could afford him. It appears that he had excited in a special manner the jealous hostility of the Mayo or Lower Bourkes, who found willing and influential allies in the princes of Hy Maine. The hostility of the O'Kellys and the Burkes of Clanricarde at this period was intense and openly avowed. Hence we find the old writers recording the fact in the following terse and forcible language: "The Burkes be of Englishe nacion, and bereth mortal hatred to the Kellys."² We accordingly find, in 1467, the combined forces of the O'Kellys and of the Mayo Bourkes devastating the country of the Burkes of Clanricarde, about the Loughrea district. They were, however, promptly met by the united forces of Clanricarde and Thomond, and defeated with loss at the Cross of "Moighecroin"³—now Crossmacron,—a townland in the parish of Grange, barony of Athenry, and county of Galway.

Two years later, A.D. 1469, the O'Donnell came to the aid of his friends of Hy Maine, determined to avenge the defeat at Crossmacron. After mustering a large force, he marched southward, and ravaged by fire and sword the country around Clare-Galway. A battle soon after ensued, in which the

¹ *Memoir of the O'Briens*, p. 148.

² *Iar Connaught*, p. 149.

³ *Four Masters*, A.D. 1467.

Lower Bourkes and O'Donnells, aiding the O'Kellys, were opposed by Mac William of Clanricarde and his allies of Thomond. After a spirited struggle, it is said that the troops of Clanricarde and Thomond suffered a defeat at a place called Glanog, "a rivulet near the Castle of Cargins in the barony of Clare," which ended in an inglorious retreat."¹

Ulick an Fhionn, "the Red," of Clanricarde, left three sons, —Ulick, surnamed "of Knockto," his successor as chief of Clanricarde; Richard of Derrymackloglane, and Edmond na Feosage,—all familiar names in the history of the period. Though living in a troubled period, he did not forget the claims of religion. At least he proved himself a generous patron of the Dominican convent at Athenry, to which he made a grant for ever of a district known as Ardaturh. He died A.D. 1485, and was buried within the convent of Athenry.

Ulick the third, surnamed of Knockto, who succeeded as Mac William, was more successful for a time than his father in hiding his hostility to the chieftains of Hy Maine. He assumed towards them rather a specious but offensive system of patronage. In this spirit, he went so far as to attempt to supersede certain arrangements regarding the chieftaincy of Hy Maine, which had been entered into under the sanction of the Lord Deputy, the Earl of Kildare. On his interference being rejected as unwarrantable, the true spirit of Mac William was manifested in overt acts of hostility to the O'Kellys. The Four Masters tell us that in 1503 he attacked and defeated them. In the following year O'Kelly was again defeated by John Burke, his kinsman, and Tanist of Clanricarde. But in that year a still more serious blow was struck at the O'Kellys by the Mac William of Clanricarde himself. He invaded Hy Maine with a strong force, and destroyed the castles of Monivea, Gallagher, and Garbally, which had been recently erected by O'Kelly. Against this outrage the chief of Hy Maine appealed for redress to the Lord Deputy, who, it was known, already entertained feelings of resentment against Mac William of Clanricarde. Mac William was, indeed, the Deputy's son-in-law, and public rumour had it that he treated his wife with great harshness and cruelty; and that the Deputy was for this reason anxious to punish him, both for his public injustice and for his cruelty as a son-in-law. In any case, the Earl of Kildare, aided by the chief families of the North and West, marched to the aid of O'Kelly.

De Burgo, with his Clanricarde troops, aided by the chieftains of Thomond, met the invading forces at Knockto.²

¹ *Mem. O'Briens*, p. 149.

² A.D. 1504.

After a struggle, the most fierce and bloody that was fought in Ireland for a long period, De Burgo, with his adherents, was defeated. An account of this battle, written, says the editor of *Iar Connaught*, in the "old historical romance style,"¹ may be found in the *Book of Howth*, which, he says, was apparently "penned by a friend or retainer of the Howth family, who flattered his patrons and perverted the truth."² The account in the *Book of Howth* is altogether favourable to the Lord Deputy and to his supporters. Yet even there we find the following tribute to the valour of the son and successor of Ulick de Burgo: "The greatest of the Irish was Richard Burke, father of Ulick na g-Ceann."³ He was sometimes styled "Richard the Great." As most of those engaged on both sides at Knockto were Irish, the result was equivalent to an important English victory. Indeed, it was hailed as such by the English Government, and the king accordingly marked his appreciation of its importance by conferring on the Deputy the distinction of Knight of the Garter. The fatal divisions which it pointed to amongst the Irish chieftains must have been most gratifying to the crown, at a time when the English power in Ireland had reached its weakest point since the invasion.⁴ The English pale was then confined to "half the four counties of Louth, Meath, Kildare, and Dublin." "But," continues the author of the *Memoir of the O'Briens*, "from the date of the victory of Knockto, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the tide turned, until, from the English pale, confined to portions of four counties around Dublin, the entire island in the beginning of the seventeenth century was irrevocably cemented with the sister kingdom."

Notwithstanding Mac William of Clanricarde's serious defeat at Knockto, he continued to maintain a position of independence, and successfully resisted the exactions of the Northern prince. O'Donnell had, indeed, soon after Knockto, obtained hostages from the chiefs of his own province, and also "the English and Irish of Connaught, except from the Lord of Clanricarde." Ulick of Knockto successfully resisted the exaction, though his territory was "ravaged from the Suck to Sliabh O'n'Aedha." He did not, however, long survive his memorable defeat. After confirming his father's grants to the Abbey of Athenry, he died A.D. 1509, and was buried within the abbey walls. We find in the annals the following favourable notice of his character and death:—

"Mac William of Clanricarde (Ulick, son of Ulick, son of

¹ *Iar Connaught*, p. 154.

² *Ibid.* p. 153.

³ *Ibid.* p. 154.

⁴ *Memoir of the O'Briens*.

Rickard Oge), a man kind towards friends, and fierce towards enemies, died."

Ulick of Knockto was succeeded by his son, Richard of Dunkellin, who was surnamed "the Great," as the Clanricarde Mac William. This Richard seems to have been the founder of the castle and fort of Dunkellin, in the parish of Clarinbridge and diocese of Kilmacduagh. The castle and fort are situated about a mile north of Kilcolgan, and in the immediate vicinity of Roveheagh. They stand on the east bank of the Kilcolgan river; on the opposite side of which there is the hill on which, as O'Donovan informs us, there is a rude stone seat called "Cahir an Earla," the "Earl's Chair," which is believed to be the place in which the Mac Williams "Oughters" were inaugurated before they were raised to the peerage by Henry VIII. The place was well selected, as it is immediately adjoining Roveheagh, for centuries the place of inauguration of the territorial chiefs. And if the "Cahir" was not the actual seat of the inauguration of the chieftains of Aidhne, it was at least immediately adjoining it, and thus helped to render the new methods popular, by which the De Burgos were then labouring to safeguard their own interests.

Not content with his victory at Knockto, the Lord Deputy sought an early opportunity of punishing the lords of Clanricarde and Thomond for their recent opposition. In 1510 he invaded Munster, and in this act of aggression he seems to have been supported not only by the English and Irish of Leinster, but also by the O'Donnell. However, he was met at Monabrahir,¹ near Limerick, with such a spirited resistance from his enemies that he was obliged to fly. His defeat there seems to have well-nigh counterbalanced the victory at Knockto. The annalists tell us that the army of the O'Briens "returned in triumph with great spoils."

Richard of Dunkellin married Margaret Butler, daughter of the Earl of Ormond. He confirmed the grants of his ancestors to the Abbey of Atherny, and made an additional grant of a quarter of land at Carnane to the same abbey. He died A.D. 1530, and was succeeded in the lordship of Clanricarde by his son Ulick, commonly known as Ulick "na g-Ceann."

Ulick na g-Ceann was a remarkable man. Though he did not long survive his father's death, we shall see that he was the recipient of remarkable favours from the king, and that, for the title of Lord Clanricarde and Baron of Dunkellin conferred upon him by Henry VIII. on the 1st of July 1543, he proved himself a recreant to his religion's and his country's claims alike.

¹ *Memoir of the O'Briens*, p. 157.

The circumstances under which he received the surname of "Ulick of the Heads" are worthy of notice here; and, extraordinary as they are, it is difficult to regard them as incredible, considering the fact that they are found in the pages of a scholar so learned, so conscientious, and so favourably known as the author of *Cambrensis Eversus*.¹

De Burgo was confined to his chambers in his castle at Dunkellin for a considerable time by a severe attack of paralysis. So severe was the attack, that he was unable to ride or move on foot, a result which, in those days of active warfare of an offensive and defensive kind, was sure to be attended with serious consequences. Accordingly, his possessions were encroached upon or seized by his neighbours, most of whom were his own kindred. And, after plundering his extensive territory, they attacked Dunkellin fort, with a view of perfecting their aggression by making him a prisoner, and by seizing all that remained of his property. He seems to have been bedridden at the time, and attended only by his foster-brethren, who did faithfully all that lay in them to maintain their chief in a manner worthy of his dignity.

When, however, intelligence reached him that he was being ruthlessly plundered, and by his own kindred, "that they who were bound to him by the closest ties of blood had hearts so merciless as to deprive him, a cripple, of the necessities of life,"² his rage knew no bounds. In his indignation he forgot his weakness, and cried out aloud for "A horse! a horse!" "May not," he added, "the great God who took away the life of my limb restore it again, and enable me to recover my cattle from the fangs of those merciless thieves?"

His attendants, awed by the intensity of his anger, yielded to his wishes, and placed him with difficulty on horseback. So feeble was he that he was unable to remain in the saddle without assistance. Nothing daunted, however, he persisted in attempting to sit upright, "till at length the bones emitted a sound loud enough to be distinctly heard by his attendants; and in the instant the sinews recovered their natural position and strength."³ His enemies were terror-stricken at the onslaught and unexpected recovery of their angry chieftain, and failed in their attempt to escape his furious onslaught by flight; so that he not only "retook his cattle which they were carrying off, but also brought back in triumph the heads of many of his enemies." Such was the remarkable occurrence for which Ulick de Burgo became popularly known as "Ulick of the Heads." And though the cowardly conduct of his

¹ *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. ii. p. 159.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Loc. cit.*

kindred in Clanricarde is justly held up to reprobation, yet it cannot be forgotten that their chief was a man who for many causes was unworthy of their esteem. Though his courage may not be open to question, his disregard for the sanctity of marriage was notorious. Events proved that with his regard for public morality, so his regard for the religion of his ancestors had also died out; so that he soon appeared in the new rôle of an apostate and favourite of His Majesty Henry VIII. We shall see that he became the recipient of remarkable favours from the crown. For the title of Lord Clanricarde and Baron of Dunkellin, conferred upon him on the 1st of July 1543, he sacrificed alike the claims of religion and country. But, in order to understand the action of Lord Clanricarde, a short digression will be useful.

The Irish princes and petty chiefs, blinded by selfishness and weakened by divisions, did not avail themselves of the opportunities that were within their reach in the previous reign, of destroying alien authority in their country. But the opportunity was not to return. Henry VIII.'s first care was to strengthen English authority in Ireland, he cared not how, by violence or bribes. His powerful Irish chieftains—even those of English descent—should be humbled, and forced to look to the English throne for protection and security. Accordingly, false charges were brought against the most powerful subject in Ireland, the Earl of Kildare. He went to England to refute those charges, but from England he was destined never to return. Lord Thomas, to whom the sword of state was entrusted by his unfortunate father, was goaded into rebellion. The story of his unsuccessful revolt is familiar to every reader of history. He went to London to sue for mercy, and was there cast into prison with his uncles, all of whom were executed, A.D. 1537.

Having succeeded in crushing the most powerful family of English extraction then in Ireland, and at a time when the native chieftains were thoroughly disunited, it was no wonder that Henry VIII. had the title of "King of Ireland and Supreme Head of the Irish Church" conferred on him by a so-called Irish Parliament.

Having thus far had recourse to violence as a means of establishing his authority, Henry now resolved to try the no less efficacious course of securing by favours the allegiance of others, who had ample reason to dread his hostility. Accordingly, we find him conferring on many of the leading chieftains the attractive bribe of a peerage or baronetcy. Amongst those who accepted the bribe of a peerage, were O'Brien, who was

created Earl of Thomond, and Ulick de Burgo, created Earl of Clanricarde and Baron of Dunkellin. Nor can there be any doubt that in the case of those noblemen their new honours were procured at the sacrifice not only of patriotic feelings, but also of religious convictions. They were invited to London for the 1st of July 1543; and, in the presence of His Majesty and of his English courtiers, were invested with their new honours with all the pomp of a court pageant. A few passages of the State Papers¹ in which those events are recorded may be quoted here:—

“Firste the Queenes closet at Greenwich was richly hanged with cloth of arras, and well strawed with rushes. And after the Kings Majestie was come into his closet to heare High Mass, these Earles and the Baron aforesayde in company, went to the Queenes closet aforesaide, and there after sacring of High Masse put on their robes of estate.” After a minute narrative of the pomp of the king and his attendant courtiers, we are informed that the letters patent for the investiture of the new “peers” were read. “And when he came to ‘investimus,’ he put on his robe. And so the patent read out, the Kinges Majestie put about every one of their neckes a cheine of gould, with a cross hanging at y^e, and tooke them their patentees, and they gave thankes unto him.”

The event is briefly noticed by our annalists in the following words:—

“Mac William of Clanricarde (Ulick na g-Ceann) and O’Brien (Murrrough) went to England and were both created earls, and they returned home safe, except that Mac William had taken a fever in England from which he was not perfectly recovered.”² His Majesty also granted to De Burgo a mansion and lands near Dublin, “for keeping their retinues and horses whenever they resorted thither to attend Councils or Parliament.”³ Henry took occasion to confer an additional mark of his royal favour on Clanricarde. He presented him with a harp which was then regarded as the harp of Brian Boroinhe. This interesting relic is fortunately preserved in the Museum of Trinity College, Dublin; and though it is still popularly known as Brian’s harp, O’Curry has shown, by much interesting historical research, that it more probably belonged to Donogh Cairbreagh O’Brien.⁴

The conditions on which those royal favours were obtained by both peers were most probably the same. Amongst those

¹ Vol. iii. p. 473.

² Four Masters, A.D. 1542.

³ *Ibid.*, Ed. notes.

⁴ *Manners and Customs of Ancient Erin*, vol. iii. p. 267.

conditions, still preserved in the State Papers, we find the following:¹—

“That the laws of England may be executed in Thomond, and the naughty laws and customs of that country be put away for ever.

“*Item*, That there may be sent into Ireland some well learned Irishman brought up in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, not being infected with *the poyson of the Bishop of Rome*, and they be *first approved by the King's Majesty*, and then be sent to preach the Word of God in Ireland.”

Such conditions proclaim alike a betrayal of religion and country. But His Majesty was careful that their apostasy from the old religion should have an ample reward; Hardiman informs us that Clanricarde received a grant of the third part of the first-fruits of the Abbey of Via Nova in Clonfert.² It is more likely that the grant included the entire property of that ancient abbey. This opinion is indeed confirmed by an entry on the Patent Rolls of Henry VIII., bearing date 1st July 1543, making a grant to “Willic Boruc, otherwise Mac William, of the style and dignity of Earl of Clanricarde and Baron of Dunkellyn; and further, a grant to him of all that the monastery of Via Nova Clonfertensis diocesis, with all lands, houses, etc., appurtenant thereto.”

But Ulick, first Earl of Clanricarde, was a man much after the king's own heart, dead alike to honour, religion, and morality. In proof of his utter disregard for morality and public decency, it is sufficient to refer to his unholy nuptials with three ladies, whom, though living at the same time, he presumed to call his wives.³ His first wife was Grace, daughter of O'Carroll, Prince of Ely. His son by this marriage, the validity of which, however, was questioned, was Richard “Saxonach.” During the lifetime of the Lady Grace he next married Honora de Burgo, popularly known as Nora na g-Ceann. Having parted with Honora de Burgo, though Grace O'Carroll yet lived, he espoused Maria Lynch of Galway, by whom he had a son named John, popularly known as John “of the Shamrocks.”⁴ We shall see that John disputed the legitimacy of his brother Richard, and consequently his right of succession, on the grounds that Grace O'Carroll was actually the wife of O'Melaghlin at the time of her marriage with

¹ *Memoir of the O'Briens*, p. 517.

² Hardiman's *Galway*, p. 82.

³ *Memoir of the O'Briens*, p. 189.

⁴ It seems he had a third son, Edmond, whose death at Ballylee Castle, A.D. 1597, is recorded by the Four Masters. This castle is situated in the parish of Kiltartan.

Ulick of Clanricarde. With the letters patent by which the family was "ennobled," Ulick de Burgo transmitted to his children a heritage of mutual hatred, which manifested itself immediately after his death in 1544, or, according to the author of *Hibernia Anglicana*, 1545. The annalists give the following brief but suggestive notice of his death:—

"The Earl of Clanricarde (Ulick na g-Ceann), the most valiant of the English of Connaught, died. This was news of great moment in his country. Great dissensions arose in Clanrickarde concerning the lordship."

Richard Saxonach claimed the right to succeed to the coveted titles and estates of his father; but the claim of Richard was at once opposed by Maria Lynch in the interests of her son John. Aided by her second husband, Pierce Martin of Galway, she petitioned the Duke of Somerset on the subject, urging that O'Melaghlin, the husband of Lady Grace O'Carroll, was living at the time of her so-called marriage with Clanricarde, and alleging that she herself was his lawful wife. She furthermore urged that she was of a "civile and English ordre of education and manners, inhabiting within the towne of Galway;" that prior to his marriage with her Ulick Burke was "a man of wylde governaunce in those parts where he dwelled," paying no attention whatever to English law; that through her influence he was brought into "soche civilitie, good order, and conversation," that he was regarded worthy of the important titles conferred upon him by the crown. She also referred to the marriage articles, which she alleged were executed between her and Clanricarde on the occasion of her marriage. She stated that she had, by virtue of those articles, a legal claim on the "manor and castle of Kilcolgan,"¹ and complained that this, with other important stipulations of the agreement, was never observed. By order of his Grace of Somerset, dated 23rd January 1547, the whole question was referred to a Commission specially selected for its consideration. But the Lord Protector was careful to send a letter, in which the members of the Commission were reminded that "it might be lamentable that so noble a man's wyffe, deserving so well towards the King's Majestie by conforming her husband, shoulde be left without livinge for lack of justice."²

On the 13th of November following the Commissioners' award was published. It stated "that the late earl was first married unto Grace ny Keroill, who was living at the time of the marriage between him and the petitioner Mary;

¹ Hardiman's *Galway*, p. 82.

² *Ibid.*

and that consequently the latter marriage was void, and she was not entitled to thirds. But as he bound himself in the forfeiture of £200 sterling and £100 worth of plate, to convey the castle and manor of Kilcolgan to her at his death, which by his will he left unto the present earl, and as he received the said Dame Mary in marriage, affirming and swearing there was no impediment to the same," they declared the £300 forfeited, and awarded that it should be paid to the petitioner forthwith, with a special proviso that Dame Mary and her children should be at all times at liberty to disprove the marriage between Grace O'Carroll and the deceased earl. But we do not find that the case was afterwards brought before any legal tribunal. Earl Richard was therefore permitted to retain the title with the Clanricarde possessions.

The Castle of Kilcolgan to which reference is made stood about two miles south of Dunkellin, and on the estuary of the river. It has long since disappeared, and the modern so-called "Castle of Kilcolgan" was erected on its site by the Tyrone family toward the close of the last century.

The example of such men as the Earl of Clanricarde must have strongly influenced the petty chiefs of the country. It was a result on which King Henry calculated. His example was in part very quickly followed in the immediate neighbourhood by O'Shaughnessy, Lord of Kinel Aedh, whose action we shall consider in another chapter.

But as the chief interest of Henry's reign was more of an ecclesiastical than a civil character, we will here refer briefly to the episcopal succession during the period under review. His anxiety to lead his subjects into schism and heresy, surpassed his desire to have his authority regarded as supreme in civil affairs. The measures which he adopted for carrying out his impious purposes in Ireland, were not very unlike those by which he had already succeeded in England. He trampled upon ecclesiastical privileges, plundered the Church of her property, and inaugurated that terrible persecution of the Catholic religion which was continued by his successors for centuries after.¹

The episcopate of Dr. Jiombarg must have been brief, as we find the appointment of his successor, NICHOLAS, noticed under date 20th August 1422. In addition to the date of his appointment, we only find the following note regarding his proctors: The proctors "Nicolæ Electi Duac & obtulerunt 50 florenos auri de Camera."²

We find a certain CORNELIUS Bishop of Kilmacduagh, A.D.

¹ O'Sullivan Beare, *Hist. Eccl.* p. 76.

² *Obligazioni.*

1493 ; but we are not in a position to say that that was the date of his appointment. He resigned his See in A.D. 1502.¹ His retirement is thus referred to in connection with the appointment of his successor: "Referente S. Cruce, S. D. N. absolvit R. P. D. Cornelium a vinculo et præfectione quibus Ecclesiæ Duacensis præerat."

MATTHEW O'BRIEN was appointed Bishop of Kilmacduagh in the following year, 1503. Previous to his appointment he was Archdeacon of Killaloe.² The period during which he presided over the See is unknown, as also the date of his death ; but it seems that he was still Bishop of Kilmacduagh in 1525. His death is referred to 1542, when Dr. O'Dea was nominated bishop.

MALACHY O'MOLONY seems to have been Dr. O'Brien's immediate successor in the See, as appears from the following extract: "Provisum fuit per mortem Dⁿi Mathei O'Brien Episcopi, de persona Malachie O'Myllioni clerici Duacensis Dioc.," etc.³ His appointment is also noticed in the Barberini MSS. quoted by Dr. Brady, and took place on the 8th August 1533. But, as Dr. Brady says, he seems to have resigned in that very year in favour of Dr. Bodkin. He may possibly be the same Dr. O'Molony who in 1571 became Bishop of Killaloe, and who in 1576 was translated to Kilmacduagh, though it seems quite improbable.

On the resignation of Dr. O'Molony, CHRISTOPHER BODKIN "was appointed Bishop of Kilmacduagh, at the *supplication of the King of England*," on the 3rd September 1533. On the 4th November following he was consecrated at Marseilles. The consecrating prelates on this interesting occasion were Gabriel, Archbishop of Durazzo in European Turkey, Mark Antony, Bishop of Tivoli, and Hieronymus Arbutius. Bodkin was of respectable descent, and received his education at Oxford, and spent much of his early years at Rome. Though his appointment was secured through royal favour, there can be no doubt that it was sanctioned by the Pope. He was translated to the archdiocese of Tuam in 1536, though still retaining Kilmacduagh. His translation was effected, not by the authority of the Pope, but by royal mandate when Henry was the declared enemy of the Pope. This circumstance is referred to as affording a justification to the charge of admitting the king's supremacy, made by some writers against Bodkin. He seems also to have taken possession of the See of Tuam at a time when it was actually claimed by Dr. O'Frizil, the Pope's nominee. It also appears that he was appointed to act on

¹ Brady's *Episc. Succession*.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Capponi Collect.*

various royal commissions,¹ and had taken the oath of allegiance to Elizabeth.² Yet we find convincing testimony that Dr. Bodkin continued true to the Catholic religion. David Wolfe, a member of the Jesuit Order, thought him much better suited to the diocese than his rival claimant, Dr. O'Frizil. He wrote to this effect to the Cardinal Protector on the 12th October 1561: "I think him much better suited to the diocese than Dr. O'Frizil, the rival claimant, on account of his being skilled in administration, and having great influence with the gentry of the district. In fact, the cathedral of Tuam was three hundred years used as a fortress by the gentry, without the Mass or other divine office, until Bodkin took it out of their hands by force, and at great peril of his person; and where horses and other animals were formerly kept, now Mass is celebrated, and he himself usually in choir every day, although there are not more than twenty or thirty houses in Tuam."

In September 1555 an official inquiry was held at Lambeth Palace, by Cardinal Pole, the Pope's legate, into the questions in connection with Bodkin's occupation of the See of Tuam. The Rev. Peter Wall, Archdeacon of Tuam, was one of the principal witnesses at this investigation. This witness testified that "Dr. Bodkin was remarkable for the sanctity and morality of his life. . . . He was, moreover, a stern defender of orthodoxy, and an enemy of the heretics, and, more through fear than depravity of intention, contracted the guilt of schism."³ His evidence was supported by a priest of Tuam, and by Maurice O'Mulryan, a priest of Kilmacduagh. The decision arrived at as the result of this inquiry seems to be a matter of conjecture. But it seems to be certain that he was afterwards treated by the Court of Rome as Archbishop. He died A.D. 1572, and was buried at Galway.

CORNELIUS O'DEA succeeded Dr. Bodkin as Bishop of Kilmacduagh on the 5th May 1542. His youth was such that he was obliged to obtain a dispensation as regarded his age:—

"Providit eccl. Duacensis in Hibernia vacanti per obitum Mathei Ybrien extra Romanam curiam defuncti de persona Corneliu Ideay, cum dispensatione super defectu natalitium."⁴ This appointment would seem to ignore Dr. Bodkin's episcopate as Bishop of Kilmacduagh.

¹ Burke's *Archbishops of Tuam*, p. 76.

² *Archbishops of Tuam*, p. 81.

³ *Ibid.* p. 86.

⁴ Dr. Brady, *Episc. Succession*.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Lord of Kinel Aedh is created Baronet, but remains true to his religion—The Lord Deputy encamps at Gort, and is entertained by him—His sons, Sir Roger and Dermot "Reagh."—Richard Saxonach, second Earl of Clanricarde, obtains a grant of the Church lands of Kilmacduagh, and of many other religious houses—He is a Catholic—He marries the daughters of the first and second Earls of Thomond—His sons Ulick and John, "the Mac an Earlas"—Earl Richard arrested, A.D. 1572—His sons rise in revolt—Executions at Galway—Earl Richard dies, A.D. 1582—Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy—His brother Dermot betrays the Primate, Dr. Creagh, and receives the thanks and support of Queen Elizabeth—He claims the family estates on his brother's death, and is opposed by his nephew—They die in mortal combat. Perrot's "Indentures of Composition"—Their character—They are accepted in Clanricarde by most—The O'Heynes of Lydecane Castle—Episcopal succession.

MAC NAMARA, chief of Clan Cuilean, O'Grady of Clan Donghail, and O'Shaughnessy of Gortinsiguair, were the local chiefs who were immediately influenced by the example of De Burgo and O'Brien. O'Grady's territory adjoined O'Shaughnessy's on the south-east; and in the year 1600 comprised the parishes of Tomgraney, Moyne, Inis Cealtra, and Clonrush. O'Shaughnessy, whose territory, like that of Mac Namara, was much more extensive, is referred to in the State Papers¹ as "a goodly gentleman dwelling between Thomond and Connaught." He was Dermot, son of William, who was the son of John Buidhe, son of Eoghan, son of William, son of Giolla na Naomh, son of Ruadhri, son of Giolla na Naomh Crom, lord of the western half of Kinelea, who died A.D. 1224.

His Majesty wrote to the Deputy and Council of Ireland on the 9th July 1533, saying, "We have made Mac Namarow, O'Shaghness, and Denis Grady knights, and will that by virtue and warrant hereof, you, our Chancellor, with the advice of our Deputy, Vice-Treasurer, Chief Justice, and Master of the Rolles, or the part of them besides yourself in form aforesaid, shall make out unto the said Macnamarow, O'Shaftness, and Denis Grady, several patentees of all such lands as they now have in possession to them and to their heires masles lawfully

¹ No. 389, vol. iii. p. 453.

begotten, willing you our Deputy before the delivery of our letters patentes, to cause them to subscribe like articles as the others have done, and to have special regard that they ne any of them suffer any displeasure nor damage hereafter for their submission, but that you ayde them, and see the same revenged as the case shall require."

: It will be noticed, therefore, that one of the conditions rigorously required of the knights elect by the crown, was a repudiation of the old title by which they held their territories; and an acceptance of them from the crown, on the condition of knight service, with a clause of "forfeiture in case of confederacy against the crown."

We accordingly find that the king, by letters patent dated 3rd December 1543,¹ granted to Sir Dermot O'Sheghyn, knight, captain of his nation, in consideration of his submission, and pursuant to the king's letter, "all the manors, lordships, towns, and townlands of Gortinchegory," and the other numerous townlands in Kinel Aedh, then in the possession of its chief, "which lands," this royal document coolly declares, "the said Sir Dermot and his ancestors had *unjustly possessed against the crown*, to hold to him and his heirs male in capite by the service of one knight's fee, with a clause of forfeiture in case of confederacy against, or disturbance to the crown."

It is also stated that O'Shaughnessy was promised some ecclesiastical dignity for a kinsman of his, Malachy Donohoo, and the bishopric of Kilmacduagh for his son, William Shaftness (O'Shaughnessy).²

Such were the circumstances and conditions under which the chief of Kinel Aedh bartered his title and authority as chief of his tribe, for an English title; and at the same time recognised the authority and supremacy of the British crown over the possessions of his tribe.

The weakness and want of patriotism in which this act of political apostasy originated, should have some extenuation in the example set by the more powerful neighbouring lords of Clanricarde and Thomond. The aggressive encroachments of the lords of Clanricarde was a constant menace to the independence of the chieftains of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne. And as O'Brien was connected with the O'Shaughnessys by close family ties, there can be no doubt that the example of the Earl of Thomond must have also strongly influenced the lord of Kinel Aedh. Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy had married the Lady Mor O'Brien. She was, from her beauty and love of display,

¹ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 375.

² *Memoir of the O'Briens*, p. 523, quoting Patent Rolls.

popularly surnamed "Pheaceach," or the Gaudy. She was daughter of Brian, who was youngest son of Taog, who died A.D. 1436. She was therefore first cousin of the first Earl of Thomond, and must naturally have represented to her husband in the most favourable light the action of her noble and powerful relative.

But it is certain that O'Shaughnessy followed his kinsman's example only to the extent of accepting a title, and securing his hereditary estates by royal grant. He never apostatised, as did the first Earls of Clanricarde and Thomond, notwithstanding the proffered bribe of the bishopric of Kilmacduagh. He continued as devoted to the Catholic Church as were his truly Catholic ancestors, though his relations with the Government were of a character that may be described as temporising and time-serving. The Lord Deputy left Dublin, A.D. 1559, "on a martial tour," by Limerick and Galway. On his way from Limerick he encamped at Gort, and was entertained at a sumptuous banquet by Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy. "On the 12th July he encamped near Gort, and dined at O'Shane-shin's house so worshipfully, that divers wondered at it, for such a dinner, or the like of it, was not seen in any Irishman's house before." Such lavish hospitality might be worthy of the descendants of Guaire the Hospitable. But as expended upon the representative of the then reigning English sovereign, it was unworthy of the traditions of the family.

We are not told of the exact date of Sir Dermot's death; but the annalists record the death of the Lady Mor, his wife, in the year 1569, in extreme old age. Her death is thus recorded: "More Phēcagh, daughter of Brian, the son of Teige, son of Turlough, son of Brian Catha-an-aenaigh O'Brien, and wife of O'Shaughnessy,—i.e. Dermot, the son of William, son of John Boy,—a woman distinguished for her beauty and munificence, died."

The issue by this marriage were Roger, who succeeded his father in the estates and title, and Dermot the Swarthy (Reagh), who went to England, and there attached himself to Leicester, Elizabeth's favourite.¹

This notice is taken from the O'Shaughnessy Genealogy as given by the learned editor of *The Customs of Hy Fiachrach*; and it will be noted that there is no reference to a son named William. The "William Shaftness" referred to, as we have seen, in the Patent Rolls, to whom, it is stated, the bishopric of Kilmacduagh was promised, seems to have been only a myth.

We shall see presently that the Church property of Kilmac-

¹ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 376.

duagh was actually given by royal grant to Richard, second Earl of Clanricarde,¹ and not to an O'Shaughnessy. The Commission appointed by the Lord Protector the Duke of Somerset, to inquire into the legitimacy of the marriage of William, the first Earl of Clanricarde, with the Lady Grace O'Carroll, though leaving the validity of the marriage an open question,² decided that Richard, surnamed Saxonach, the issue of this marriage, should inherit his father's titles and property, and the fact is thus noticed by our annalists: "A.D. 1551, Richard Saxonach, son of Ulick na g-Ceann, was styled Earl of Clanricarde."³

Richard was even under age at the time of this decision; and it consequently became necessary that a certain "Ulick was made captain of his country during his good behaviour, and during the minority of Richard."⁴

Richard, second Earl of Clanricarde, obtained grants of most of the confiscated Church lands within the territory of Clanricarde. It is impossible now to ascertain the number of monasteries then suppressed within the territory. But as in the little diocese of Annaghdown alone there were as many as forty religious houses suppressed, the number must have been very considerable throughout the entire territory. Archdall gives us the following list of grants of ecclesiastical property made to Earl Richard. They are Anghrim, together with the monasteries of Clontuskert, St. John the Baptist in Tuam, Kilcruenata, Rosserelly, Loughrea, Kilbought, and Annaghdown. We also find, on the same authority, that at the general suppression of monasteries Kilmacduagh was also granted to Richard, Earl of Clanricarde. Yet it appears that, unlike his father, Earl Richard remained a Catholic. Dr. Kelly in his *Dissertations*,⁵ states expressly that Richard of Clanricarde never directly or indirectly conformed to the established creed." The acceptance of the Church's confiscated property, he contends, affords no proof of his acceptance of the reformed creed; as churches were frequently plundered by Catholics and in Catholic times. In addition, it seems that his name appears on no Commission for advancing the reformed religion. And when his sons were engaged in burning the church of Athenry, in which a Protestant minister was established, they were remonstrated with, as their mother was buried within the church. They answered, "If she were alive, we would rather burn her and the church together, than that any English church should fortify there."

¹ Archdall, *Monasticon*.

² Hardiman, *Galway*, p. 82.

³ *Four Masters*.

⁴ Ed. Notes to *Four Masters*, A.D. 1544.

⁵ P. 359.

We find Richard de Burgo appointed by the Catholic sovereigns, Philip and Mary, to act with the Archbishop of Tuam and others on a Commission for Catholic purposes. The object of the Commission was "to inquire concerning the chalices, crosses, ornaments, bells, and other property belonging to the parish churches or chapels in the county of Connaught, and of what sales were made thereof to any person or persons whatsoever, the prices thereof, in whose hands they remained," etc.; in other words, to make inquiries regarding the Church plunder which occurred in the preceding reign. In the action of the Government towards him we see also a convincing proof of his adhesion to the old faith. He was imprisoned in 1572. In 1579 he was again arrested, and long detained a prisoner. He was married twice. His first wife was Margaret, daughter of Murrough, first Earl of Thomond. The issue by this marriage was Ulick, who succeeded as third Earl of Clanricarde. He afterwards married Catharine,¹ daughter of the second Earl of Thomond, whose son John was created Baron of Leitrim, and was murdered in 1588 at Ballyfontane.

Richard de Burgo was admittedly a brave soldier.² In 1558 he inflicted a crushing defeat on a strong body of Scotch mercenaries, who were then in the service of the Earl of Tirconnell. They invaded Connaught, and had penetrated to Tirawley, where the Lower Mac Williams promised to support them in their work of plunder.

In 1570 we find him engaged in supporting the President, Sir Richard Fitton, at the siege of Shrúle. The Four Masters tell us that "most of the chieftains and mighty champions of valour and prowess from Magh Aoi to Echtge, and from Galway to Athlone," were with them on the occasion. They were opposed by the O'Flahertys and Lower Bourkes, who also secured the services of Irish and Scotch mercenaries. The struggle was fierce and fatal on both sides, but as the President and Clanricarde retained the field, they also claimed the victory. But the friendship between the earl and his English allies was not destined to last.

In 1572, Sir Edward Fitton was appointed President of Connaught by Sydney, the Lord Deputy.³ He was by nature harsh, cruel, and despotic. Such, indeed, was his cruelty, that it subsequently became the occasion of his removal from that office.

The President at once issued a manifesto summoning the princes and chieftains of the province to attend at a court

¹ She died 1568, and is styled "the most famous woman in Ireland."

² Four Masters.

³ Hardiman, *Galway*, p. 85.

which he opened at Galway on the 17th March of that year.¹ It was well known that the cruelties enacted by him on a like occasion at Ennis in the previous year, would be repeated at Galway. The Earl of Clanricarde, who attended, was immediately placed under arrest. His sons Ulick and John, commonly known as the "Mac an Earlas," flew to arms, and were immediately followed by their numerous adherents. The action of the Government in sending the Earl of Clanricarde to prison in Dublin, and in detaining the most influential chiefs in Clanricarde under arrest in Galway, secured for the daring action of the Mac an Earlas general sympathy and support. With the discontented, who usually rally round the standard of revolt, and with a large number of Scotch mercenaries, whose support the Mac an Earlas had secured, there were several influential men who gave their sympathy and help. Amongst those we must mention James Fitz Maurice, Earl of Desmond. With these miscellaneous forces, and armed with the energy of despair, they proceeded to lay the country waste. Their success was calamitous. They took Athenry by assault, destroying its castle and fortifications. Indeed, the annalists tell us that they "destroyed the towns from Shannon to Burren, except a few." They plundered all in terms of friendship with the English as far as Athlone. They continued their career successful and unopposed as far as Westmeath, plundering and ravaging every town. They next proceeded into Iar Connaught, "in despite of the people of Galway, and the English soldiers left there by the President, . . . committing great plunder and depredations" on Murrough O'Flaherty, a well-known supporter of the English interest. The authorities in Dublin thought it wise to bow to the storm, which they seemed powerless to still, until they succeeded in securing the aid of the earl in bringing the rebellion of his sons to an end. He accordingly received his liberty on condition "that he should pacify his sons."² The earl returned to his country in the autumn of that year, and succeeded in inducing his sons to lay down their arms and dismiss their soldiers.

But the revolt of the Mac an Earlas was not to have so peaceable a termination. Sydney, the Lord Deputy, came down to Galway on the restoration of peace, and the earl went to offer his submission to His Majesty's representative. Although he could not speak English, the Deputy was struck by his ease in speaking Latin.³ The earl's sons were slow to come, but

¹ *Memoir of the O'Briens*, p. 202.

² Four Masters.

³ Hardiman, *Galway*, p. 86.

when they did come, they were immediately arrested and brought as prisoners to Dublin. They were not, however, kept in close confinement, but were required to pledge themselves that they would conform with English usages, and not cross the Shannon to their own territory without necessary permission. It does not seem that they regarded their pledges as binding in honour or conscience. It is certain that they violated them on the very first opportunity, and, it is alleged, with their father's approval.¹ Having crossed the Shannon, they were met by their old adherents. Once more they attacked Athenry, which was just then being restored from its ruins. The Deputy, indignant on hearing of these occurrences, entered Clanricarde with a considerable force, A.D. 1576. The insurgents, conscious of their weakness, fled to the mountains and fastnesses. Meantime, the Deputy arrested the earl, and sent him again to Dublin, where he was kept in close confinement. He seized his castles and territory, leaving "a number of English captains in Clanricarde,"² who used the castles as fortresses. The castle and town of Loughrea was used as a strong English garrison. The earl's sons continued, however, to wage a desultory warfare during the autumn and winter of the year, in which the annalists tell us that countless numbers of English and Irish were slain, and countless herds and flocks of cattle were destroyed.

In 1579 we find that Richard, Earl of Clanricarde, was taken to London by Sir Henry Sydney, where he was detained a prisoner till the close of his life.

In 1580 we find the Mac an Earlas "at strife with one another, and both were at peace with England." But John, the younger, determined soon at any risk to wrest their castles and strong places from the English. There can be little doubt that his determination was much influenced by the wanton despotism of the Constable of Loughrea, one Master Jones, who had then cast into "severe confinement several of the influential and respectable inhabitants of Clanricarde." He accordingly decided on a night attack on Loughrea, by which the captives should be set free, and the garrison put to the sword. He made the attack successfully, set the prisoners free, and put all others to the sword who were able to bear arms, except the Constable, whom he set at liberty. After this he sought to detach his brother Ulick from the English interest, promising to serve him as a junior should a senior, and also to restore to him his son Ulick, whom he then held as a hostage. Ulick, accepting the conditions offered, went at once to the

¹ *Loc. cit.* p. 87.

² Four Masters.

support of his brother. They first attacked the Castle of Loughrea, which was again strongly garrisoned; and, having taken and destroyed it, though they regarded it as the principal fortress in the territory, we are told by the annalists that "they scarcely left a castle from Clonfert Brendan to Kilmacduagh, and from Cloondagan to Oran, which they did not demolish."

In this war most of the people of Connaught had joined, and it should be remembered that Thomond or Clare was then annexed to Connaught. Though the Earl of Thomond himself gave them no assistance, his kinsmen took an active part in the revolt.

The insurrection was suppressed in 1581. Turlogh O'Brien, uncle of the Earl of Thomond, was arrested and executed at Galway on the 26th of May in that year. Intimidated by the failure of the revolt, and by the arrest of O'Brien, William Burke repaired to Galway about a month before O'Brien's execution, with the view of becoming reconciled with the English.¹ He was immediately placed under arrest, and, after a "summary trial," was also condemned to die. He was the earl's youngest son, and, though his pardon was solicited and obtained by the Mayor of Galway, he was hurriedly executed by William Martin, the marshal, before the pardon could arrive.² Many of his followers also shared the same fate.³

Meantime, Earl Richard, who was detained a prisoner in London, was sinking under a fatal disease. In consideration of "his ill-health," he was permitted to return, and was also made the bearer of the royal pardon to his surviving sons. He reached Galway worn out by fatigue, disappointment, and disease, and, unable to travel farther, he died there, in August 1582, and was buried at Loughrea.

Though the rebellion in the West was thus successfully suppressed, the executive were careful that as many of the leaders as possible should suffer the most extreme penalties with which the authorities in those days were familiar. Donogh O'Brien was accordingly executed at Limerick, A.D. 1582. Though he sought pardon for his share in the rebellion, "he was put to death in an ignoble manner by Captain Mordaunt, who held the commission of marshal, and by the sheriff, Sir George Cusack."

We have seen that Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy succeeded to the titles and estates of his father. He was a man who was

¹ Hardiman, *Galway*, p. 88.

² *Ibid.*

³ Four Masters.

held in general esteem.¹ The annalists, when recording his death in 1569, tell us that, though not skilled in Latin or English, he retained the esteem of the English without losing the confidence of the Irish. We do not find, however, that he took any part in the struggles of the period. Probably it was because the sacrilegious treachery of his brother Dermot, by the betrayal of Dr. Creagh, Primate of Armagh, had cast a dark shadow on his honour, his influence, and his name.

Dermot Reagh O'Shaughnessy, by whom this crime was perpetrated, went to England in his early years, and there became attached to the retinue of the Earl of Leicester, whose patronage he also succeeded in securing. His connection with Leicester would naturally justify suspicions that he was not even then true to his faith. But this suspicion is supported, if not justified, by his share in the Primate's arrest, and by his subsequent relations with the Queen.

The venerable Primate Creagh in 1565 was detained in close confinement in the Tower of London, for his fidelity to the faith. But, having escaped from the Tower in a manner which, according to Rothe's narrative, we may well regard as miraculous, he returned after some short time to Ireland. After his return he soon repaired to the O'Shaughnessy territory, where he no doubt expected to find himself safe from his persecutors. But, he seems to have been tracked by Leicester's dependent, Dermot O'Shaughnessy, to the fastnesses of Kinelea, and was there arrested on the 13th of April 1567. It was an evil deed, and was regarded with the deepest horror by the people. We are told by the venerable David Rothe² that the spot on which the nefarious deed was perpetrated (now unknown) was stricken with barrenness, and that the captor and the captor's family were smitten with a curse, under which all except a younger brother, who sought the Primate's pardon and blessing, were speedily cut off.³ The arrest was regarded as an event of very great importance. The Protestant Archbishop of Armagh wrote to Cecil on the subject in May 1567, stating that "O'Shaughnessy apprehended the fictitious Primate of Armagh, that stole out of the Tower of London, who, my lord, is ready to send him again, trusting he will be better kept hereafter." And O'Shaughnessy was soon rewarded for his perfidy by a letter from the Queen. Writing to her Deputy in Ireland, on the 6th of July 1567, she mentions this in the following words:—

"Whereas also O'Shaughnessy showed his loyalty in taking

¹ Four Masters.

² *Analecta*, p. 418.

³ *Dissertations*, Dr. Kelly, p. 388.

of the supposed Primate, who escaped out of the Tower of London, we have sent letters of thanks to him, according to your request."

Her letter to O'Shaughnessy, here referred to, was written on the day previous. It was as follows:—

"THE QUEEN TO O'SHAUGHNESSY.

"July 5, 1567.

"Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet thee well. As well by sundry advertisements from our right trusty and well-beloved Sir H. Sydney, our Deputy in that our realm of Ireland, as also by our own demonstration, we have right well understood and perceived your good will and disposition to serve and obey us. Whereof, as we cannot be unmindful, so among other things we will not forget to allow right well of your service, staying and bringing to our said Deputy an unloyal subject of that land, *being a feigned bishop*, who not long before broke out of our Tower of London; all which your doings and good services confirming in us more and more right good opinion of your loyalty towards us, we do so retain in our remembrance, as we will not forget the same towards you, to your comfort in any reasonable cause to be brought before us; and for that we understand and see your service meet to be by us allowed. We pray you to continue the same, as occasion shall serve, by the direction of our Lord Deputy, who both doth make good account of you, and testifieth the same from time to time unto us."

Nor had Dermot O'Shaughnessy occasion to wait very long for an opportunity of testing the value of Her Majesty's professions of good will.

His brother Sir Roger had made an unfortunate marriage long previously, which was destined to prove a fruitful source of many troubles. In an evil hour Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy married the Lady Honora, daughter of Murrough O'Brien, first Earl of Thomond. This lady was a professed nun,¹ and superioress of the Augustinian monastery of Kilowen, the picturesque ruins of which may still be seen a few miles south-west of Clare Castle. The property of the monastery was confiscated and seized by the lady's father, and we think it probable that at the time of her criminal connection with O'Shaughnessy the community was dispersed. There were six children, of whom three were born before the marriage, namely, John, Joan, and Margaret; William, Fergananim,

¹ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 376.

and Dermot were born after the marriage was recognised as valid. From evidence subsequently given by Margaret, Countess Dowager of Clanricarde, A.D. 1615, it appears that "they were married by a dispensation obtained from Rome."¹ There can be no doubt that John was universally regarded as illegitimate.

On the death of Sir Roger, which occurred in 1569, we are told by our annalists that John "assumed his place." His assumption was immediately questioned by his brothers. But a still more formidable opponent appeared in the person of the traitor Dermot Reagh, his uncle. On hearing of his brother's death, he immediately quitted the service of the Earl of Leicester, and returned to Ireland with a letter from Her Majesty to her Deputy Sydney, in which he is ordered to show O'Shaughnessy as "much favour as may accord with the good government of the same country." The document is of sufficient interest to be given here in full.

"BY THE QUEEN.

"ELIZABETH R.

"Right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Wher one Darby O'Shaghness, the youngest son as he saith of William O'Shaghness, Lord of Kynally, in that or Realme of Ireland, hath by the means of his Lord and Master, or Coosen the Erle of Leicester, humbly required us not only to give him leave to returne to his country, but also to recommend his petition into yow, for some order to be taken with hym upon the death of his brother, Roger O'Shaghness, as being next heire unto him, we being duly informed of his honest demeaner here, and of his earnest to serve us, have been content to accompt him to or service, and do require yow to have favorable consideracion of his sute, and as you shall find it meet to place and settle him in the foressaid contry, so the rather to incurrage him to persever in his fidelitie to showe him as much favor as may accord with the good government of the same contry.

"Given under our signet, at or Mannor of Otelands, the 23rd of June 1570, in the 22nd year of our Reigne."

The error in this letter, according to which Dermot is spoken of as the son of William O'Shaughnessy, is pointed out by O'Donovan,² who states distinctly that he was brother of Sir Roger, and only grandson of William O'Shaughnessy.

¹ *Loc. cit.* p. 379.

² *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 377.

Armed with this document, Dermot O'Shaughnessy returned to Ireland. We are not surprised to find that in the following year he claimed the possessions of the O'Shaughnessys at Gort, which were held since the death of Sir Roger by John, his illegitimate son. The fact is thus briefly recorded by the annalists:—

“A.D. 1571. John, son of ‘Gilla dubh,’ who was the son of Diarmait O'Shaughnessy, who had been the O'Shaughnessy since the time of the death of his father until this year, was deprived of that title, and also of Gortinsiguair, by his paternal uncle, Diarmait Riabhach, the son of Diarmaid, for he was virtually the senior.” And John was legally disqualified by reason of his illegitimacy. But the royal patronage which secured for Dermot Reagh O'Shaughnessy his father's title, with the lordship of the territory of Kinelea, effected an almost complete estrangement between him and his clansmen. He seems to have stood alone as the “Queen's O'Shaughnessy.” Even in the stirring events in connection with the Mac an Earlas' revolt, he had little or no share.

Though in 1573, acting in concert with Ulick, eldest of the sons of Richard, Earl of Clanricarde, he slew Murrough O'Brien, third Earl of Thomond, the act seems to have had no connection with the Mac an Earlas' revolt. John, brother of Ulick de Burgo, avenged the deed immediately by depriving O'Shaughnessy of his castle at Gortinsiguair. Events justify the opinion that on this occasion he put William O'Shaughnessy, the legitimate son and heir of Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy, in possession of the ancestral castle at Gort. Meantime, however, the Queen's O'Shaughnessy (Sir Dermot), who was obliged to retire to Ardameelavane,—a castle picturesquely situated near Lough Cutra, in the present parish of Beagh,—held considerable sway in the territory till 1579, when he laid a snare for his nephew William. Sustained by English influence, he resolved to rid himself of a troublesome opponent and rival in the person of his nephew, who fell into the snare that had been laid for him by his uncle. It was at the southern approach to the castle that the uncle awaited his nephew to murder him in cold blood. It was a heinous purpose, if measured only by the loose standard of ethics which such a man as Dermot O'Shaughnessy might be supposed to respect. Whether he had arranged that his nephew's blood should be shed by the hands of his minions, it is now useless to inquire. We only know that uncle and nephew met face to face in mortal combat. The uncle had ample opportunities of becoming an accomplished and practised

swordsman amongst the brawling gentlemen who formed Leicester's notorious bodyguard in London. But to his nephew he was a perjured oppressor, an unnatural and hated enemy, who brought disgrace on an honoured name, and on the traditions of a respected family. He fought, therefore, with the energy of intense hatred, and with the active vigour of youth. But against the more guarded and practised action of his antagonist, his vigour did not prevail, and he fell at length mortally wounded.¹ But though Sir Dermot had murdered his victim, the hours of his own life were numbered. He too had received a mortal wound in this fierce encounter, and survived his nephew only by one short half-hour. The sad story is not yet forgotten in popular traditions. The peasantry still point out the spot on which the unnatural struggle took place. The awful crime still invests the place with imaginary terrors, and it is popularly regarded as a haunted spot.

One would naturally expect that the blood of uncle and nephew so criminally and cruelly shed at Ardameelavane, should have extinguished the family feuds of the O'Shaughnessys. It was not so, however; for immediately after that unnatural and fatal contest, the bastard John came forward once more to claim the patrimony and title. The youngest and only surviving brother Dermot opposed the claim, for Fergananim had died unmarried. As on the previous occasions, all the sympathies of the tribe were on the side of the legitimate claimant Dermot. Neither were the claims of the bastard pretender more favourably regarded by English law, as then known in Ireland. But in order to evade the authority of the law, and to set the action of his clansmen at defiance, John O'Shaughnessy made a grant of all the lands in his possession to a certain Sir Geoffrey Fenton,² "on the sole condition that Sir Geoffrey would maintain his title against Dermot, who continually disturbed him in his possessions." It does not, however, appear that the portion of the O'Shaughnessy territory in his actual possession at the time of this deed was very extensive. When the validity of this deed of transfer was tested subsequently before the Court of Chancery in Ireland in 1606, reference is made only to the "town and lands of Cappafennell or Capparell," situated near the Castle of Moyseola.

Meantime a Parliament was summoned to meet at Dublin on the 26th of April 1585. The discontented chieftains of the nation were encouraged to come for redress for their grievances, from the nation's "representatives." They did come; and the

¹ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 377.

² *Ibid.* p. 378.

executive could hardly have adopted a more effective means of giving strength to hostile claims and rivalries, which seem even then to have grown into painful prominence. The Four Masters have preserved a list of those who attended. Referring to the Clanricarde district, the annalists inform us that the rival O'Shaughnessys were present.

"A.D. 1585. Thither, likewise, went the Earl of Clanricarde and the two sons of Gilla Duv O'Shaughnessy, *i.e.* John and Dermot."

But as the object of the Parliament and of its promoters was to promote rather than remove dissension amongst Irish chieftains, we are not surprised to find that it took no action in deciding the cases of the disputants put before it. But though the Parliament seems to have taken no action in the case, we hear no more of John O'Shaughnessy nor of his family after this date;¹ and the title and lordship of the chiefs of Kinelea seems to have been ceded to Dermot subsequently till his death in 1606.

The men associated with the Lord Deputy Perrot at the time, both in Munster and Connaught, were well fitted for carrying out the aims of the Government without regard for justice or humanity.

"And there came with him," say the annalists, "Sir John Norris as president of the province of Munster, and Sir Richard Bingham as governor over the province of Connaught."² The Deputy Perrot, who was generally reputed to be an illegitimate son of Henry VIII., came to Ireland with the ordinary powers, but with a despotic will to enforce them. He also came with a well-defined purpose, which he resolutely undertook to carry out.

Amongst Perrot's daring projects stands his endeavour to abolish the old Irish tenure of land, known as the law of "Gavelkind," which he boldly represented as "the very root and origin of their ruin."³ He would have the Irish chiefs "surrender all their lands and take them of Her Highness again, and yield both rent and service." By this new tenure the Irish chieftains would hold their lands from the crown, and bind themselves to pay to the crown "ten shillings upon every quarter" (120 acres), with certain provisions for military service.⁴ The new forms of tenure are known as "Indentures of Composition." He well knew that the acceptance of the new arrangement would be revolutionary in its influence. It would be incompatible with the old union between the chief

¹ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 378.

² Notes to the Four Masters, A.D. 1584.

³ *Memoirs of the O'Briens*, p. 218.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 219.

and his tribe. The new arrangement would be, in fact, the completion of the putative policy adopted by Henry VIII. to some of the leading Irish chiefs of his time, who exchanged the privileges and rights of Irish chieftains for titles and tenure at the hands of His Majesty. It would, in short, remove the principal obstacle to the abolition of the Brehon laws, and to the establishment of English law throughout the land. We have in the quaint pages of Dowcra a distinct avowal of these and similar purposes in what he naïvely calls the "Plott of this Composition."¹

Most of the native chiefs in Clanricarde were induced to accept the proposals of Perrot. Nor can this be considered strange under all the circumstances of the times. The native chiefs, divided by local feuds, were powerless. Harassed by the ceaseless aggression of the Norman families who were settled amongst them, who occupied many of their towns and strong castles, they looked with some hope to the new proposals. Having been robbed already in a great measure of possessions and prestige, they may not unnaturally have hoped that a settled form of government would afford them protection. And protection even under Elizabeth may have seemed preferable to many, to perpetual anarchy and strife. Besides, some may have even hoped that through the new arrangements they might at no distant time be able to recover from their aggressive and successful rivals some portions of their plundered possessions. There were also before their eyes telling instances of the danger of opposing the wishes of Her Majesty's representatives,—instances full of a terrible local interest to the people of Kilmacduagh and Clanricarde.

For the achievement of the "Composition," a Commission was appointed by the Deputy on the 15th July 1585.²

The Governor of Connaught, Sir Richard Bingham, was placed at the head of the Commission. The other members of the Commission were creatures of the crown. This will be more clearly seen by a perusal of the names:—

The Earl of Thomond.

The Earl of Clanricarde.

The Baron of Athenry.

Sir Turlough O'Brien of Ennistymon.

Sir Richard Bourke Mac William Eighter.

Sir Donnell O'Connor of Sligo.

Sir Brian O'Rorke.

Sir Murrough na Doe O'Flaherty, and others.

¹ Dowcra's *Narrative*, p. 190.

² *Iar Connaught*, p. 304.

Speaking of this representative of the Lower Bourkes in 1576, the Lord Deputy wrote: "The order of knightthoode I bestowed upon hym, whereof he seemed very joyous, and some other little trifles I gave hym."¹

The Commissioners were empowered to summon the lords and chieftains of the various districts before them. They deprived of "title and tribute" every chief who refused to sign the indentures.²

Commencing with the county of Clare in the August of that year, they immediately proceeded to Galway. And we find that the indenture for "that part of Connaught called Clanricarde" bears date the 2nd September following. To this document we find affixed the names of the chief proprietors in the baronies of Kiltartan, Dunkellin, and remaining districts in the diocese of Kilmacduagh. The mere recital of the names and addresses found there must be interesting, as representing the principal families of the diocese at the period, and as enabling us to know the owners and occupiers at that time of many of the extant castles in the district.

"This indenture betwixte the Right Hon. Sir John Perrot, etc., of the one part, and—

Ulick, Earl of Clanricarde.

R. Bourke of Derry Mac Laghny, Esquire.

Sherone Mac Khonge of Killenedyaine.

Ulick Carraghe Mac Hubert of the Dissharte (Cellaigh)³

Owen Mautagh O'Heyne of Dungorye⁴ (chief of his name).

Connor Crone O'Heine, Taneste to the said O'Heine.

Hubert Boy Burke Mac Redmond.⁵

Dermod O'Shaghnes of Gortynchygory,

John O'Shaghness of Ardmollyvan,⁶

Competitors for the name of O'Shaghness.

Nehemias Follane of the Newtown, Gen.

Edmond Ulick Bourke of Ballely,⁷ Gen.

Richard Mac William of Rahale,⁸ Gen.

Shane Oge Bourke of Manyne,⁹ Gen.

And Brian Reoghe Mac Kilkelly, Cloghballymore,¹⁰ Gen.—
of the other part."

We omit the divisions of land in the various baronies, as likely to prove tedious to the reader. But we consider that

¹ *Iar Connaught*, p. 301.

² *Iser Kelly*.

³ Ballyconnell, Kilbecanty parish.

⁴ In the parish of Kiltartan.

⁵ In the parish of Ardahan.

⁶ *Memoirs of the O'Briens*, p. 221.

⁷ Kinvara Castle.

⁸ Beagh parish.

⁹ In the parish of Kiltomas.

¹⁰ In the parish of Ballindereen.

the following special covenants in the agreement or "Indenture" are worthy of attention:—

"The said chieftains and lords, etc., do covenant to answeare and bears 40 good hable horsemen, 200 footmen well armed with carriage and victuals to all hostings, roods, and journeys within Connaught and Thomond; and 20 hable horsemen and 50 footmen, well armed and furnished with arms, garrans, and victuals, to all generall hostings proclaymed in this realme."

We extract the following from the same document also:—

"There belong to the heires of Sir Darby O'Shaghness, Knight, 101 quarters¹ in the barony of Kiltaraghe; and to Nehemias Follane, 2 quarters adjoining to the New Town.

"That the Earl of Clanricarde shall enjoy 28 quarters free, as a demesne to his castell of Kilcolgan. . . .

"That the heirs of Sir Darby O'Shaghness shall have 8 quarters free, adjoining the manor house of Gortynchgyrorye. . . .

"William Martine of Galway, Gent., has 2 quarters adjoining the town of Cahirforvace. . . .

"That William Martine, in consideration of services diversely done to the State, shall have 2 quarters in Cahirforvace, in the barony of Dunkellyne, free.

"That Nehemias Follane, in respect of his travaile and pains taken for Her Majesty in the search of the quantity of land within the said Clanricarde, shall have 2 quarters in the New Toune, in the barony of Kiltaraghe,² free."

As a protection for the "meane freeholders and tenants dwelling upon their lands," it was agreed that after the decease of the then owners, the rents, duties, and all exactions should be extinguished for ever."

In the light of the history of modern times, in this last provision we have the key to the neglect and injustice with which the tenantry of Ireland have been treated since the ancient tenure under the clan and chief was abolished by Perrot. The Earl of Clanricarde, whose name holds such prominence as a party to this deed, is Ulick, son of Richard, whose revolt had been attended with such sad consequences to the province but a few years previously.

We can have little doubt that the William Martine of Galway, for whom such generous provision is made "in consideration of services diversely done to the State," is the same who cruelly anticipated the pardon sent for William de Burgo, by having him executed before it could have reached Galway.

¹ One quarter comprised 120 acres.

² Kiltaraghe, modern Kiltartan.

As regards Follane, who for his "pains taken for Her Majesty in the search of the quantity of land within the said Clanricarde," who received 2 quarters, *i.e.* 240 acres, free, at Newtown, his family have left no trace behind. They have fortunately passed away. But his castle still remains about a mile south-west of Gort. Though its internal arrangement is quite similar to the ordinary square keeps of the districts, it is round on the exterior, and bears on its windows the usual features of Elizabethan architecture.

A partial unwillingness to accept the new tenure of property caused some of the local chiefs to submit to the Council an incorrect statement of the extent of their possessions or lands. A salutary dread of being treated by Bingham as a rebel tended to make such cases of just and natural "fraud" comparatively rare. Indeed, the Governor of Connaught used sufficient diligence to render such attempts extremely hazardous; and with the zeal of such men as Nehemias Follane to guide him, deception in Clanricarde became practically impossible.

We are informed, however, that such "deception" was attempted, though fruitlessly, by the lord of Dungory and Lydecane Castles, then residing at Lydecane Castle.¹ We find that the following "Order of Council of Connaught, 1586," was issued regarding it:—

"Whereas it is given us to understand that Owen Mautagh O'Heyne of Lydegane, in the barony of Kiltaraght, within the county of Galway, chiefe of his name, is seized, amongst other lands, of the quarter of land called Cahirkearney, and quarter of Cratnagh, which two quarters, by a reason they were not presented unto us, are not comprised within the Indentures of Her Majesty's Composition, and forasmuch as by the said Indentures there was no freedom provided for the said Owen, and that by his own profession and presentment it is found owte the said two quarters to be concealed and not presented as aforesaid, whereby he is the better worthie to engage, the same, It is therefore condescended, granted, and agreed, in consideration of the premises, that the said Owen Mautagh O'Heyne shall possess said lands discharged of Her Majesty's composition rent.

"Given at Dublin, 15th May 1586.

RICHARD BINGHAM.
THOMAS C. STRANGE.
NICHOL WHITE.
THOMAS DILLON.
GEORGE COMMERFORD."

¹ Present parish of Ardahan.

The lord of Lydecane and Dungory Castles acted wisely in having this act of "deception" and its nature put before the Council by "his own profession and presentment." He probably felt it was impossible to escape the vigilance of Follane. The lands of Cranna and Cahircarna conferred upon O'Heyne as a "freedom" by the foregoing order, were in the immediate vicinity of the Castle of Lydecane, and are known to this day under the same denominations.

This Eoghan Mautagh O'Heyne is said to be the "fraternal nephew"¹ of Rory O'Heyne, who died A.D. 1578. We have already referred to that distinguished man in a former chapter, and we may give here in full the notice of his character and career which the annalists have recorded. "He had been distinguished for his hospitality and activity in the use of arms from the beginning of his career until he was summoned from this world. His fraternal nephew, Eoghan Mautagh, son of Edmond, was elected in his place."

Eoghan Mautagh O'Heyne, who, it would seem, was still accorded the empty title of "Lord of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne," did not long survive the favours conferred upon him by the Council. He died A.D. 1588, leaving a son, Hugh Boy, who was elected "in his place."²

Hugh O'Heyne from the time of his accession seems to have regarded his own interests as of paramount importance. We accordingly find that he surrendered his property to the crown, and received a "regrant of an extensive estate," as it is called by O'Donovan,³ in his ancestral territory. This grant was made on the 22nd July 1594, in the "30 year of her Maj^{ty} raigne." In this interesting grant, which is given by the learned editor of *Hy Fiachrach*,⁴ we find that the denominations of the various townlands, with their areas, are carefully set forth; and most may still be identified under their old designations. We can also see that the lands thus conferred by "regrant" on Hugh O'Heyne included most of the present parish of Kinvara, with some important portions of the present parishes of Ardrahan and Clarinbridge. The reader may find a copy of this interesting document in the Appendix to this work.

The annalists record the death of Hugh Boy O'Heyne in the same year:—

"O'Heyne—Hugh Boy—the son of Owen Mautagh, son of Edmond, son of Flan—died."⁵

On the whole, however, the attitude of the O'Heynes during

¹ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 403.

² Four Masters, A.D. 1588.

³ Notes to Four Masters, 1594.

⁴ *Manners and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 404.

⁵ A.D. 1594.

the century seems to have been honourable and praiseworthy. They appear to have held English patronage in disfavour. They seem to have avoided marriage alliances with the surrounding Anglo-Irish families. And despite the example of many leading Irish chieftains of the period, they preferred the ancient title of "The O'Heyne" to the proudest titles which the English sovereign might confer. They were content to share the fate of their faithful clansmen, which, if a sad one, was not unworthy of heroic Irish Catholics. And if the action of Hugh Boy O'Heyne manifests a selfish caution, it may perhaps be easily condoned, considering the atrocities then recently perpetrated by Sir Richard Bingham, governor of the province.

The following brief extract referring to the episcopal succession will suffice, until Dr. Molony's career be referred to more in detail at the close of the next chapter.

"MALACHY O'MOLONY, bishop from 1570 to 1610. I presume he is the Bishop Muldowny in Connaught to whom Langton of Kilkenny went in 1588, to get a dispensation to marry his cousin, Lettice Daniel."¹

¹ *Description of Ireland*, 1578.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Sir Richard Bingham Chief Commissioner of Composition—He destroys Clonuae Castle, and executes its lord, who was regarded as the Pope's chief champion—O'Donnell lays siege to Athenry, and wastes the country to Oranmore and Galway—Ulick, third Earl of Clanricarde, supports English interests, and opposes O'Donnell in the North—O'Donnell invades Clanricarde, and plunders Iser Kelly and Kinvara—In the following year he again enters Clanricarde, and encamps at Ruaidh Bheithreach, and invades Thomond—Is secretly supported by the discontented chiefs—In 1600 he again invades Clanricarde, and plunders the eastern districts of Kilmacduagh—He enters Thomond, and returns with his booty by Corcomroe and Kinvara—The Geraldine League—Dermot O'Connor's connection with it—Is massacred with his men at Gort—Activity of Redmond Burke, nephew of the Earl of Clanricarde—Episcopal succession—Valuation of parishes under Elizabeth.

SIR JOHN PERROT had powerful and willing instruments in Norris, President of Munster, and Sir Richard Bingham, President of Connaught. They accompanied him to Galway in 1584, whither he had come to receive the submission of the territorial chiefs. After a short stay he set out for Limerick; a journey which at that period was necessarily slow. On the first day after leaving Galway he reached Kilmacduagh, where he stayed for the night. The monastery and ecclesiastical establishments there were not yet destroyed; and at that period the tendency on the part of the executive to use the monasteries for secular purposes was being constantly manifested. On the following day the Deputy reached the Abbey of Quin, where Cruise, the Sheriff of Clare, had been awaiting him. Cruise had in his custody Donogh Beg O'Brien, who had been an active spirit in the recent Clanricarde troubles. But Perrot wished to inaugurate a "vigorous administration," and therefore did not hesitate in having O'Brien executed there under circumstances of the most revolting cruelty. After being "hanged from a car, his bones were broken and smashed with the back of a large and heavy axe."¹ And though life was not yet extinct, his body was then fastened with hard and tough hempen ropes to the top of

¹ Four Masters, A.D. 1584.

the steeple of Quin, under the talons of the birds and fowls of the air.

This "vigorous policy" was naturally followed by the Deputy's minions. In the summer of that year, Turlogh O'Loughlin of Mucinis Castle was, as we have already noticed, summarily executed at Ennis. And when Bingham came to Galway in his official capacity as governor in 1586, he marked his appreciation of his master's policy by having as many as seventy men and women¹ executed there in the month of January of that year. Amongst the victims was another of the O'Brien chieftains,—Donald, son of Murtogh Garv, son of Brian, son of Teige.² But Bingham was determined that the O'Briens should have still more experience of his cruelty, and in a manner that would bear still more directly a message of terror to the clans of Kilmacduagh.

The Castle of Cluaindubhain, situated about a mile southwest of Kilmacduagh, stood on the boundary between Clare and Galway. It was then a magnificent pile, and regarded as one of the most impregnable castles in Thomond. Dowcra speaks of it in his *Narrative* as a "strong pyle." And the Four Masters have recorded that "upon dry land in Ireland" there was no stronger fortress.

The chief of Cluaindubhain Castle was a staunch supporter of Ireland's cause and of her ancient religion. He is referred to by Dowcra as "a most dangerous enemy of the State, and a chief champion of the Pope, and a greate practyzer with fforraigne Powers ffor the Invasion of this Realme of Ireland."³ On the 1st March following the Galway executions, Sir Richard Bingham proceeded, with a strong force of English troops and "somme ffew Kearne of the countrye," to besiege the castle. For three weeks the siege was prosecuted, with "skirmishinge, watchinge, and wardinge;" and yet during that long period of brave defence, the "chief champion of the Pope" was left by the neighbouring chieftains to fight the cause of religion and country alone and unaided.

On the twenty-second day of the siege, Bingham directed an assault in full force on the castle, when its gallant lord, who bravely directed the defence from the battlements, was shot dead. After their chieftain had fallen, it only remained for the garrison to surrender. This they did, expecting quarter. But Bingham, true to his instincts of cruelty and bloodshed, had them all massacred in cold blood. Indeed, the memory of this cruel carnage is still preserved in local traditions.

¹ *Memoirs of the O'Briens*, p. 223.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Narrative*, p. 194.

Having put the garrison of Clonuane to the sword,¹ he "razed the western side of the castle to the ground," and completely destroyed the outworks. Only a portion of the eastern side of the castle remains to the present. The existing ruins, therefore, give no true idea of the original character or extent of the fortress. The property was confiscated. The deeds of Bingham in other parts of Connaught can have no place in these pages. It is important, however, to point out that this was the man to whom the "Plott of the Composition," already referred to at some length, was principally entrusted. Indeed, we are distinctly informed by Dowcra that the "Plott" of Composition was devised by him, and that he was its Chief Commissioner.² We have seen his name with that of Nicho. White, Master of the Rolls, attached to the grant made to O'Heyne in 1586. His cruelty explains the easy acceptance with which those deeds of composition were received by the chieftains of Clanricarde. He well knew he was detested by the people, by whom he was regarded as cruel and bloodthirsty, "and full dearly did he make them suffer for the imputation."³ So odious did he become, however, that the executive were at length obliged to yield, and send him back to England. But his name and character rendered the settlements effected generally odious, "and the successes of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, a few years later, were regarded by the people of the province as a Heaven-sent deliverance."⁴

But the "composition" transfer of properties inaugurated in Clanricarde and Thomond was regarded both by O'Donnell and the Ulster chiefs with strong disfavour. They were able to see its purpose and bearing. When, therefore, proposals were made to the Ulster chiefs in 1576, that they too would commit themselves to the composition scheme, they rejected the proposals; and they also determined to invade Clanricarde and Thomond, and punish the Southern earls for their selfishness.

Through the representations of De Burgo and O'Brien, a large force was sent by the Lord Justice to the North, in order to engage the Northern earls at home, and so avert the threatened invasion. O'Donnell, who was well aware of the object of the expedition, was determined at any hazard to "march into the south of the province of Connaught, and plunder the districts about Slieve Echtge, in Galway, and Thomond in particular." Evading the vigilance of the English army under Dowcra, he marched southward, and in the early

¹ Notes to Four Masters, 1586.

³ *Iar Connaught*.

² *Narrative*, 190.

⁴ *D'Arcy Magee*, vol. ii. p. 33.

part of the year 1597 we find him with a large force laying siege to Athenry, and demolishing its "stone houses and strong habitations." After plundering the town, he sent strong detachments to waste the district. On this occasion their course was mainly in the direction of Galway and Oranmore. The annalists tell us that he had arranged to have entered the adjoining districts of Kilmacduagh, and to have proceeded on his course to "Gort in Kinel Aedh," were it not for "the multiplicity of his plunder and the vastness of his spoils."

But the raid on Kinel Aedh, and indeed on the entire territory of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, was only deferred for a little time. The Earl of Clanricarde was the cause; for, like his kinsmen the Earls of Thomond, his selfishness prevented him from countenancing any movement against the Queen, and left the local chiefs without either power or sympathy. It is certain there were few of the English of Connaught—perhaps none—who gave such valuable support to the English cause as did Ulick de Burgo, who succeeded his father, Earl Richard, third Earl of Clanricarde, notwithstanding the character of his early career. Ulick married a Burke of Tullyra, near Ardrahan; and immediately on the death of his father in 1582, he repaired to Dublin, and appealed to Sir Nicholas Malbay, Governor of Connaught, against the claims of his brother John. It was then arranged between them that the barony of Leitrim should be given to John, while Ulick was to retain his father's titles, and also his claims to the rest of Clanricarde. As a result, the brothers were "publicly at peace but privately at strife."¹ A year later, and this private strife culminated in the revolting crime of fratricide. It was in the year 1583 that Ulick de Burgo, Earl of Clanricarde, a guest in the Castle of Leitrim, murdered his brother John, the Baron of Leitrim. He was even an honoured guest in his brother's castle when he perpetrated this foul deed. Referring to its enormity, the annalists say, "Alas! woe to that brother who wished to slay his brother for the partition of a territory!" The murdered nobleman was popular. Hence his death "weighed upon the hearts of the people of his territory on account of his good sense, his personal form, his noble birth, his hospitality, his nobleness, and his renowned achievements." And when, a decade later, the patriotism of the Northern earls was found to be proof against the "Plot of Composition," and when their active hostility became a menace to English authority, it was found that Ulick, Earl of Clanricarde, went with all his forces to join Sir John Norris in "reducing all

¹ Four Masters.

who had risen up in the confederation of the Irish in the war."

When, in 1597, the Northern princes were able to drive back their English assailants, and were giving new hopes to the West and South, it was found that Ulick, Earl of Clanricarde, was one of the most trusted supporters of Sir Conyers Clifford, and that he had attended that gentleman in his expedition to the North, accompanied by his son Richard, Baron of Dunkellin. Later on in the same year, when the Governor of Connaught was required by Lord Borough, Lord Justice of Ireland, to proceed at once, "with all the forces he could possibly muster, to the western extremity of Ulster against O'Donnell," we find that he immediately summoned to his assistance his friends the Earl of Thomond and the Earl of Clanricarde, with his son Richard, Baron of Dunkellin. From these events we can understand why O'Donnell thought it too long that he had left "unattacked the English of Connaught, and those Irish who had been in alliance with them," and why he should have marked out Clanricarde for signal vengeance. A pretext for effecting his purpose was soon afforded him.

A strong complaint was made to O'Neil by Redmond, son of John Burke, the murdered Baron of Leitrim, against the injustice of Lord Clanricarde, who refused to give the son of his murdered victim even the smallest share of his father's property. This complaint was supported by a party of Redmond Burke's "young kinsmen, all of the first distinction."¹ Even the terms of the earl's refusal were as offensive as they were unjust. "If," said the earl, "Redmond would be satisfied with one mantle's breadth of my inheritance from Sruthair to Abhain da Loilgheach, I would not give him so much as a reward for war or peace."² It would be difficult to realise a refusal more ungracious or unjust. Sruthair is the modern Shrulc. The stream which gives it its name forms the north-west boundary of Clanricarde. "Abhain da Loilgheach" is a river which forms its boundary on the extreme south-east. This also bounds the diocese of Kilmacduagh, at that side separating it from Killaloe diocese. The river flows from Derrybrien in the Clonfert diocese, through the valleys of the Echtge Mountains, and into Lough Cutra.

O'Neil's reply was a favourable one. He promised the deputation to assist them by every means in his power. Clanricarde was at the time in England with the Earl of Thomond, and the important successes gained in that year by

¹ Four Masters.

² *Ibid.*, 1598.

the Northern princes against Her Majesty's troops must have animated O'Donnell's men for new enterprises.

It was late in December when O'Donnell set out from Ballymote. By one of those silent but rapid marches for which he was remarkable, he arrived unobserved in Clanricarde, "although the inhabitants of that country were on the alert and on their guard, such was their fear and dread of him."¹ He had, however, taken the precaution of entering the territory in the night-time, "silently and quietly," and thus arrived at the gate of Kilcolgan by break of day, without attracting the slightest notice.

At once and without the least delay he proceeded to execute his plans for plundering and devastating the territory. They were well conceived and boldly carried out, for Clanricarde, though absent, had "great numbers of hired soldiers"² quartered in the country. Though he sent out marauding parties "in every direction," the forces were divided mainly into two parties, one of which was sent eastwards towards the Echtge Mountains, and the other southward to Kinvara. Those sent eastwards made William Mac Hubert Burke of Iser Kelly Castle prisoner. He was arrested by Manus O'Donnell, brother of the Northern chief.

The other party, sent to Dunguaire in "Coill U Fiachrach," committed "lamentable deeds," as the annalists tell us. Turlogh Boy and Brian O'Loughlin, sons of Ross O'Loughlin, were slain there; they seem, however, to have fought bravely. We find it recorded that Mac Donnell of the Northern army was slain by O'Loughlin before he himself fell. There were also slain on the occasion two sons of William Burke of Rinville, and the son of Theobald Burke of Derry O'Donnell. It is therefore evident that his soldiers were sent into the various districts of Southern Clanricarde. Their success must have been complete, for he seems to have succeeded in carrying off "all the immense spoils, heavy herds, and other booty and property which had been collected for him, without battle or conflict, until he arrived safe at Ballymote."³

We can have little doubt that it was the absence of the Earl of Clanricarde that suggested to O'Donnell the fitness of making Kilcolgan his centre of operations on the occasion. It would be inconsistent with the narrative of his success to assume that he left the Castles of Kilcolgan and Dunkellin safe on the occasion. We think it practically certain that he left both dismantled; and we do not find that Dunkellin had been afterwards occupied by the Earls of Clanricarde, though the

¹ Four Masters.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

Marchioness of Clanricarde afterwards resided at Kilcolgan. We also find that in the following year, when O'Donnell was entering on the invasion of Thomond, he made the locality the site of his encampment.

He mustered a vast force around him at Ballymote early in February, preparatory to his descent on Thomond. His forces were indeed so numerous, that he was able to send a strong detachment to Mayo, while he himself retained command of the main army destined for Thomond.

As in the previous year, his march southward was rapid and silent, and hence he entered Clanricarde "unobserved" in 1599, as in the preceding year. He seems to have pursued the same line of march, and, having arrived at Ruaidh Bheitheach, he pitched his encampment there. The encampment was in the immediate vicinity of the Castle of Dunkellin, and only about two miles from Kilcolgan. It is referred to by the annalists as an "extensive camp of armed heroes." They were clearly in no way apprehensive of assault. They lighted fires, and "sat down to take refreshments, and to drink to each other in ale and Spanish wine, without fear or dread in the territory of their enemy."¹ But the repose was not permitted to degenerate into a revel. At midnight they were summoned to resume their march. This they did without delay, so that they were able to enter Thomond before dawn. Their line of march was "straight onward" by Kilcolgan, Kinvara, and Kilmacduagh. As the morning dawned, they had arrived at the eastern extremity of O'Flancy's Wood, now better known as Kilkeedy Wood, a distance of about twenty miles from Ruaidh Bheitheach. The wood was then a vast forest, which, in the opinion of the learned O'Donovan, extended at that time over the present districts of Bonachiopaun town, Derryowen, and Clonouane.

Here he divided his army into three columns, one of which he sent southwards by Bally O'Hogan and Dysart O'Dea, to the Castle of Ballygriffy. He despatched another north into Burren. The third, which was a strong body, he sent forward to Inchiquin. Meantime, O'Donnell himself proceeded to Killinaboy with the "flower of his army," where he awaited the return of his detachments. It was not, however, till the following day that his soldiers were able to return and meet their chief at Kilfenora, as their march was much impeded by the rich spoils they had captured in the districts through which they had passed.

From Kilfenora he despatched some strong parties to Inagh

¹ O'Clery's *Life of O'Donnell*.

and the confines of Mount Callan, and also to the districts of Ennistymon and Liscannor, who returned to their chief laden "with spoils and booty." It was not till the following day that "his troops came up with him, from every quarter in which they had been dispersed." His success was complete.¹ "When O'Donnell saw the surrounding hills covered and darkened with the herds and numerous cattle of the territories through which his troops had passed, he proceeded on his way homewards over the chain of the rugged-topped mountains of Burren." His route was Noughville, by the Abbey of Corcomroe, over the pass of Corker Hill into Rubha, the modern Corairnroo. This is a small village at the base of the Burren Hills, where a castle of the O'Heynes stood close to the sea, till A.D. 1755, when it fell at the very moment at which the Lisbon earthquake occurred. It was here he pitched his encampment after his long and weary march.

On the following day he passed through Kinvara, and, continuing his march by Kilcolgan, made his return journey safely by Athenry to Ballymote.

In estimating O'Donnell's success on this occasion, his share in the great victory of the "Yellow Ford" in the preceding year, over Bagnall, must not be forgotten. The victory made his name famous throughout Europe, and secured for him in Ireland almost regal influence. Neither should it be forgotten that his advent into the territories of Clanricarde and Thomond was hailed with secret pleasure by the discontented local chieftains, who in Thomond were then particularly numerous.

Amongst the discontented was Teigue, brother of the Earl of Thomond. There was also the son of Mahon O'Brien, the brave chief of Clonouane murdered by Bingham. When that chieftain was executed from the battlements of his own castle, his lands were handed over to George Cusack, son of Sir Thomas Cusack, Lord Chancellor of Ireland. This fortunate adventurer got possession of the Castle of Derryowen, and made it his residence. Derryowen is situated in the vicinity of Clonouane, and was at first, the annalists tell us, "the patrimony of the sons of Auliffe, the son of Cian O'Shaughnessy."

Turlogh O'Brien, the plundered representative of Clonouane Castle and estates, was obliged to retire into the adjoining forest of Kilkeedy, where he anxiously watched every opportunity of recovering his patrimony, and of being avenged of his plunderers. In 1598, Turlogh O'Brien "took from George Cusack, Derryowen, at first the patrimony of the sons of Auliffe, the son of Cian O'Shaughnessy."² And in July the

¹ Four Masters, 1599.

² *Ibid.*, 1598.

following year, the same George Cusack was slain by Turlogh, son of Mahon O'Brien. The annalists add: "for Sir Richard Bingham, after he put Mahon O'Brien to death, had given up his territory to the aforesaid George. And he, Turlogh, persevered in his endeavours to recover his patrimony until he slew George on this occasion."

The Earls of Clanricarde and Thomond, finding themselves powerless to resist O'Donnell's devastating raids on their territories, succeeded in influencing the Government to send once more strong forces northward, who would engage O'Donnell in his own territory, and so "keep him away from them,"¹ for they deemed it too often that he went into their territories." It was early in 1600 that Dowra proceeded to Derry, that he might engage the attention of the earl's battalions there. O'Donnell, however, "making no account of them," and leaving O'Doherty and his own kinsman Neal Garv O'Donnell in command, mustered his forces privately and marched southward once more,² "to plunder the countries that lay on both sides of Sliabh Echtge, and especially Thomond." The march was executed with the same rapidity as in the preceding year. On this occasion his line of march through Clanricarde was farther east, and closer to the Echtge ranges, than in the preceding year. It was Saturday when he entered the Kiltartan district. The annalists do not specify exactly where; they are content with saying it was in the "Oireaght Redmond," or eastern district of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne. Here he pitched his encampment. The scouts, who on this occasion observed his coming, naturally thought that he would allow his men to rest there on Sunday, after their long and rapid march. But early on Sunday morning his men were once more on the march eastward by Lough Cutra to Tomgraney and the Shannon. His marauding parties swept the country southward to Kilmurry Ibrickane.³ He returned once more by the passes of Burren, arriving at the monastery of Corcomroe with his plunder on Monday night, and fixing his encampment there.

It would seem difficult to acquit O'Donnell's troops of inhumanity on this occasion, as they not only plundered the districts through which they passed, but also set on flames every mansion and habitation worthy of note. "All the country behind them," say the annalists, "as far as they could see around on every side, was enveloped in one dark cloud of vapour and smoke; and during the entire of that day, the vastness of the dark clouds of smoke that rose over them aloft in

¹ Four Masters.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

every place to which they directed their course, was enough to set them astray on their route." On the following morning O'Donnell continued his march, over the mountain pass at Corker Hill, and around the Kinvara Bay, as in the preceding year, until on the evening of that day they reached "the mansions on the smooth plain of Maedhraighe." He encamped for that night on an elevated ground known now as then as "Knock an Gerrain Bhain." It is situated about two miles on the Galway side of Kilcolgan, and immediately adjoins the present village of Clarinbridge.

Here O'Donnell dismissed his Connaught allies to their territories, laden with spoils, and protected by strong escorts. He retained with himself only a body of five hundred chosen and devoted men, with a small company of sixty horse. After resting at Clarinbridge till midday, he set out with this small force for Loughrea, then the Earl of Clanricarde's chief residence, resolving to devastate the country that lay under its immediate shelter. Arriving at Loughrea by the early dawn of that midsummer's morning, he proceeded at once to carry out his purpose of plunder and devastation, and, meeting with no opposition, he once more effected a safe return to Ballymote, laden with spoil.

Meantime Dermot O'Connor and his men met with a tragic end at Gort, and as it was in connection with the great events of the time, it merits a passing notice here.

The Geraldine league was being completed then, and a close union was being affected between the Northern and Southern Irish, under the guidance of the Northern earls. Dermot O'Connor, chief of his tribe in Roscommon, was perhaps the most powerful of the Desmonds' supporters in Connaught. He was married to the Lady Margaret, daughter of Gerald, the Earl of Desmond, who was beheaded by the English in 1583. Her brother was detained as an English ward in London, and soon sent over to Ireland a Protestant and the "Queen's Earl" of Desmond. James, her uncle, was declared by O'Neil the Irish earl, and was therefore derisively styled the "Sugane Earl" by the Anglo-Irish. Her uncle's pretensions were held in disfavour by the Lady Margaret, and she therefore strongly urged her husband to betray him. Her purpose was warmly supported by Carew, the President of Munster, who offered a bribe of £1000. He also promised to give him "wealth and property, and the freedom and profits of an estate for himself and every one who should adhere to him."¹ O'Connor, who at the time commanded a large force of mercenaries in the service

¹ Four Masters.

of the Sugane Earl, accepted the bribe. The plot for the earl's arrest was also arranged by Carew.

The unsuspecting earl was invited by O'Connor to his camp in Tipperary, under pretext of consulting him on his military movements. Immediately on his arrival, O'Connor ordered his arrest, charging him with secret treachery against himself. In justification of the charge, he read a forged letter bearing Carew's signature, in which the earl's alleged intentions were set forth, of delivering up O'Connor "dead or alive" to the Munster president. This letter, which he stated he had himself intercepted, was at once regarded by his soldiers as conclusive evidence of guilt, and accordingly the Earl of Desmond was hurried away a prisoner to Castleishine, one of his own fortresses. As soon as intelligence of his arrest reached his followers, they at once stormed the castle, set the earl at liberty, and expelled O'Connor and his mercenaries ignominiously from Desmond. We are assured that the story of his treachery brought disgrace upon O'Connor throughout Ireland.

It was officially announced, in July of that year, that James, son of Garret, Dermot O'Connor's brother-in-law, who had been detained in London, was sent to Ireland as the Queen's Earl. It was also known at that time, that he had established his claim to this distinction at Her Majesty's hands by betraying the cause of his Church and country. O'Connor resolved to return to Munster to support the pretensions and claims of his brother-in-law, the Queen's Earl; and for this purpose he obtained from the President of Munster and of Connaught, a safe-conduct on his march. Having proceeded on his journey southward as far as Gort in the O'Shaughnessy territory, he was there fiercely attacked by Theobald Burke (Teboid na Loing), son of the celebrated Grace O'Malley. So fierce was the assault, that O'Connor with a number of his men was obliged to fly for sanctuary to an adjoining church. But though Burke was himself an officer in Her Majesty's army, and though the principal motive of his hostility to O'Connor was simple jealousy, he refused to recognise the right of sanctuary.¹ They set fire to the church, and forty of O'Connor's men either lost their lives in the flames, or were slain in attempting to escape. Dermot O'Connor himself was arrested, and beheaded on the following day. Burke was immediately after deprived of Her Majesty's commission by the Lord Deputy. The church referred to probably stood on the north side of the present town, at the place known as the "Grove." About fifty years ago the then owner of the land excavated

¹ Mac Geoghegan's *History of Ireland*, p. 526.

large quantities of human remains from a pit or cave beside the church. Its site is barely traceable at the present day.

Meantime, Redmond Burke, with his followers, continued to give active support to the Desmond league. He was supported by many of his own kindred, and by John O'Shaughnessy, who, as we have seen, was the illegitimate claimant for the title and estates of the chiefs of Kinel Aedh. Burke and his friends were encamped in O'Meagher's country, on the confines of Tipperary and Kilkenny, in the beginning of the year 1601, when a raid was unexpectedly made upon the camp, and many were slain. The ill-fated John O'Shaughnessy was slain, with many others, on the occasion. He was the son of Gilla Duv, son of Dermot, who, as we have seen, was, on account of his illegitimacy, expelled from his patrimony. It appears that the attack on the camp had been secretly arranged by certain gentlemen of Tipperary and Kilkenny, chiefly the Butlers and Mac Pierces. Aided by spies, they unexpectedly attacked the camp in the early morning, leaving most of the soldiers there lifeless, "with their flesh lacerated and completely hacked."

Redmond Burke, with as many of his followers as were fortunate enough to escape on the occasion, proceeded at once to Ulster; and there, under the patronage of the Northern earls, engaged a force sufficiently strong to attempt a raid on Clanricarde. On their march southward they entered Hy Maine without opposition. On hearing of their arrival, however, the Earl of Clanricarde endeavoured to oppose their further progress.

"But, notwithstanding all his vigilance, Redmond, on the thirteenth night of the month of March, passed by them into Clanricarde," plundering the districts around Tynagh and Ballinakill. Pitching his encampment in Woodford district, a strong body of reinforcements sent by O'Rourke reached him; and with those combined forces the Earl of Clanricarde was obliged to fly to his castle of Loughrea. Meantime, Redmond Burke and his followers "traversed, plundered, and burned the country from Leitrim to Ardameelavane, and as far as the gate of Fedane, in the west of Kinelea."¹ These castles were O'Shaughnessy castles, and situated on the extreme south of their territory. He encamped on the west side of Lough Cutra. The site of the encampment, which cannot now be identified with accuracy, was situated probably about midway between Ardameelavane Castle and the present town of Gort.

The dissensions amongst the O'Shaughnessy family rendered them powerless to resist those recurring ravages of their

¹ Four Masters.

territory. At Lough Cutra, Redmond Burke was joined by Teigue O'Brien and his followers, who, the annalists say, were induced to join him "through the advice of bad and foolish men."¹ O'Brien is described as a man who was "expert at every military weapon, and every battle engine used among the Irish." He, it is said, was also distinguished for "gaiety with activity, feats of arms, mildness, comeliness, fame, and hospitality." This promising young chief urged the Burkes to undertake with him an incursion into Thomond. O'Donnell's recent successes probably suggested the idea. A large force, under O'Brien's command, entered Clare, by the south-east of Lough Cutra, and plundered the MacNamara country around the Fergus. On the Fergus they divided their forces, leaving considerable numbers to march on either side of its banks. They were, meantime, attacked by the Earl of Thomond, and were defeated, leaving many of their bravest dead upon the field, while many of the troops on the opposite bank were forced to remain idle spectators of the engagement. Amongst the slain was the unfortunate but chivalrous Teigue O'Brien.

Meantime, Lord Clanricarde received reinforcements, who were placed under the command of his son Richard, Baron of Dunkellin. An auxiliary force was also sent him from Galway. Smarting under the shame of recent defeats, he once more took the field against his kinsman and his supporters. But Redmond Burke, believing himself unable to meet so large a force, retreated cautiously along the Echtge Mountains—probably by the passes of Derrybrien—into the woods of Leitrim, where their entrenchments still remain. They were pursued by Clanricarde's forces under the Baron of Dunkellin, who, though not attacking the camp, simply cut off all possibility of supplies. Under the pressure of hunger the camp was soon deserted, and Redmond himself obliged to escape to the north and seek once more the protection of the earls.

Meantime, Ulick, Earl of Clanricarde, died at Loughrea, after a short illness, and was buried at Athenry. The reference to his death which we find in the annals, though seemingly cast in a strong tone of exaggeration, is sufficiently noteworthy to be quoted here: "He was a sedate and justly judging lord; of a mild, august, and chief-becoming countenance; affable in conversation, gentle towards the people of his territory, fierce to his neighbours, and impartial in all his decisions; a man who had never been known to act a feeble part in the field of danger, from the day he had first taken up arms to the day of his death. His son Richard was appointed in his place;"² or,

¹ Four Masters.

² *Ibid.*

as O'Donovan more correctly puts it, Richard succeeded to his father according to the English law.

These events occurred in May 1601.

We have seen that Dr. O'Molony was regarded as Bishop of Kilmacduagh from 1570 to 1610. This period would of itself mark a pretty long episcopate. It seems, therefore, that he is not the same as the Dr. O'Molony, Bishop of Kilmacduagh, who resigned the See of Kilmacduagh shortly after his consecration in A.D. 1533. There was a Dr. Malachy O'Molony who was translated from the See of Killaloe to that of Kilmacduagh in the year 1576. It is clear, from Dr. Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, and from other sources, that his connection with Killaloe ceased in that year. "Die 22 Augusti 1576, referente R. Alciato providit ecclesiæ Duacensi in Hibernia vacanti per obitum Cornelii de persona R. D. Malachias Episc. Laons. absolvendo ipsum a vinculo quo ecclesiæ Laonensis tenebatur, ipsumque ad ecclesiam Duacen transferendo."

The consistorial acts regarding this appointment are also recorded in the Corsini records. His episcopal tenure of the See of Kilmacduagh from 1570 to 1576 must have been that of administrator.

Serious calumnies against Dr. O'Molony were propagated by his enemies. He was accused by a certain Maurice O'Brien, one of Elizabeth's minions, with a willingness to apostatise. Additional calumnies are found in the correspondence of Sir N. Malbay with Walsingham.

In one of those letters it is expressly stated that Dr. O'Molony, and a friar,—brother of Mac William Eighter,—“did renounce the Pope and swear to the supremacy.”

In another communication, dated from Athlone on the 17th November 1580, speaking of Dr. O'Molony in reference to a certain union between Ulick and John Burke, supposed to be effected by the bishop, he states that “they proclaim hanging to all priests that will say Mass.”

Roman Catholic historians, however, give quite a different account of Dr. O'Molony's character. They represent him as a faithful bishop, and firm upholder of the Catholic faith. The State Papers¹ themselves afford conclusive evidence of Dr. O'Molony's fidelity to the faith. He is referred to as “Malachias O'Molone, pretending to be Bishop of Killaloe,” and is specially referred to as one not to be pardoned.²

There is a letter of Dr. O'Molony's published in the *Pacata*

¹ Supposed date, 1582.

² Renehan's MSS. p. 131.

Hibernia,¹ which is dated 1602, and signed "Malachias Duacensis Episcopus." The letter is addressed by him to the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and to His Majesty the King of Spain, in favour of a certain John Burke, who was desirous of going to Compostella to prepare for the priesthood. But Dr. Kelly, in his *Dissertations*, adduces still more convincing evidence of Dr. O'Molony's fidelity as a Catholic bishop in an evil period. He gives an extract from a Burgundian manuscript, in which reference is made to him as Bishop of Kilmacduagh, and then recently dead. It states that he died an old man about the year 1610, after having been subjected by the heretics to imprisonment and much persecution. These testimonies would mark him out, not merely as a faithful bishop, but as a heroic confessor of the faith.

There seems, however, to have been a certain Canon of Kilmacduagh having the same name as the bishop. His life was far from being beyond reproach; and the character of his crimes was such as to justify the suspicion that his faith was not above suspicion. This Malachy O'Molony, Canon of Kilmacduagh, is referred to by David Wolf² in a letter to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland, as a forger of dispensations, and, worse still, of apostolic letters. Identity of name and diocese afforded the bishop's enemies a pretext for circulating their calumnies.

Even those fragments of the history of our prelates, during the period under review, which we have been able to collect, show that the fury of the heretics was not unfelt even in the most remote West. They also prove, in the face of calumny, that the prelates of the period in Kilmacduagh, as in the rest of Ireland, were faithful defenders of their sacred trust. Usually it was only where the wealth of churches, or the possessions of religious houses, excited the cupidity of the fanatics, that the fury of persecution was most fiercely felt.

From the continuous plundering and devastation of Kilmacduagh during the Elizabethan period, it is obvious that the Church livings must have been very much reduced in value; and this should apply, though in different degrees, whether those livings were in Catholic or Protestant hands. And though the cautious diplomacy of the O'Shaughnessys was less creditable to their patriotism than to their religious feelings, yet we think that neither they nor their kinsmen were able to do much to avert the ruin to our churches which was the necessary outcome of Elizabeth's penal enactments.

Many readers will be interested in knowing the estimated

¹ Page 381.

² *Archbishops of Dublin*, Moran, p. 86.

value of the different Connaught Sees made in Elizabeth's time; and I doubt not that many may be still more interested in knowing the valuation of the different parishes in the diocese of Kilmacduagh, made at the same period.

		£	s.	d.
Tuam, in Elizabeth's time, was valued—				
	in temporalities,	50	0	0
	in benefices,	104	14	0
Clonfert, „ „	in temporalities,	24	0	0
	in benefices,	111	6	0
Achondry, „ „	in temporalities,	10	0	0
	in benefices,	16	4	0
Killalla, „ „	in temporalities,	23	6	8
	in benefices,	44	0	0
Kilmacduagh, „ „	in temporalities,	13	0	0
	in benefices,	44	7	0

The following taxation of the various ecclesiastical livings of the diocese of Kilmacduagh was made in the twenty-eighth year of Elizabeth's reign, and is extracted from the original record.¹

		£	s.	d.
	Episcopatus,	13	6	8
	Decanatus,	2	0	0
	Archidiaconatus,	4	0	0
	Præpositum Duacensis,	2	0	0
	Cantanatus,	1	6	8
	Thesauriatus,	1	6	8
Praeb. de	Dysert Kelly,	1	0	0
„	Kilcorman,	0	12	0
„	Kilcriste,	0	15	0
„	Kynmarra,	1	0	0
„	Crescornan,	0	11	0
„	Ballyneddye,	0	6	8
R. de	Kilthomys,	6	0	0
„	Ardrahan,	5	0	0
„	Beaghe,	1	10	0
V. „	Ejusdem,	0	15	0
„	Dorrisse,	0	8	0
„	Finevarra,	0	13	4
„	Dromachowe,	0	10	0
„	Stradballye,	0	15	0
„	Killeyle,	1	0	0

¹ *Valor Beneficor Ecclesiasticorum in Hibernia.*

		£	s.	d.
V. de	Killenheyne,	0	13	4
"	Ardrahan,	2	0	0
"	Dysert Kellye,	1	0	0
"	Killeynan,	2	0	0
"	Kilcryste,	1	6	8
"	Killogillyne,	0	10	0
"	Kilora,	1	6	8
"	Kilcolgan,	1	10	0
"	Kilthomas,	1	3	4

The Very Rev. S. Malone, citing a T.C.D. MS., gives the estimated value of Corcomroe at the period as 6s. 8d.¹

Many of the names of those parishes are now lost as independent parishes. The poverty of particular parishes has in many instances rendered amalgamation necessary; and in the case of Kilcorman at least, the name seems entirely obsolete. And as regards the amalgamations, we are able to trace the following in the parishes of the dioceses as recognised by the Catholic bishop of the present day.

The present parish of Kinvara includes Killeyne, Dorrisse, and Kynmarra of Elizabeth's time.

The present parish of Kilchrist includes Dysert Kellye, Kilcryste, and part of Killeynan.

The present parish of Craughwell includes Killogillyne and Kilora. Of this parish of Kiloran the annalists record that "Floreat Mac Amdglaigh, Archdeacon of Kiloran, died,"² 1333. Connellan believes that the Kiloran mentioned by the annalists is the church of that name in the present parish of Craughwell and diocese of Kilmacduagh.

The present parish of Ballindereen includes Dromachowe, Killenheyne,³ Kilcolgan, and Ballyneddye.

The present parish of Clarinbridge includes Stradballye, Killeyle, Kilcorman, and portion of Killeynan.

The present parishes of Beagh, of Kilthomas, and of Ardrahan have not, as far as we can conjecture, undergone any changes.

It seems strange that the present important parish of Kilbecanty is not mentioned. It seems pretty certain that the patron of the parish is St. Fechin, whose visit to Lough Cutra, which forms the south-eastern boundary of the parish, is referred to by Dr. O'Hanlon in his *Lives of the Irish Saints*.

Neither do we find the parish of Kiltartan referred to, a parish which was very recently united to the parish of Kil-

¹ *Eccles. History.*

² Four Masters.

³ Modern Killenavara.

macduagh. In old documents we find Kiltartan referred to as Kiltaraght. The name is therefore clearly the same as Kiltaraght, a parish in the barony of Coolavin, County Sligo, of which St. Athacta has been always the recognised patron. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the same St. Athacta who received the veil from St. Patrick, A.D. 470,¹ is also the patron of Kiltartan. Her memory, however, though still held in great veneration in Coolavin, is entirely forgotten in Kiltartan.

¹ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 41.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Distinguished families in Kilmacduagh Diocese in the opening of the seventeenth century—The Marchioness of Clanricarde retained Kilcolgan Castle—Edmond Burke, brother of the Earl of Clanricarde, resided in Kilcornan Castle—Redmond Burke of Kilcornan—The Burkes of Cloghcroke Castle—John Burke of Cloghcroke, Sheriff of Clanricarde—Honorina Burke of Cloghcroke, wife of the third Earl of Clanricarde—Rev. Thomas de Burgo, O.P., a member of the family—Their estates become Lambert property—The Burkes of Cahirforvace—The De Burgos of Mannin Castle—The Mac Huberts of Iser Kelly—Rev. William de Burgo, O.P., a member of the family—The Mac Redmond Burkes of Ballyconnell—The Burkes of Ballylee Castle—The Burkes of Tullyra—The O'Heynes of Lydecane Castle—The Kilkellys of Cloghballymore Castle—The O'Shaughnessys of the period—The O'Fahys—Episcopal succession.

UNTIL the beginning of the reign of James I., the extensive territory of Thomond, usually known as Clare, was held under the government of Connaught.¹ From the letters of Carew to Cecil, dated June 1602, it appears that the Earl of Thomond had visited England a short time previously, mainly for the purpose of annexing Clare permanently to Munster. And, speaking of the earl's anxiety on the subject, Carew says, "which if he do not obtain, his heart is broken."

The Earls of Clanricarde, who were the recognised owners of vast areas in the districts of Kilmacduagh and in the adjoining territories,² do not seem to have objected. And as Connaught was "ever a rebellious province, but the most troublesome of all in A.D. 1588,"³ the annexation was approved of by the Governor of Connaught, who wisely felt that the fewer counties he had to govern the better. It was after this that the province was divided into five counties, "which ordinance continues unto this time."

At that period the state of Galway was particularly sad. We are, in fact, told that it was in a manner depopulated. It was also famine-stricken, by reason of the recent warfare, "so that scarce the hundredth man or house is to be found now that was several years ago."⁴ And in Galway there were no

¹ *State of Ireland*, p. 122.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 138.

districts so severely stricken by this ruinous warfare as were the Clanricarde districts, comprehended within the diocese of Kilmacduagh. For the first time English law was enforced in the West, and the grand old code of the Brehons, which had come down from the days of St. Patrick, was being finally abrogated there.

In the year 1606 it was stated by Sir John Davies that there were then more able men of the name of Burke, than of any other name in Europe; and we think he might have added that they were in no district in Ireland more numerous, abler, or more influential, than they were in the diocese of Kilmacduagh. It is certain that they put forth here so many and such vigorous branches, that they far surpassed in number and influence the ancient territorial lords.

The expulsion of the O'Clerys from their territories in the thirteenth century, was but the prelude of those successful encroachments by which they became masters of nearly half of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The many strong castles which they erected there, and which still remain, though somewhat ruined, to give to the landscape one of its striking features, show that they were determined not to yield up without a struggle those possessions which they were at so much pains to secure for themselves. It was the noonday of their greatness; and the evidences of decay, certain if slow, set in very soon after.

Ulick, third Earl of Clanricarde, had made his castle of Loughrea his principal residence. He seems to have completely abandoned the splendid fortress which Richard the Great had erected at Dunkellin, and with which the name of Ulick, the first Lord Clanricarde, is inseparably connected. The close proximity of Tullyra, his father-in-law's residence, should have influenced him to return to Dunkellin; but even that motive was powerless. We have seen that Dame Mary Lynch claimed, as wife of Ulick de Burgo, first Earl of Clanricarde, the castle and manor of Kilcolgan. We shall see that even in the Cromwellian period it was claimed by the Lady Anne, widow of the Marquis of Clanricarde, "as her only jointure house in Ireland." It is much to be regretted that there is only a slight existing trace of the Castle of Kilcolgan. It is certain that it stood where the modern castellated residence, known by the same name, was erected by Christopher St. George of Tyrone, towards the close of last century. Richard, son of Ulick, succeeded to his father's titles, but resided, as his father had done, at Loughrea. Richard, fourth Earl of Clanricarde, was one of the most remarkable men in Ireland of his

time. He contributed more than any other to the great Irish defeat at Kinsale. He married the widow of the Earl of Essex, and became, through her, Earl of St. Albans.¹ He was appointed first Lord President of Connaught. In 1616 he was appointed Governor of Galway.² His Majesty, when conferring those favours, did not hesitate to address him as his "trusty and right beloved cousin."

He died in 1635, leaving his son Ulick to inherit his wealth and numerous titles.

But though Richard de Burgo had then ceased to occupy Kilcolgan or Dunkellin, his brother Edmond resided in the immediate neighbourhood, at Kilcornan. The Castle of Kilcornan is not more than a mile in a right line from Dunkellin, and has been from that period to the present in the hands of that ancient and influential family. The present estimable representative in the maternal line is the Right Hon. C. T. Redington, J.P., D.L., whose benevolence and rare abilities are well known and widely appreciated. The estimate formed of his success as an Oxford student may be inferred from the high positions which he holds in connection with education in Ireland, as a Senator of our Royal University, and as a Commissioner of National Education.

Edmond Burke of Kilcornan, whose connection, through his mother, with the Tullyra family may not be forgotten, married Eleanor, daughter of Sir Ulick Burke, Knight of Glynsk.³ His son Redmond took an active part in the important political movements of his time. The character of his influence and efforts may be best inferred from the penalties which he incurred under the Cromwellians. He was held guilty of treason. His property was accordingly confiscated, and his name was expressly mentioned amongst those to whom pardon was not to be extended.⁴

Cromwell's Act for "settling Ireland" excepted from pardon for life and estate "Miles Bourke, Viscount Mayo, Sir Theobald Bourke, his son, Edmond of Cloghan, County Mayo, Thomas of Anbally, and Redmond of Kilcornan, both in the county of Galway."

The confiscated lands must have been restored, however, at the Restoration, as we find then in possession Christopher Burke, the last of his family in the male line. His daughter Sarah married in 1763 Thomas, third son of Thomas Redington, Esq. of Cregana, of whom more hereafter.

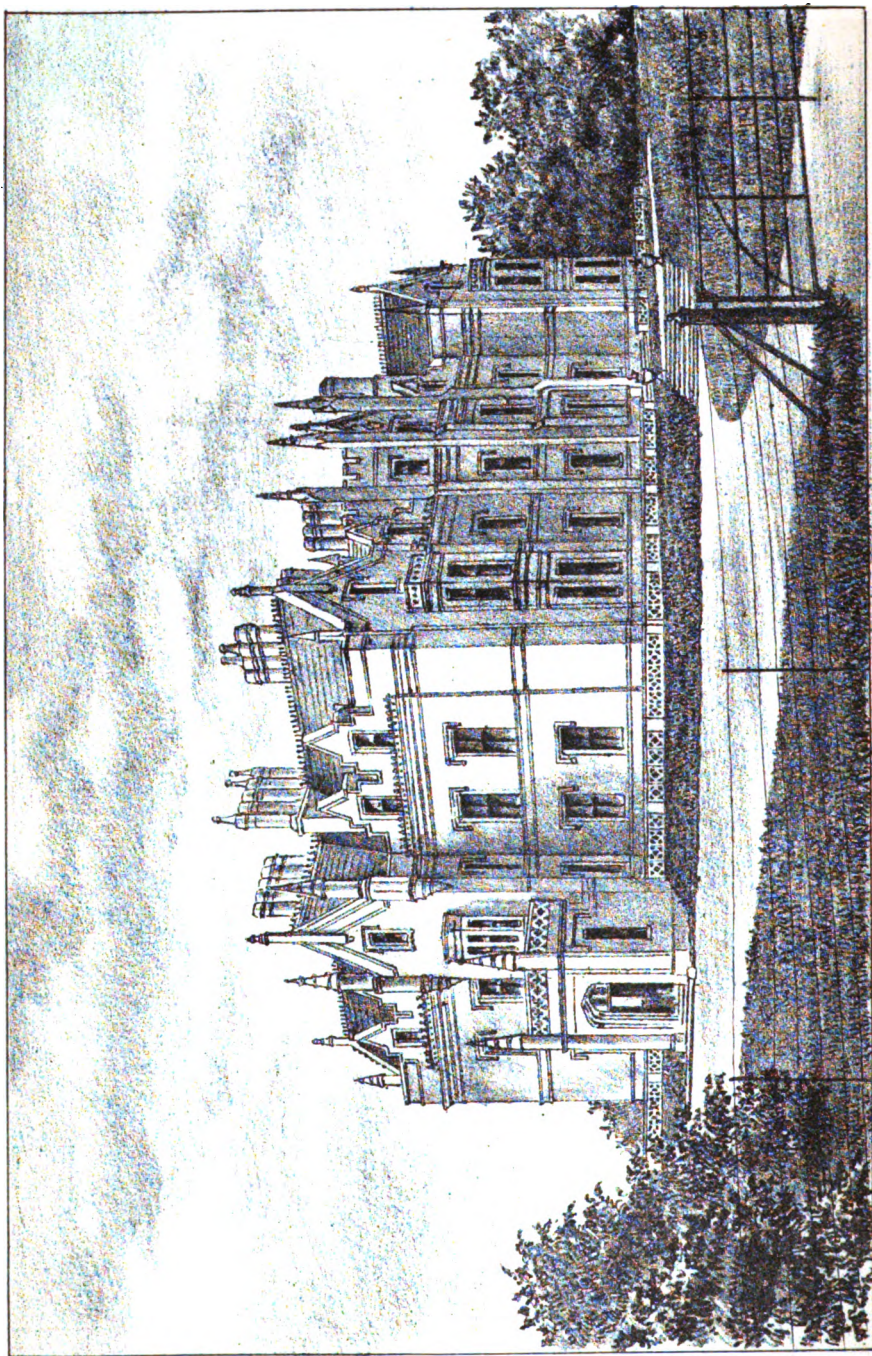
The Castle of Cloghcroke stood about eight miles eastward

¹ Burke's *Peerage*.

² *History of Galway*, p. 99.

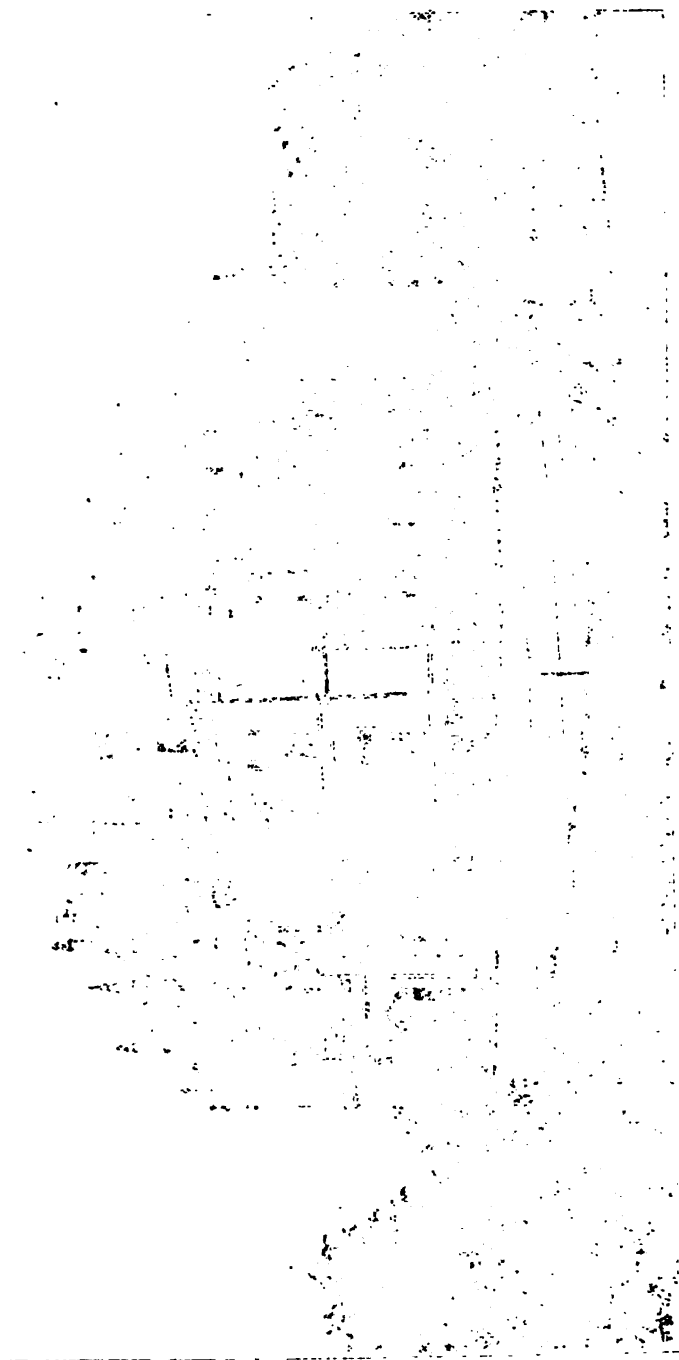
³ Burke's *Peerage*.

⁴ Dalton's *Army List*, p. 513.



KILCORNAN

(Residence of Right Hon. C. T. RADINGTON).



of Kilcornan. It was the seat of an ancient and distinguished branch of the same family.¹

We are assured by De Burgo that Cloghcroke, and Cahirforvace, were the seats of two very influential branches of the De Burgos. The Cloghcroke branch was certainly ancient as well as influential. We find from the Carew MSS.² that it was occupied by John Burke in the early part of the sixteenth century, a gentleman who held the office of "Sheriff of Clanricarde during the King's pleasure." When Dr. Bodkin, Archbishop of Tuam,³ acted as Royal Commissioner, he received the following instructions regarding the Lord of Cloghcroke: "And as John Burke of Cloghroge has well and faithfully executed the office of sheriff in the county of Clanricarde since the death of the first earl, he shall peacefully hold the office during the King's pleasure, or until it shall by us be otherwise determined. He shall receive the profits of the office, as by the Archbishop of Tuam, and others therein mentioned, shall be reasonably limited. And for that divers complaints were made before us by the said John Burke, the sheriff, and the inhabitants of the same country, that since the death of the late earl they have been spoiled of their goods, we order and arbitrate that the said Archbishop of Tuam shall have full power to determine all complaints."

De Burgo⁴ speaks of a marriage which took place between Honoria Burke of Cloghcroke, and Ulick, third Earl of Clanricarde. Her mother was a daughter of Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy of Gort. But as Ulick, third Earl of Clanricarde, was also married to the daughter of Burke of Tullyra, we are bound to assume that the earl was married twice, and that the Lady Honoria Burke of Cloghcroke became his wife by the second marriage. The family remained Catholic. Dr. Thomas de Burgo, who holds a distinguished place amongst the distinguished members of the Dominican Order of his time, belonged to this family. His career shall be referred to at greater length in a future chapter.

The family is now entirely extinct, and it is extremely probable that their ruin was effected by the operation of the penal laws in the early part of the last century. Their estates are a considerable time in the possession of a branch of the Lambert family resident at Aggard, near the village of Craughwell.

As to the residence of the once distinguished family of the Burkes of Cahirforvace, it is much to be regretted that no trace

¹ *Hib. Dom.* pp. 134, 222.

² P. 213.

³ *Hist. Archbishops of Tuam*, p. 76.

⁴ *Hib. Dom.* pp. 134, 222.

of it exists in our time. The village of Cahirforvace is situated in the present parish of Craughwell, and perhaps not more than four miles from the Castle of Dunkellin. We are indebted to the learned author of the *Hibernia Dominicana* for the little that we know regarding it. He also leaves us a brief notice of Edmond de Burgo, a member of the Cahirforvace family, whose career as a member of the Dominican Order shall be hereafter noticed.

The Castle of Mannin is the only other De Burgo residence of which we find any notice at the period under review, within the barony of Dunkellin, or north-western district of the diocese of Kilmacduagh. It stands less than a mile north of the Castle of Cloghcroke. It is within the present parish of Ardahan. It is, as it stands at present, but a square keep, partially ruined, and but little interesting. From the "Indentures of Composition" already quoted, we find that Mannin Castle, at the close of the sixteenth century, was in the possession of Shane Oge Burke.

The family is long extinct, and the lands of Mannin are part of the St. Clerans property,—more correctly Iser or Dysart Clerans,—a remnant of the old De Burgo possessions. The Burkes of St. Clerans were its owners within our time, but at present the property has passed, through his wife, to Mr. Maxwell, the present owner.

In the eastern districts of Kilmacduagh, the De Burgo possessions do not extend beyond Oireaght Redmond, or the north-eastern districts of the Kiltartan barony, and the portion of the barony of Loughrea which the diocese includes. But within this comparatively limited district there were several important castles in the possession of the De Burgos at the period of which we treat.

The Mac Hubert Burkes of Iser Kelly were at once the most ancient and influential branch of the family within the district. We have already seen that it was founded there towards the close of the thirteenth century by Hubert, son of Walter de Burgo, Earl of Ulster. The representative of the Iser Kelly family at the period of which we write¹ was Ulick Carraghe Mac Hubert, whose castle, the reader will remember, was plundered by O'Donnell on the occasion of his memorable raid on the eastern districts of Aidhne. To the Mac Hubert de Burgos also belonged the small Castle of Cloghane opposite the present entrance to Castleboy. In 1617, W. Mac Hubert Burke was owner of three cartrons at Castleboy.² They were represented about a century later by the Burkes of Garden

¹ *State of Ireland*, p. 136.

² Inquisition Rolls Office.

Blake, in the parish of Peter's Well, of which place they became owners in fee by intermarriage with the O'Fahys, the original owners. An inscription on the mantelpiece in one of the chambers of the Castle of Iser Kelly, which may still be read, seems to indicate clearly the Catholic tone of the family, and at a time when indications of Catholic spirit were fraught with serious personal danger. The inscription—which is in raised letters—is as follows: “*Titulus triumphalis defendat nos periculo animæ et corporis.*” The date, 1603, is also inscribed similarly.

But in the career of the Rev. William de Burgo, whose piety and distinguished abilities cast a lustre on the great Dominican Order to which he belonged, we shall find still more unmistakable evidence of the fidelity of this family to the Catholic religion. We shall refer briefly in its proper place to his career and death. Their extensive estates were, we believe, for the most part confiscated early in the seventeenth century. Large portions of them have passed by purchase into the possession of the Persse family, long residing at Roxboro and Castleboy.

We have seen that the Redmond Burke from whom the district of “Oireaght Redmond” received its name, was also a son of Walter de Burgo, Earl of Ulster. The Mac Redmond territory¹ comprised the districts of Lisbrien, Ballyconnell, and Ballycahalan. From the inquisition taken at Loughrea before Carew on the 16th September 1617, it appears that in the opening of the seventeenth century the Castles of Castletown, Ballyconnell, and Ballyturrin were their principal residences. At that period Hubert Boy Mac Edmond Burke was “seized of ffee of Castletown manor, Castle town and lands.”² The castle is also referred to as Ballinamantane Castle, and was a splendid pile, still striking in its massive ruins.

We also find that Edmond Oge Mac Edmond Burke was then seized of Ballyconnell Castle and three cartrons of land. It also appears that Ulick Oge Burke and Thomas Leigh Mac Henry Burke were extensive landowners in the same district.

By the same inquisition we find that Sir William Burke was owner in fee at that date of Ballyturrin Castle town and lands. It is much to be regretted that there is but a bare trace of this interesting pile in our time. Its materials were utilised for erecting stables by a subsequent proprietor.

From the “Indentures of Composition,” dated 1585, we find that Edmond Mac Ulick Burke resided at Ballylee. We extract from our annalists the following record of his death,

¹ *Iar Connaught*, p. 324.

² Rolls Office.

A.D. 1597: "Edmond, son of Ulick na g-Ceann, son of Richard, son of Ulick of Cnoc Tuagh of Baile Hilighi, died in the summer of this year." O'Donovan correctly identifies "Baile Hilighi" as Ballylee, but inaccurately places it in the barony of Loughrea. Though close to the barony of Loughrea, Ballylee is situated in the parish and barony of Kiltartan. The castle, which is commodious, and provided with well-constructed Tudor windows, occupies a somewhat low and singular situation. It rises almost from the bed of the Cloon river, which, after its leap of about 30 feet at the "Waterfall," rushes rapidly by the castle walls to disappear immediately on its subterranean journey to the sea. Richard, Earl of Clanricarde, was owner of this castle in 1617, with the "town and four quarters, Lisua-pouna, Skehanagh, and Carrowbane."¹ The Ballylee estates are now in the hands of the heir of the late Sir W. H. Gregory of Coole Park.

The Castle of Rahealy, situated in the present parish of Peter's Well (Kilthomas), was the residence of Richard Mac William Burke² at the close of the sixteenth century. In 1617 it was the property of Richard Burke, with 120 acres. Its chief architectural features are similar to those of Ballylee Castle, with the exception of some unimportant ornamental detail. On the eastern angle, and on the second storey, a well-sculptured cherub surmounts a narrow loop window which lights the stairway. There is on the northern angle also a corresponding figure, which is much more rudely carved. Attached to the castle is a ruined residence, large, and much more suited to modern requirements than the strong keep with which it is connected. Like the similar structure at Clogh-croke, it probably belongs to the early part of the last century. And here, too, there are, as at Clogh-croke, walled enclosures which speak of comparatively recent occupation. The gateway of the courtyard still remains, and has clearly inscribed on the keystone the date, 1737. There can be little doubt that the castle was still occupied by the Burkes at that period.

Local tradition has it that the estates passed soon after from their hands, owing to the claims of a married sister. They were purchased, it is said, by the Lambert family, from which they have passed into the possession of the Martynns of Tullyra Castle.

Tullyra Castle, which has been already referred to, is in the immediate vicinity, and was in the possession of the De Burgos long before the close of the sixteenth century. We have seen that Ulick, third Earl of Clanricarde, married a daughter of

¹ Loughrea Inquisition.

² *State of Ireland*, p. 136.

Burke of Tullyra. We find, however, in the *State of Ireland*, 1598, that Martynn was then the owner of Tullyra Castle; and there can be little doubt that it was by intermarriage that the castle and estates passed into his possession. We are, however, unable to fix the particular date at which this occurred. Though we find the date 1614 sculptured in one of the upper chambers of the castle, and with it the initials S. B., we cannot assume that it throws any light upon the matter.

A stone shield bearing the arms of the Martynn family surmounts the somewhat modern doorway that looks into the courtyard. Their armorial bearings were, it is stated, given by Richard III. to Oliver Martynn,¹ who accompanied the king on his expedition to the Holy Land, and distinguished himself there by his valour. They consist of a cross on an elevated plinth, over the right arm of which is represented the "sun in splendour," and over the left the "moon in crescent." It is surmounted by an object resembling a star, described in the language of heraldry as an "etoile wavy of six points or." Underneath the shield on the right side are the letters R. M., and C. M. on the left.

Whatever difficulty there may be in connecting the family with the remote and chivalrous days of Richard, and with England, there is none in connecting them, from an early period, with the successful and prominent merchant families of Galway "citie," who are commonly designated "tribes." The Martynn family held positions of distinction there. We find that from the year 1590 to 1609² there were three mayors and four bailiffs of the name in the town of Galway. The senior branch of the family was that of Ballinahinch. With the Ballinahinch that of Ross and Tullyra are enumerated by Hardiman as "amongst the most respectable in the province."

In 1642 we find Richard Martynn, who was then elected Mayor of Galway, residing in the Castle of Dunguaire at Kinvara. This Richard Martynn, who was by profession a "councillor-at-law," and is described as a "rank Papist," was married to the grand-daughter of James Darcy, who at the close of Elizabeth's reign held the office of "Vice-President" of Connaught. We are informed by Hardiman that he was "by her, ancestors to the Martynns of Tullyra."³ The Castle of Tullyra has remained in the possession of the family to the present day, and forms an interesting feature in connection with the beautiful mansion recently erected by the present representative of the family, Edward Martynn, Esq.

¹ Hardiman's *Galway*, p. 18.

² *State of Ireland*, p. 132.

³ *History of Galway*, p. 11.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century the once strongly-fortified Castle of Ballinamantane,—commonly called Castletown,—in the parish of Kiltartan, was also in the possession of the De Burgos, and is one of the most striking ruins in the district. A vague tradition would connect it for a period with the history and cruelties of Nora, one of the so-called wives of Ulick na g-Ceann. It is supposed to have remained in possession of the De Burgos till the Cromwellian period, when it is thought a strong force was sent to seize it by the notorious Ludlow, who took possession of the Castle of Gort. The expedition was but too successful, as the fortifications and castle were shattered by the artillery of the Parliamentarians, and the inmates were put to the sword. It is still a picturesque ruin. It stands a few miles north-east of Gort, close to a deep whirlpool, where the Gort river sinks to continue its subterraneous journey to the sea. Vast masses of masonry lie around, which speak still of the former strength of the ruined fortifications and dismantled castle, but which speak with equal clearness of the character and of the result of the siege.

The remaining well-known and recognised divisions of the Kilmacduagh territories towards the close of the sixteenth century were Kinelea and Kiloveragh.¹

Kiloveragh was the O'Heynes' country, and comprised 45 quarters² of land, most of which, if not all, still remained in the hands of the territorial chiefs. They still retained considerable influence. Even towards the close of the sixteenth century, we find the O'Heyne still accorded the somewhat valueless title of "Lord of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne." The Castles of Lydecane and Dunguaire were their principal residences, both of which are well preserved to our time.

The Castle of Lydecane is situated in the present parish of Ardrahan, about two miles south of Tullyra. It was occupied towards the close of the sixteenth century by Owen Mautagh O'Heyne, who in 1578 succeeded Ruadhri na Coille as chief of his name. The annalists record his death in 1588:—

"Eoghan Mautagh, son of Edmond, son of Flan, son of Conchobar O'Heyne, Lord of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, died, and his son Aodh Buidhe (the Yellow) was elected in his stead."

This Aodh or Hugh Buidhe, who succeeded as chief of his name to his father's possessions, surrendered his property to the crown, and received a royal grant of the same on the usual conditions of military service. This "Graunte unto Hughe Boy O'Heine, son an heire of One Owen O'Heine

¹ Note, *Four Masters*, A.D. 1598.

² Every quarter was 120 acres.

of Lydecane in the Coy. of Galway," bears date "the 23 July in the 30 yeare of Her Majesties raigne."¹

The document enumerates the various townlands which the property included; and as the names of the townlands are but little changed in our time, we can see that they comprised most of the present parish of Kinvara, and also considerable portions of Clarinbridge, Ardahan, and Kilmacduagh.

The death of this Hugh Boy O'Heyne is recorded by the Four Masters in 1594. An inquisition taken in Galway, 1608, shows that the O'Heynes' territory then consisted of 8640 acres.

From Mac Firbis' *Genealogy* it would appear that he left a son Hugh Boy, who had a son Hugh Boy, that represented the family in the middle of the seventeenth century (1645-1666).

It appears, however, that Hugh Boy did not succeed to the estates on his father's death in 1594. A certain Connor Crone O'Heyne had possession of Lydecane and its lands in 1612. He may have been the brother of the late lord. We find that this Connor, who had then attained the patriarchal age of about one hundred years, executed a deed of "Enfeoffment," by which he wished to transmit with special security certain portions of his property to his son Bryan O'Heyne. This deed of "Enfeoffment" is fortunately published by Mr. O'Donovan in his valuable notes to the Irish Annals, and is, we think, so quaint and interesting that it may be transcribed into our pages. It runs as follows:—

"To all Chresten people to whome these presents shall come, Connor Crone O'Heyn of the Ledigan in the county of Galway, Gent., send greeting to our Lord God Everlasting. Knowe yee, that I the said Connor, for sundry good and lawful considerations me moving, and in especial for and in the regard and consideration both of my ffatherly care and affection, as well toward my sonne Bryan O'Heyn, as toward the establishment, continuance, and succession of myn inheritance and living in myn owne kindred and family, and the better insuring and supportation of the same from ingerous chalenges, suits and vexations, thereunto to be at any time pretended, wherin the impotencie of age and state and declining years disabling me to imploy the mindful pains and travails thereunto behoofeful, the defence and upholding of my said inheritance in nature and right belonging unto my said sonne Bryan O'Heyne, have given granted enfeoffed and confirmed like as to those presents."

He here sets forth the grants, which seem comparatively insignificant when compared with the extent of the O'Heyne possessions but a little earlier. They consisted of a third

¹ *Hy Fiachrach.*

part of a cartron of Gortenshine, the fourth part of a cartron in the tearmon known as Ballymolfargie and Pollantlynte, and half a cartron in Corroboye. And for this rather limited grant he exacts a yearly rent from his son. The deed continues:—

“And further knowe yee, that I the said Connor Crone O’Heyne have covenanted and agreed that my said sonne Bryan shall pay unto me some reasonable rent yeerlie during myn owne liffe out of the before mentioned parcels, and after my decease to be to the use of him the said Bryan, his heires and assigns as aforesaid for ever,” etc.

“In witness whereof I the said Connor Crone O’Heyn have herunto put my hand and seale the 20 February 1612.”

The action of Connor Crone O’Heyne seems to indicate that the O’Heyne estates were being divided among various members of the family. We find a certain Donnell O’Heyne mentioned as a freeholder of Killoveragh in 1615, and in the year 1641 there were over thirteen families of the name, chiefly in the parish of Durus-Kinvara.

Though references to the Kilkellys in our annals are very rare after the expulsion of the O’Clerys, still they continued to hold a position of respectability and influence under their kinsmen the O’Heynes. Their chief seat was the strong Castle of Cloghballymore in the present parish of Ballindereen. It is even still well preserved, and its lofty battlements may be seen far above the extensive plantings which surround it. It is not more than three miles from Kinvara. It is stated that the ruined castle which adjoins Dunguaire also belonged to the family. But O’Donovan thinks that this opinion is not supported by any historical evidence.

There can be no doubt that in Elizabeth’s time they still held the Cloghballymore estates. By reference to the “Indentures of Composition” signed by the landed proprietors of Clanricarde in A.D. 1585, we find there the name of Brian Reagh Mac Kilkelly, Lord of Cloghballymore.

We shall find that the Most Rev. Peter Kilkelly, Bishop of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora in 1744, was a member of this ancient family.

O’Donovan, in his interesting notes to *The Manners and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, adds that the name of Kilkelly or Killikilkelly, as it is sometimes written, “is still very respectable in the county of Galway.”

The territory of the O’Shaughnessys, lords of the territory of Kinelea, at one time comprised 105 quarters of land.¹ Their

¹ Note, *Four Masters*, A.D. 1598.

chief residences were the Castles of Gortinsiguair and Ardameelavane, near Lough Cutra.

Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, whose death occurred, as we have seen, in the year 1606, was succeeded by his son, Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy. At the time of his father's death Sir Roger was twenty-three years old, and married to Elis Lynch, by whom he had a son, Sir Dermot, his heir and successor, and one daughter, who married Daniel Donovan of Castle Donovan, chief of Clancabill, County Cork. In an ode addressed to her husband in 1639, by one of the bards of the period, her beauty and virtues are referred to in the following laudatory strain:—

“The palm for beauty of her sedate aspect, O'Shaughnessy's daughter has obtained.

Meekness without narrowness of heart, humility, generosity, firmness.

A fruitful palm tree of the race of Dathy, the kind-hearted daughter of Rory,

Who inherits the attributes of the sires she sprang from in longing to indulge the flame of hospitality.

The undying character of the kings before her, she has not suffered to pass away,

But has reflected on the name of Guaire that lasting lustre she had derived from him.”

This Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy was most probably the builder of the Castle of Fiddane, which may be seen at the present day, in excellent preservation, about two miles south-west of Ardameelavane. We find no mention of it before his time. But we do find that he resided there in the middle of the century. There is a letter still extant which he addressed from Fiddane Castle to his “verie lovinge daughter,” Mrs. Giles Donovan of Castle Donovan. It is dated 14th March 1647.

His second wife, by whom there was no issue, was Julia, second daughter of Cormac Mac Carthy, lord of Muskerry.

Though the litigation between the contending O'Shaughnessy claimants had ceased, still Sir Roger was not allowed to take quiet possession of all the lands of Kinelea. We find that a suit was lodged before the Irish Court of Chancery in the year 1615, by which a certain Fulk Comerford, son of Gerald Comerford, Baron of Exchequer in 1603, claimed from Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy of Gortinshigory in Galway county, the town and lands of Cappafennell or Capparell. We are not told the grounds on which this claim was founded. But it is said that it rested on the will of Fenton already referred to, made in his favour. Apart from the grounds and results of this claim, the depositions of the witnesses in the trial, which are fortunately preserved, are interesting, as they help to cast additional

light on the families of note in the district at that period. They show that the defendant's father "enjoyed the greatest part of the lands of which Sir Roger had died seized,"¹ also that the lands of Cappafennell were in his grandfather's possession, and that he was known to have as many as 280 men engaged there together at harvest-cutting.

Amongst the distinguished witnesses was Margaret, Countess Dowager of Clanricarde, who was sister-in-law of Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy, and had then attained the venerable age of eighty years. But older and still more venerable was the lord of Lydecane Castle, "Knougher Crone O'Heyne, Gent." Richard Burke of Rahealy, "sixty-four years old or thereabouts," and Sir Tirrelach O'Brien of Dowgh in Clare county, nephew of Sir Roger, were also amongst the witnesses, and so was Manus Ward, Dean of Kilmacduagh, then "eighty years old or thereabouts."

Sir Roger's son, Sir Dermot, took an active part in the great movement of the Confederates, though he was himself probably prevented by years from taking any part in that momentous movement. He died, according to the O'Clery manuscripts, in the year A.D. 1650. It would appear that there is a portrait of him still preserved at Ormond Castle, Kilkenny, in which he is represented as wearing a suit of armour. His arms may be seen on the seal of the letter addressed to his daughter from Fiddane Castle, and consist of "a tower crenelled in pale between two lions combatant." The crest is "an arm embowed holding a spear."

On the extreme eastern side of the territory of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne there lay a very extensive district, which extended through the Echtge Mountains to the dioceses of Clonfert and Killaloe. Its most fruitful districts lay along the bases of the Echtge range, from the Mac Hubert districts of Roxboro to the Mac Redmond territory in Kilbecanty. It therefore included the Castle Daly and Cappard districts, with most of the fertile valleys and wild moorlands which extend to "Abain da Loilgheach," the Derrybrien river which flows by Chevy Chase into Lough Cutra lake. These districts, comprising considerable portions of the baronies of Loughrea and Kiltartan, were in the possession of the O'Fahy sept at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

We find that in A.D. 1617 "eight gentlemen of the name had fee-simple property in the barony of Loughrea."²

From the returns of an inquisition made at Loughrea on the 16th of September of that year, we find the names of those

¹ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 378.

² *State of Ireland*, A.D. 1598, p. 138.

gentlemen, with their possessions, mentioned more or less in detail. The inquisition referred to, and yet preserved in the Rolls Office, gives the names of more than ten of the family, then owners in fee.

"Teigue (Antlevy, i.e. of the Mountain) O'Fahy was seized in fee of portions of Lishadoile, Kealuragh, and Cappard."¹ This Teigue or Timothy O'Fahy also held conjointly with his son Edmond "a portion of the quarter Knocanteigue and Cappaghard."

"Edmond Uny O'Fahy, Edmond Oge Mac Edmond O'Fahy, Richard Mac Edmond O'Fahy, and Teigue Mac Edmond O'Fahy, were seized of fee of portions of Keluragh, Lishadoile, and Cappaghard; and that John Mac Uny O'Fahy was seized of fee of portions of the townlands of Lishadoile, Cahercranilly, Garryblaken, and Ballinrowan."

Teigue O'Fahy (Antlevy), who was evidently the chief of his sept, resided in the Castle of Dunally. The village of Dunally occupies a picturesque situation at the base of the Echtge Hills, and about four miles from Gort and one mile from the village of Peter's Well. The castle, which was extant and in a state of fair preservation within the memory of living men, has been unfortunately entirely destroyed, for the purpose of utilising its materials for the erection of a residence in its immediate vicinity, which, however, has not been completed.

The following additional records regarding the lands occupied by the O'Fahys in the Kilmacduagh diocese in 1617, are transcribed by the author from the Loughrea Inquisition preserved in the Rolls Office, Dublin:—

"John Loughlin O'ffahie, Edmond Mac Richard O'ffahie, and Edmond Oge O'ffahie, were seized in fee of (cartron) Lorgebane.

"Malone O'Hickey and John Logha O'ffahie were seized of fee of Bellaghtempaue (cartron).

"Owen O'ffahie was seized of fee of Cloinmoingan, $\frac{1}{4}$ quarter; Ballychoilan ($\frac{1}{4}$ of) two quarters.

"Donagh O'ffahie, Hugh O'ffahie, and Loughlin O'ffahie were seized of fee of Clonimonigan ($\frac{1}{4}$ quarter), Ballychoilan ($\frac{1}{4}$ quarter).

"Rory O'ffahie, Loughlin Mac Shane O'ffahie, and Murtoth O'ffahie were seized in fee of Ballycoighlane (cartron), Lisibrien ($\frac{1}{4}$ cartron)."

The next entry records the possessions in fee of William O'ffahie, John O'ffahie, David O'Duill, Murtagh Mac Shane O'ffahie, and Donagh O'ffahie. But though the author found:

¹ *Hy Maine*, p. 37.

the record somewhat illegible, the names of four other land-owners of the name are given there.

It may be interesting to our readers to know that the lands of Ballycoighlane referred to, are the fertile districts now known as Ballycahalan. The lands of Clonimonigan are the lands now known under the general name of Cloon.

Lishadoyle and Garryblaken, the other chief residences of the O'Fahy septs of that period, are situated about a quarter of a mile respectively north and south of Peter's Well. We shall hereafter see that the O'Fahys were the owners of another important district in the adjoining parish of Kilbecanty. In that parish they were owners of Cloon and its estates. We shall see how the Cloon estates passed from their hands to the Burkes of Eyre, and are now the property of the Lahiffs of Gort House.

Though some historians class the O'Fahys amongst the tribes of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, we think it more probable that they belong to the Cinel Fathaith of Hy Maine, in which territory many of the name may still be found. Assuming the accuracy of this opinion, they are of the race of Heremon, and claim the celebrated Maine Mor as their ancestor.

Hence their descent would be through

Fathadh, son of
Usadhrain, son of
Aengus, son of
Flan, son of
Colman, son of
Richlamhail, son of
Colman, son of
Ailibar, son of
Maenach, son of

Cormack, thirteenth in descent from Maine Mor.

The present parish of Peter's Well, correctly Kiltomas, seems to have represented in a broad sense the chief portion of the tribe lands. It was therefore generally known as "Pubbell Muntir-Fachie."¹ Designations of districts were at that period often taken from the tribe or sept by which they were occupied. Hence we find the adjoining districts of Iser Kelly,² then in the possession of the Mac Hubert Burkes, referred to in the "Indentures of Composition" as "Pubbell Mac Hubert."

The O'Fahys seem to have regarded the aggressive claims of the De Burgos over their tribe and district with contempt. This fact is supported by the traditions of the district, and is also referred to by Mr. O'Donovan in his valuable notes to the

¹ *Iar Connaught*, p. 324.

² *Ibid.*

Book of Hy Maine.¹ He writes: "There is a tradition in the barony of Loughrea that the Earl of Clanricarde found it very difficult to get the O'Fahys to pay him tribute, their chief always telling the earl that the lands he possessed were his own, and that the earl had no claim to them." An instance of the determination with which they enforced this refusal has reached the present writer from a gentleman, who, though living in America, is an offshoot of the family.² His ancestors, for perhaps a century, kept a written record of local occurrences of interest in that district.

At the period of Somerset's protectorate, Clanricarde made an attempt to enforce his demands through one of his illegitimate sons. The mountain chief, who had been assisting at Mass with his clansmen and dependents in the old church of Kiltomas, was just leaving the sacred edifice when he met this deputy. Though in a position to treat the demand as of little importance, he regarded it as a personal insult to be asked to treat with such a man. A duel was the immediate consequence, as both were well armed, according to the usage of the period. They fought on the rising ground south of the cemetery, and immediately outside the present entrance. As both were practised swordsmen, the fight was well contested, but at length Burke, who had inflicted some severe wounds on his adversary, fell mortally wounded.

It may be well to repeat that it was only towards the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century that English law began to make itself felt amongst the Irish of the West. As this applied especially to land tenure, it is certain that the agrarian relations between the native chiefs and their septs were until then regulated by ancient Brehon statutes. "The English families remained under the rule of the Burkes, and the Irishry under the Cheeffes of every particular sept."³

It may be noted also that the ancient forests, which had hitherto formed an interesting feature in the districts of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, seem to have been in some instances—as in that of the Burren forests—entirely destroyed. We are informed by the editor of *Iar Connaught* that "incredible quantities" of timber were consumed in the iron works erected before that time, and by the exportation of pipe staves in "whole shiploads."⁴ And we also find that a charter to cut and export Irish timber for a period of twenty-one years was granted by King James I. in 1616 to a certain Richard Milton.

Towards the close of the sixteenth century, we for the first

¹ *Hy Maine*, p. 37.

² M. Mullins, Esq., Nashville.

³ *State of Ireland*, p. 122.

⁴ *Iar Connaught*, p. 8.

time hear of a Protestant Bishop of Kilmacduagh. But, considering the small number of Protestants in the diocese, it was united to Clonfert. The united Sees were governed by STEPHEN KERROVAN.

ROLAND LYNCH was next Protestant bishop, having succeeded Kirwan in 1602.

From an inquisition¹ taken under Lynch in the reign of Charles I., we find the following recognised as vicarages:—

Ardrahan.	Killila.
Kilthomas.	Killchyne.
Kinvara.	Kiloragh.
Dromacoo.	Kilchrist.
Killinvarra.	Killogillynn.
Kilcolgan.	Killyna.
Stradbally.	Beagh and Isserkelly.

The revenues of the See must have been considerable; but such as they were, they were sold by Lynch to Robert Blake of Galway for £5.² From an inquisition made at Portumna,³ we find that the Church lands of Kilmacduagh were sold to John Eyre for twenty-one years, beginning from the 20th May 1661.

It is certain that Lynch's alienation of the Church lands of Kilmacduagh was regarded as fraudulent.

He was charged by the Royal Commission, then held, with having alienated considerable portions of the Church property of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh. And we are told that the "Royal Visitation," having considered that he had dealt with them "fraudulently and perversely," refused to set any reliance on his statements.

"We have undeniable evidence," say the members of the Commission, "that upon his first promotion Clonfert was estimated worth £160 per annum, and Kilmacduagh £100. But now the bishop hath returned us a roll in writing, in which he makes the value of Clonfert only £40, and Kilmacduagh only £24, but gives us no account how this happened."⁴

The Catholic succession in the See was through Dr. OLIVER DE BURGO, who was appointed Vicar-Apostolic of Kilmacduagh, A.D. 1626. He was a native of Galway, and member of a family that was destined to exercise a powerful influence on the history of the province. John, Archbishop of Tuam, and Hugh, Bishop of Kilmacduagh, were his brothers.

He prepared himself early in life for the Dominican Order.

¹ Rolls Office, Dublin.

² Rolls Office.

³ Office Rolls.

⁴ Ware; *Harris*.

Having made his preparatory studies in Spain,¹ he travelled to Louvain. Such was the esteem in which his piety and learning were held by his brethren, that he was appointed first rector of their college in that city. He was considered profoundly versed in profane and ecclesiastical history, and combined with his varied knowledge much prudence and practical judgment.

From Louvain he returned to Ireland, and was vested with the dignity of Vicar-Apostolic of Kilmacduagh. And when, yielding to the representations made to the Holy See by the Council of the Confederates, a bishop was nominated for Kilmacduagh by Rome, that bishop was HUGH, brother of Oliver de Burgo. But as Hugh was at the time engaged in the important work of pleading Ireland's cause before the chief courts of Europe, some few years passed before he came to take possession of his See. During those years, however, Oliver de Burgo was permitted to retain the administration of the diocese.

The opposition to the Nuncio's authority shown by both John and Hugh de Burgo, is a part of the history of the period. But Oliver de Burgo did not share the opinions or feelings of his brothers on the matter; on the contrary, we are assured that he actively supported the Legate in opposition to his brothers.²

On the death of Dr. Lynch, Bishop of Clonfert, he was about to be appointed to that See; but he declined the honour and the responsibility, feeling that, owing to the prevalent disorder and the severity of the persecution, he would be unable to discharge the duties of his onerous office. He was soon after compelled to fly to France, where he led an edifying life, till the Restoration of Charles II. afforded him an opportunity of returning to Ireland. On his return he made a stay at London, where His Majesty, who knew him at Paris,³ promptly recognised him. After a kindly and cordial interview, he received from His Majesty, with ample means for prosecuting his journey, guarantees of protection for life in any part of Ireland in which he might travel or sojourn.

On his arrival in Dublin, his kinsman, Lord Clanricarde, had a splendid retinue awaiting him, to conduct him to his lordship's residence, and Clanricarde Castle continued to be his home for the remaining years of his life. Occasionally, indeed, he would visit his dear friends of the Dominican convent of Galway, and show himself in spirit and sympathy a true member of the great order of the Friars Preachers.

¹ O'Heyne, p. 23.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

After a life full of labours and fruitful of merits, he died in the year 1671, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. The monumental slab placed in the cathedral church of Kilmacduagh, to the memory of Donatus O'Shaughnessy as priest, and of Roger O'Shaughnessy, vicar of Rossane, was, it is stated, erected there in the lifetime of Father Oliver de Burgo, Apostolic Administrator of Kilmacduagh, and by the assistance of Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, Anno Dom. 1646: "In honorem Sanctissimi Colomani alias Cathedralis Ecclesiæ Duacensis Patroni, Donatus O'Shaughnessy et Rogerius Shaughnessy, Presbyter et Vicarius perpetuus de Rossane pro ipsis et ipsorum heredibus. Omnipotens Deus propitius sit. Amen. Hoc conditum erat Patre fratris Oliverii de Burgo ex ordine Dominico Administratoris Apostolici Duacensis in vita per assistentiam illustrissimi Derrnitii Shaughnessy Nationis Capitaneii. Anno Domini 1646.

"Jucundum habitare fratres.

"Memento Mori."

CHAPTER XXV.

Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy and the Galway jurors—His son, Sir Dermot,
a member of the Confederate Council.

WITH the opening of the seventeenth century, many important and eventful changes set in, which materially affected the nation's future and the destinies of her people. It was under their influences that many old and historic names sank into obscurity, and in the diocese of Kilmacduagh we find that the O'Heynes, Kilkellys, and many leading branches of the De Burgos practically disappear from the pages of its history. These changes were in part the result of crushing penal enactments, and of the frequently recurring wars by which the country was devastated. Yet, despite those influences, others of the old tribe families struggled on, retaining with their religion at least a portion of their estates and influence. This is especially true of the chief of Kinel Aedh, whose support of the Confederate movement, and of the Catholic interests under James II., terminated in the loss of his property by confiscation. As early in the seventeenth century as 1635, we find Roger O'Shaughnessy honourably associated with the Galway jurors who offered effective opposition to Wentworth's daring scheme of confiscation in the West.

The falsehood and injustice of the Stuarts was already filling the land with dismay. But amongst the many oppressive measures with which that ill-starred house oppressed their Irish subjects, there was hardly one more unjust and tyrannical than Wentworth's measure of confiscation, usually known as the "Commission of Inquiry into Defective Titles." Though this measure of plunder had been legalised towards the close of the reign of James I., it was not till 1635 that the "Commission was let loose on this devoted province."¹

The title of each land proprietor was to be questioned by the executive, and regarded as defective, unless they were supported by deeds *preserved* and duly *registered* in the Record Office, Dublin. But though the sum of £3000 had been paid in the late reign by the proprietary of the province for the

¹ D'Arcy Magee.

legal registration of their title-deeds, the registration was neglected, and the necessary entries were never made. Of this Wentworth was well aware. But it suited him, as his nefarious purpose was to confiscate to the crown the principal portions of the province, and to transfer the confiscated estates to English Protestant planters; in a word, to effect in the West what had been already effected in the North. This measure, which was so unjust, so arbitrary, so unconstitutional, was declared by Wentworth to be a powerful means of "civilising the people and of planting religion." In order to give his action some semblance of legality, the claims of the crown were to be submitted to the consideration of a jury. But the jury was to be carefully selected, and the judges were bribed. And when coercion was necessary, he did not shrink from having recourse to it in its most revolting form. Verdicts were accordingly found without difficulty at Boyle, Sligo, and Ballinrobe. Leitrim yielded to the claims of the crown without even a trial.

The Deputy next proceeded to Galway county.

Though Lord Clanricarde, the largest proprietor, and a Catholic, was the person liable to suffer most, he retired to England. Not deeming it wise to oppose the Deputy openly and in person, he recommended his nephew to oppose the project as strongly as prudence would permit.

But the Galway jurors were not prepared to copy the example set them by the other counties of the province. They obstinately refused to find for His Majesty. Wentworth, enraged at their independence, had both jurors and sheriff arrested, and sent as prisoners to Dublin. He then "bethought himself of a course to vindicate His Majesty's honour and justice, not only against the jurors, but also against the sheriff for returning so packed a jury." "And therefore," he adds, "we fined the sheriff £1000 to His Majesty; the jurors £4000 each, to be imprisoned until the fine should be paid, and until they should acknowledge their offence in Court on bended knees."¹ Meantime the sheriff died in prison, and the jurors were subjected to excruciating torture. Some were "pilloried with loss of ears, and bored through the tongue, and sometimes marked on the forehead with an iron."

As a last resource, they appealed to His Majesty for a mitigation, if not a total commutation of their sentence. It was a delicate undertaking to lay their grievances before the King without Wentworth's knowledge, if possible. The agents to whom this delicate mission was entrusted were Sir Roger

¹ Hardiman's *Galway*, p. 105.

O'Shaughnessy of Gort, Martin, and Darcy. Their mission was not merely a delicate one, but it was one fraught with considerable danger, as Charles was already solemnly pledged to his Irish Minister to receive no appeals from his judgments.

Wentworth, however, became aware of their departure, and of the purpose of their mission. Regarding it as an act of contempt against his authority, he immediately wrote to London, requesting that the "priestly agents" should be arrested and sent back to Dublin, to be dealt with as he and his "Commissioners should think proper." They were accordingly arrested, though a day had been actually fixed by King Charles for giving them an audience. Martin succeeded in being permitted to remain in London; but Darcy and O'Shaughnessy were sent back to Dublin to present themselves before the enraged Deputy. Wentworth resolved that the agents as well as the jurors should be fined. He had them cast into prison also, and detained there until, through the interposition of Lord Clanricarde,¹ they were liberated, and their fines reduced.

Though Wentworth was soon recalled to answer for his tyranny, the bitter recollection of his oppression operated strongly in inducing the Western province to take part in the great national Confederation, which has invested the old city of Kilkenny with so deep and enduring an interest. And amongst the Confederates, who for a period held their sessions within its walls, and extorted concessions of the first importance from King and Parliament, we find the name of Dermot O'Shaughnessy.

Dermot O'Shaughnessy was heir and representative of Sir Roger, who was then advanced in years, and probably enfeebled after his recent imprisonment. And though we shall see that he was able to offer the hospitality of his castle at Gort to the Confederate Bishops who sought to meet the Nuncio at Galway, yet we do not find him taking any further active part in the public movements of the period,—indeed, he must have felt that he was well represented by his son.

On that memorable Sunday evening, 17th October 1645, when the venerable Archbishop O'Queely was surprised and slain by Coote, we find that W. O'Shaughnessy, a kinsman, and Richard Burke, who held the rank of majors in the archbishop's forces, were made prisoners, together with Lieutenant O'Heyne. Indeed, so high did Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy stand in the estimation of the Confederate Council,² that we

¹ Hardiman's *Galway*, p. 105.

² Gilbert's *Hist. Confed.* vol. v. p. 311.

find his name mentioned by that body amongst those selected to act as the Privy Councillors of the kingdom. We also find that amongst the distinguished ecclesiastics who advanced the Confederate cause, there were few who laboured for it more assiduously and successfully than did Father Hugh de Burgo, who succeeded Dr. Oliver de Burgo as Bishop of Kilmacduagh.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Dr. Hugh de Burgo, Bishop of Kilmacduagh, and the Confederate Movement.

THE commission with which Father Hugh de Burgo was entrusted by the Irish Confederates on the 29th of November 1642, was one of great political importance. He was appointed to represent to the Most August Emperor Ferdinand III. of Germany the interests and aims of the Irish Catholics at that period. The despatches which he received conjointly with Count William Gall, authorised him to represent to His Imperial Majesty that the Irish were driven to arms by the ferocity of the Puritans, who sought to destroy at once his religion and his nation, and they added, "to be patient longer were to desert the cause of the Almightye and the interests of our Kinge and countrye."¹ He was to solicit, in the name of the Supreme Council of the Confederate Irish Catholics, the Emperor's approval and support of the struggle in which they were engaged for "religion, country, liberty, and justice." And he was to remind him of the feelings with which Ireland was regarded by the late Emperor. Irish blood had been freely shed in the service of Austria. The valour and fidelity of Irish soldiers in defending the interests of Austria had been proved in many well-contested fields; and in return for such heroic services, the richest emoluments and highest honours in the gift of the crown were conferred upon them. Father Burke and his lay associate, Count Gall, were to represent these facts as at once the motive and justification of their appeal.

The young Franciscan's hopes must have been high as he set out from the peaceful cloisters of St. Anthony at Louvain to support and advance the cause of his fellow-countrymen. It was the cause of faith and fatherland; and in the sanctity of such a cause he saw an element of strength and a hopeful augury of success. The steps already taken were in truth equally energetic and resolute. A national Parliament had assembled at Kilkenny, which placed Preston and O'Neil at

¹ Gilbert's *Hist. Confed.*

the head of the Irish troops in the East and North ; and well might De Burgo and his countrymen regard their prestige as a guarantee of future military success. There were six thousand men of his native province, under the command of his kinsman, John Burke, an experienced officer who had served thirty-eight years under the King of Spain, and who had now returned to place his good sword at the service of his Catholic compatriots. In that Parliament sat the Catholic Lords spiritual and temporal, O'Queely and Mountgarrett, Darcy and De Burgo ; the representatives of Irish tribes whose ancestors were honoured before Brian drove the invaders into the sea at Clontarf, as well as of the Anglo-Irish whose forefathers fought by Earl Strongbow's side, and shared his triumphs and his plunders. Already the Holy Father's approval and support of the movement was foreshadowed by the active support of his nephew, Antonio Barberini, the Cardinal Protector of Ireland. The wrongs of Ireland were then put before the world, as they had seldom been before, by lips rendered eloquent by an unselfish love of country ; by men whose devotion to Ireland was intensified by the cruelty of the persecutions to which Ireland was subjected. From Gibraltar to the Baltic, from the German Ocean to the Adriatic, there was not a Catholic court or a Catholic people who were not made familiar with the cause and sufferings of the Irish. It was a new crusade, in the preaching of which Father Hugh Burke had a large share of the labour and the success. He had, however, in Fathers Hartigan and O'Shea, able and successful fellow-labourers ; while Father Luke Wadding far surpassed them all in his zeal for Fatherland. Nothing could be more encouraging than the result. The sympathies of Catholic Europe became centred on Catholic Ireland, and practical support was quickly and cordially given. To Irish Catholic hearts it was the call of duty ; even those of Ireland's children who heard the summons in their exiled homes, at once yielded to it prompt and willing obedience.

Those who would be selected at such a critical moment by their countrymen to discharge the duties of ambassadors to some of the most powerful courts in Europe, must have been men of known abilities, recognised prudence, and undoubted patriotism. But there can be no doubt that Father Burke had already established for himself a reputation for these and other high qualities. His name was even then associated in Flanders, with those of Colgan and O'Clery. His position as superior of their house at Louvain was the willing tribute of his Franciscan brethren at this period to his piety and worth.

Hugh de Burgo was born in a remote village called Clon-tuskert, in the diocese of Clonfert. His father was a gentleman of considerable influence, and connected by close ties of kindred with the ancient and noble house of Clanricarde. It may be added that this was virtually the period to which Sir John Davies referred, when he stated that "there were more able men of the name of Burke than of any other name in Europe." Being intended for the Church, like his elder brothers, John and Oliver, Hugh was educated with care by his pious parents from his earliest childhood. He made his elementary classical studies in his father's house, under the guidance of a man named O'Malley, the family tutor, whose classical attainments were in those days widely known and favourably recognised. But O'Malley certainly had pupils worthy of his attention and abilities, in the subject of our sketch, and in his more famous brother John, afterwards celebrated as Archbishop of Tuam. The pathways in life of the brothers seemed to diverge widely for a period in early life. But it was only for a period, as they were destined to struggle together through one of the most troubled periods of our history. And as the character of Hugh de Burgo was much influenced by the career of his brother John, some of the leading events in the life of the latter must occupy some portion of our attention.

In his twentieth year John left home for the Irish College at Lisbon, where, after a satisfactory examination, he was received as a student. Hugh, having decided to become a religious, proceeded to Louvain, where he prosecuted his studies as a humble monk of the Order of St. Francis. He arrived at Louvain in 1714, and was in due course promoted to holy orders, after the completion of a very distinguished course of studies.

At the close of a distinguished collegiate course at Lisbon, John was selected to defend a public thesis against a chosen disputant selected by the College of Evora. The disputation was continued for three days, when the laurels were awarded to John de Burgo. His fame had reached Salamanca, and that ancient university did him the honour of inviting him to take part, within its halls, in a similar friendly academic contest. Here, too, he was victorious, and had the degree of Doctor of Theology conferred upon him, in recognition of his remarkable abilities. After those noteworthy triumphs he returned to his native diocese, to engage in the laborious and then perilous duties of a secular priest. Such were the evidences of ability and zeal which he displayed in the discharge of his sacred duties, that he was appointed to the episcopal

charge of the See of Clonfert, A.D. 1641. The ceremony of his consecration in the following year, was celebrated as an event of great importance. Fires blazed on the slopes of the Echtge Mountain ranges in manifestation of popular joy. Even the aristocracy shared in the rejoicing; and the Earl of Clanricarde, with many of his distinguished friends, journeyed to the remote church of Kinalahan to be present at the ceremony of his consecration.

O'Queely, the saintly and patriotic Archbishop of Tuam, was the consecrating prelate. He fondly hoped the influence of the newly-consecrated would secure many powerful friends for his country's cause. He was not destined to live and experience the sadness of disappointment. Immediately after his consecration, Dr. de Burgo was appointed one of the Representative Spiritual Peers in the national Parliament of Kilkenny. His connection with the Marquis of Clanricarde caused his accession to be regarded as a marked gain to the cause of the Confederates; and it was expected that the active support of Clanricarde was then practically secured. But that expectation was not to be realised, for Clanricarde never joined the Confederates; and from the moment of the bishop's consecration he seems to have laboured to utilise his influence to weaken the national cause.

Such was the position which John de Burgo held in Ireland when his brother Hugh was associated with Count Gall in the Irish Embassy to the German court. In the letters and despatches which they carried with them to that court, very special and just emphasis was laid on the oppression practised by the Irish Puritans, "as well as in their hostility to the religious and national feelings of the people."¹ They were also sent, as the trusted agents of the Confederates, to Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, before whom they were commissioned to place a similar statement of their grievances.

But Father Burke's labours were not limited to Germany. He was also required to visit Flanders and Spain. The extent of his labours in Flanders may be inferred in part from the numerous credentials with which he was furnished by the Confederates to the various personages of influence in that country. Amongst those may be mentioned the Papal Nuncio, the Nuncio at Liege, the Archbishop of Mechlin, and the Governor of Dunkirk. The Nuncios are informed how the Irish "are engaged in a just and necessary war against the Puritans, the malignant enemies of the Roman Catholic Church, of true religion, and of Christian princes. . . . We could, as

¹ Gilbert's *Hist. Confed.* vol. ii. p. 116.

hitherto, endure loss of property, imprisonment, and exile, if the Puritans had not determined to abolish our religion. God has, however, decreed against them, and is favourable to our cause." The Archbishop of Mechlin had already evinced his sympathy with the Confederates. But the occasion was a suitable one for giving him formal assurance of their gratitude. "The Council, in behalf of their nation, thank the Archbishop and their friends, and also inform His Grace that they have commissioned Father Burke and his associate, Father Nicholas Shee, to lay the state of their affairs before him."

They were also made the bearers of a similar message to the Prince of Liege. In this despatch to His Highness the Supreme Council speaks in more explicit language of the pride which they experienced in being engaged in so holy a cause. They regarded their struggle for God, and for the rights of His Church, as a glorious one; they felt that it was more glorious still to suffer for it: and that to die for it, as they were prepared, was the chiefest object of their ambition. The bondage which they had combined to shake off was worse than that of Israel under Pharaoh. Indeed, so conscious were they that "their cause was the cause of God," that they rose, though unarmed, against their enemies. So they assured the Holy Father himself, when, with the heroic confidence of soldiers of the cross, they appealed to him for his blessing and support. The rich and poor were united by fellowship in common calamities. Indeed, the condition of the Catholic gentry was extremely sad. Robbed of their estates, they were in many instances forced to eke out an existence as tillers of the soil. Many of them died broken-hearted, many left their native land, and many became raving maniacs under the consciousness of their wrongs. The Confederate movement, however, induced several experienced Irish officers who were engaged in military service abroad to return to Ireland. Of those exiled patriots we have already referred to Colonel John Burke, who was appointed Lieutenant-General of the Confederate Forces in the West. O'Neil also, who had served in Spain, and enjoyed there a position worthy of the representative of the royal house of Ulster, had returned to take charge of the Irish Forces in the North. He was accompanied by many other Irish officers, who, like him, had returned to take part in the struggle then inaugurated for faith and fatherland.

Several distinguished foreigners also volunteered their services, amongst whom we may mention the names of Count Overmere, Captain Oliver, and Antonio Vanderhipp.

Francis Oliver was a naval officer, highly esteemed by the Irish, and a man in whom Father Burke took a special interest.

We find that it was mainly owing to Father Burke's recommendations that he was appointed to the important office of Vice-Admiral of the Confederates, and commander of a vessel named *St. Michael the Archangel*. Writing to Father Burke under date 28th November 1642,¹ the Confederate Council refer to the subject in the following words: "Wee have taken notice of the good testimony you have given of the zeal and forwardness wherewith Captain Francis Olivers hath embraced our cause, that we have not only approved of the authority you have given him on our behalfe, but as a further mark of our favour we have appointed him superintendent of all such shippings that shall desire to serve under his command, giving him power to set up the flagg of Vice-Admirall of his own squadron." He had already captured some vessels from the enemy. These, as well as those which he might afterwards seize, he was free to convey into any ports in the kingdom which might be in possession of the Confederates. The terms of the commission conferred upon him by the Confederate Council were flattering as well as favourable. Foreign States and potentates were asked to "defend, assist, and favour the said captain." It is clear, therefore, that much was expected from him; but those high hopes were not destined to be realised. He was soon after captured in Holland with his vessels and men, and detained a prisoner there. His capture and imprisonment was a source of deep concern and anxiety in our country. Writing to Father Burke on the 8th August 1643, the Confederate Council say: "Wee have a great sense of the sufferings of Captain Frank Oliver, and doe give you many thanks for your *care of him*, and of the kingdome's honnor in him."²

Without a well-manned fleet they could not calculate with any degree of certainty on the importation of food supplies and war material. Uneasiness on this head was natural and inevitable. They held possession of the seaports on the South and West. But though their vessels in Wexford harbour were all manned by experienced Wexford seamen, it was felt that few other ports were equally fortunate. Hence Father Burke was urged to procure as many experienced foreign seamen as possible for the Irish navy. The inducements held out to those foreigners were set forth in a form of proclamation which was forwarded to Father Burke, with directions to have it circulated as widely as possible. He was also instructed to publish amongst Flemish merchants and traders, that all supplies which they might forward to Irish ports would be received entirely free of "duties." We can have no doubt that his efforts in this direc-

¹ Gilbert's *Hist. Confed.* vol. ii. p. 112.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 335.

tion were eminently successful. They were gratefully acknowledged by his "loving friends" of the Supreme Council by letters dated 8th August 1643: "Wee finde the benefitt of your industrie by the resort of frigatts into us, and the encouragement which is given to adventurers to come upon our coastes, who are soe well satisfied with their usage heere that they now heartily affect the service."

A vessel from Dunkirk, "of good strength," had arrived to aid them, and had captured as many as five or six of the Parliamentary cruisers. Many other vessels were daily expected.

They authorised Father Burke to engage the services of a certain Count d'Overmere, who seemed anxious to accept the responsible position of Admiral of their fleet.¹ On the 1st February 1642 they wrote to authorise him to have the articles of agreement signed by the count, and to confer the commission upon him with the authority and sanction of their seal. "Wee have," they wrote, "sent unto you a commission under our seale for Monsieur Overmeere, the articles of our agreement with him, and our answers to some questions of his; all which are left to your dispose eyther to bee detayned from the said Monsieur d'Overmeere, or given unto him at your ellection, as your own judgment and conscience shall directe you." The count, who was "near allyde to General Preston," and also a man of "quality" in Flanders, was prepared to furnish a small squadron at his own expense in case he was placed in supreme command of the "forraigne ships." But it soon became clear to Father Burke and his friends, that such an appointment might lead to many difficulties; for Overmere was an officer of the King of Spain, and both France and the United Provinces, which were well disposed to the Irish cause, were then at war with Spain. The Supreme Council intimated to Father Burke their fears that the appointment would induce both France and the Low Countries to withhold their assistance; and added, "The managemnt of all we have left to your discretion, on which we doe much relie."² It is clear that Father Burke shared their sentiments, as the appointment was abandoned.

War materials, such as guns and gunpowder, were much needed by the Confederates, and to this want Father Burke's attention was urgently directed, though he had already forwarded considerable quantities to Galway through General Burke. He was urged to send experienced men of that trade to Ireland, "and of any other that hath relation to warr." There were also other influential agencies operative at the time for the

¹ Gilbert's *Hist. Confed.* vol. ii. p. 203.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 205.

attainment of those objects. We find the "Lord General of Leinster's Ladye" had been giving the matter her anxious attention at Namur, and succeeded in inducing the powder manufacturers M.M. Le Fevre and Goure to come to Ireland to "worcke for the publique use at 6s. le peice per diem." The Council had occasion to point out, however, that some of the artisans who had arrived, though "vast in their promises," were able to execute but little.

The continued acts of oppression, exaction, and extortion on the part of the governing party, had caused a widespread scarcity of money, which was particularly felt by the Confederates. Accordingly, the Supreme Council issued an order in November 1642 for a new coinage. And in the December following, Father Burke was instructed by the Council to hasten to them a printer, and "coyners of money." A quantity of copper coin to the value of £4000 was issued. "Silver half-crown pieces were also issued to the value and goodness of English money then current." The designs adopted for this new currency represented on one side a crowned king in a kneeling posture, and playing on a crowned Irish harp, with the motto "Floreat Rex." On the opposite side was represented St. Patrick with a shamrock, explaining to a group of persons the mystery of the Holy Trinity. On the Saint's left was a shield with the arms of Dublin, bearing the legend "Ecce Grex." As this looked like an unlawful encroachment on the prerogatives of the crown, the Supreme Council was careful to publish that the step was taken by them in the interests of His Majesty and of the country.

Belgian sympathy with Ireland seemed to have undergone a change by July in the following year. On the 6th of July an edict was published at Dunkirk, by which all Belgian subjects in the service of the Confederates were required to return immediately to their country. Such an edict was calculated to prejudice the cause of Ireland in the face of Europe, and consequently the feelings with which the unexpected intelligence of its publication was received in Ireland, were those of indignant surprise. And when it is remembered that the number of Belgians then engaged in the service of the Confederates was few, it will be obvious that the publication of the edict was dictated neither by a sense of national necessity nor utility. The Supreme Council lost no time in addressing a letter of remonstrance through Father Burke to the Governor of Flanders, Don Francisco de Melos, in which they express their surprise at the publication of such an edict, at a time when Ireland had received such marked professions of friendship

from Spain and Austria.¹ But as the execution of the decree rested with His Excellency, they gave expression to their confidence that it would not be permitted to injure their cause. And finally, they informed him that they had authorised Father Burke to give him a detailed account of their affairs.

For his own guidance Father Burke received special "instructions concerning His Excellency." He was instructed to inform the governor that the publication of the edict, or of the "placarr,"² as the quaint language of the letter expresses it, was the occasion of general astonishment in Ireland. He was to remind him of the services rendered by Ireland to the houses of Austria and Spain, — signal services which would not be easily forgotten. Those services were important, and comparatively recent, for even within the preceding half century, whole regiments of Irishmen had been engaged in Spain, Flanders, Germany, Italy, and even the remote Indies. He was to be reminded, too, of Ireland's devotion to Spanish interests in the evil days of Elizabeth, which entailed upon many noble Irish families the loss of estates and fortune. Nor had that fidelity grown weaker. Even in the all-absorbing struggle in which Ireland was then engaged, she had equipped two vessels to convey one thousand men to Spain to engage in His Majesty's service. They had written on the subject to the Spanish Secretary of State; but as De Melos might have known nothing of the matter, Father Burke was authorised to show him the copy of their correspondence on the matter, as he should "see needful."

Indeed, the Belgian edict had soon an injurious effect on Irish interests. This is evident from a letter addressed to Father Burke by the Council, and dated from Galway on the 27th March 1644:—

"By the enclosed petition preferred to us by some merchants of this towne, you may observe how hardly they are dealt with by those of Dunkerke. These manner of proceedings were not expected, and especially from them, which gives our merchants very great discouragement," etc.

Those commissions to which we have briefly referred were of much importance; nor can it be easy to exaggerate the labour and anxiety attaching to their execution. Yet an unselfish patriotism was the chief influence by which Father Burke was sustained in prosecuting his great mission. Emoluments there were none. Even the means of defraying necessary expenses seem, in his case, to have been both uncertain and insufficient. The Council, though satisfied that the expenses

¹ Gilbert's *Hist. Confed.* vol. ii. p. 339.

² *Ibid.*

which he incurred as their agent were necessarily great, could adopt no more satisfactory means of aiding him in defraying them, than to recommend him to borrow £100 from Richard Everard, or "any other merchant."¹ Should that rather precarious means fail, then—and only then—was he authorised to deduct that small sum "out of any moneys which, for the use of this kingdom, should come into his hands." This was, at best, but a precarious and poor provision for such a man. But those were days of heroic self-sacrifice.

Considering the action of Belgium, the attitude which the States of Holland might assume towards the Confederates was regarded by the Supreme Council as a matter of very great importance. As a naval power, the States held a high place at that period. It was therefore deemed extremely desirable to secure their support and sympathy, as the Irish seaports were in a measure unprotected, and the coast much infested by the hostile cruisers of the Puritans. His commission, which was dated from Wexford, on the 7th August 1643, was calculated to flatter its illustrious ("perillustri vero") recipient, and also to conciliate the Government to whom he was accredited. The "Most Potent States" were assured that Father Burke was a man on whose integrity and prudence the most implicit reliance might be placed. As regarded the objects of his mission, he received very minute instructions. The views of the Council regarding them were urged at some length. He was to remind them of the ancient friendship which existed between Ireland and their "nacion;" and to urge forcibly that the States should not permit that time-honoured friendship to be destroyed by the machinations of enemies. For the purpose of prejudicing the Irish cause in Holland, the Confederates were represented by the English Dissenters as in revolt against their King. Father Burke was directed to remove this impression, by pointing out that the Irish were driven to arms only by the oppression of the Puritans, who were also His Majesty's open and active enemies; that they had taken up arms only after they had ascertained that a war of extermination had been undertaken against them; that, in fact, they had already addressed a "Remonstrance of Grievances"² to His Majesty, soliciting his protection and support.

And as to their Dutch friends, they wrote, "We are sure that to this day we continue our good affections to them." And they add, "Since those troubles we did their men right and courtesies; the particulars you have by our letters; and we are ready to doe more." The particulars of some of those

¹ Gilbert's *Hist. Confed.* p. 263.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 338.

"courtesies" are given with considerable minuteness of detail in a letter addressed to him from Wexford on the 8th August 1643,¹ and are of sufficient interest to be briefly referred to here.

A Dutch merchant vessel, under command of a Captain Both, had, a short time previously, been forced to put in at Berehaven, owing to the illness of its crew. The men were cared for on shore till convalescent; and the vessel, which was laden with a valuable cargo, was "preserved safe by their Irish friends."

A Dutch frigate, under the command of a certain John Classye, having seventy-six men on board, experienced at Bantry, in the preceding year, a reception very similar in its kindness. But another case, which occurred about Christmas of the same year, showed still more clearly the regard in which the Dutchmen of those days were held by the Irish. The vessel was from Fandanbouke, and was wrecked at Dungarvan. As soon as it was ascertained that she belonged to a "Hollander," care was taken to have the men and cargo saved. Amongst the valuables which it contained, there was a sum of 1500 pistoles of gold, which was scrupulously preserved for the States by the Mayor of Waterford. They add, "These have been some of our expressions of reddye will to persevere in that constant intercourse of good offices which have passed between them and our nacion, and some light unto them, how useful it will be to have us continue the same desires. . . . Free commerce and trafficke with us will be much more useful to those powerful States, than any harm that can be done us will advantage them."²

The success of the mission to Holland was a result to which the Confederates looked forward with much anxious interest. But they did so without misgiving, as they seemed to have implicit confidence in the active zeal of their agent.

In the same letter from which we have quoted, they add, "We pray you endeavour to restore us to the place we held in theire good opinion, and prevaile with them not to give faith to any thinge which of malice shall be suggested unto them, in prejudice of the amity and firme correspondence wee much desire to hold with them."³

It is gratifying to find that they were not disappointed. A treaty with Holland was the result of Father Burke's mission to that country. Writing in January 1643, the Council acknowledge his services in the following words:—

Gilbert's *Hist. Confed.* vol. ii. p. 336.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

"REVEREND FATHER,—Wee have received your severall letters concerninge your employment into Holland, . . . wherein we find you have acquitt the trust reposed in you, with that care and judgment that meritts thanks at our hands, which wee heartily return unto you," etc.

It was thought desirable to publish this treaty throughout Ireland by formal proclamation. And from the terms of the proclamation, it seems clear that strenuous efforts had been made by malicious and designing parties to have it appear that the Confederates were regarded as enemies by the people of Holland. The proclamation, which was issued at Galway on the 20th April 1644, was issued "against such as would breake the league between the Hollander and the Confederate Catholics."

It continues: "To prevent, therefore, the mischiefes which might arise from the want of a right understandinge of sence hereof, wee thought fitt to establish and declare, and by these presents doe publish and declare, that the State of Holland are now in league and amity with our Sovereign Lord the Kinge, and us his most faithful subjects," etc. It was also declared that such as might presume to violate that treaty with "the Hollander," rendered themselves liable to the penalties incurred by the ordinary disturbers of the "publicke peace."

Father Burke's successes in Holland were attained only under very great difficulties. Communication with Ireland had been for a time rendered uncertain and difficult; and consequently many important despatches, which were forwarded by the Council, never reached their agent's hands. On the 8th August 1643 they wrote to him expressing their natural astonishment that so many of their letters should have miscarried, and said: "Wee wonder of nothings soe much as to heare from you that soe many of our letters should have miscarried, as that you should not receive one from us since January last."¹

But in this painful uncertainty he was sustained by the consciousness of unselfish zeal in his country's interests, until at length the assurance of his country's gratitude reached him. The Council continued to approve of his endeavours, and to assure him that they felt satisfied he had omitted nothing consistent with prudence or foresight.

The march of events at home and abroad had been so far favourable for Catholic Ireland. It was much to have secured the sympathy of Imperial Austria, with that of Bavaria and

¹ Gilbert's *Hist. Confed.* vol. ii. p. 334.

Belgium. The treaty concluded with Holland, through Father Burke's agency, was also very important. The Ambassadors of France and Spain had been then formally received at Kilkenny by the Council of the Confederates; and the sum of 20,000 crowns, presented on the occasion in the name of the Spanish nation, went to prove that the presence of their Excellencies in Kilkenny was no mere empty pageant.

The Papal Legate, Father Scarampi, had also arrived there, to encourage the Confederates with a public and formal assurance of His Holiness's blessing. He was also the bearer of 30,000 dollars and valuable military supplies from His Holiness. Much of the Catholic and confiscated Church property alienated in the preceding reigns in the West and South, was once more in Catholic hands; and very many of the grand old cathedrals, long desecrated by the heretics, were again glorified by the pomp of Catholic ceremonial. Such advantages gained within a short period pointed encouragingly to ultimate success. Yet, strange to say, it was at this juncture that a "cessation of hostilities" began to be discussed.

Father Burke hears of the "cessation" for the first time in the letter of the 26th January just quoted. In this document they inform him that they had, "in the meantime, while you are expecting of answers to particulars of your letters, sent you those to let you know the motives which did induce us to treat of a cessation of arms." What opinions he may have entertained on this important but ill-advised arrangement, it is now difficult to ascertain. But, considering his zeal in promoting his country's cause, it is difficult to think that he could have regarded it with other than feelings of strong disapproval. It may have originated with the weak and temporising King. It is certain that Lord Ormond received private instructions from His Majesty, to urge it with all his influence. As might have been expected, it had therefore ardent advocates in such men as Clanricarde, and many other of the Anglo-Irish aristocracy, who, though Catholic, regarded with a jealous eye the claims then advanced by the Catholic Church for the restoration of her confiscated property.

The reasons against the cessation were strong and obvious, and forcibly put before the public by Father Scarampi, the Papal Legate. The needs of the Confederates for military supplies should not, he urged, be regarded as a justification of the proposed armistice. Though needing many things, their needs were far less urgent than in the preceding year when they entered on the war. They had since then gained many important advantages, and secured for themselves the

sympathy of most of their co-religionists throughout Europe. Were the Irish to rest satisfied with the advantages already gained, and not to follow up their successes bravely, they would forfeit the support of the European countries then favourably disposed towards them. Constitutional liberty and the free exercise of faith should be obtained, he urged, "by arms and intrepidity,—not by cessations and indolence."

It is impossible to read the Legate's protest against the cessation without being struck by his political foresight.

To those who urged that a cessation of hostilities in Ireland would facilitate the establishment of peace between His Majesty and his Parliament, he replied, "That peace will ever be made between King and Parliament is exceedingly improbable; nor would it be to our advantage, for if they combined, we would be necessitated to surrender. . . . If the Parliament prevail,—which God forbid,—*all Ireland will fall under their arbitrary power*; the swords of the Puritans will be at our throats, and we *shall lose everything except our faith.*"¹ Events soon proved how literally those prophetic words were realised!

Should the Irish, on the other hand, vigorously prosecute the war, they would be found by the party victorious in England, whether Royalists or Parliamentarians, "well provided with increased territories, stronger in foreign succours;" in a word, in a position to have their grievances fully redressed. He urged also that the war was a religious war, and as such had received the support of princes not otherwise hostile either to the King or Parliament. A treaty of peace which should secure to Irish Catholics no permanent gain, would alienate the sympathy of those princes. "This," he added, "and the fact that we shall gain nothing by a cessation which we do not possess now, in time of war, will cause the zeal of those princes to cool towards our cause, and they will refuse or postpone further aid till they have ascertained how affairs will eventuate on the close of the year." And he indignantly added, "It should not be supposed that he had been accredited by the Holy See merely to obtain an uncertain peace for a single year, in which brief period no foundation could be laid for the security of the faith and the kingdom."

But notwithstanding those and similar representations, the intrigues of Ormond and his party prevailed, and in an evil hour the treaty was accepted by the Confederates. The armistice was accordingly proclaimed in Dublin by the Lords Justices, "for one whole year, beginning with the 15th day

¹ Gilbert's *Hist. Confed.* vol. ii. p. 321.

of September Anno Domini 1645, at the hour of twelve of the clock of the same day."

The advocates of the armistice asserted that one of their objects in accepting it was that they might be able to send troops to England to support the Royalists; and also that they might be free to discharge in part their obligations to the King of Spain. But the Treaty of Cessation was no sooner signed than it was shamelessly violated by the Puritans in the South and North. General Munroe had taken the field in the North, and the Supreme Council found it necessary to despatch a strong force, under the command of Castlehaven, to that province. It was not only necessary to send a force of six thousand foot and six thousand horse on that expedition, but it was also felt that a "great reserve of men for their supply" was also desirable. Under those circumstances no forces could be despatched to Spain; and Father Burke was accordingly required to represent the foregoing events to the Spanish Viceroy, as a justification for the unexpected inability of the Confederates to fulfil their engagements to His Catholic Majesty of Spain. He was, however, to assure him that the Confederates by no means repudiated their obligations to him. But as they could not then part with their troops without exposing the kingdom to imminent danger, they would defer the fulfilment of their obligations to a more favourable time. The Ulster Puritans had, as a matter of fact, received just then, large reinforcements in men from Scotland, and large grants of money from the English Parliament.

Had they measured their duties to King Charles by the same equitable and cautious standard by which they estimated their obligations to Spain, it would have been profitable for Ireland. Here, however, they permitted their loyalty to a worthless king to blind them to their country's needs. They arranged with "all cheerfulness" to present His Majesty with £30,000 in consideration of "his royal intentions." For his recognition of their position and claims at the time of the treaty they were mainly indebted to their own valour.

However grievously mistaken the advocates and supporters of the treaty were, its terms indicated a degree of success on the part of the Confederates to justify to some extent the tone of self-congratulation noticeable in a letter of the 14th June 1644, addressed to Pope Urban VIII. by the Supreme Council. After recounting to His Holiness the various benefits secured for Irish Catholics, they add, "And those great benefits for our nation were reserved, most Holy Father, for your pontificate, under whose auspices the Catholic religion, so long

oppressed in this island, now lifts its head with dignity, and is seen once more arrayed in a manner becoming the Spouse of Christ; and our people are confident that they shall eventually win the reward of their courage and patience." And there can be no doubt that Urban entertained a very favourable idea of their ardour and successes. As proof of this, it should be remembered that he gave to the Supreme Council the privilege of nominating to benefices and vacants Sees in Ireland. For this privilege they express their acknowledgments, in a letter dated 13th June 1644, and addressed to their friend Father Luke Wadding, Rome: "It hath pleased His Holiness, at your instance on our behalfe, to suspend the grant of any spiritual promociou or benefice within this kingdom other than to such persons as should be returned unto him with the marke of our recommendation. This was a resolucion very avayleable for us, and of great quiet to His Holiness, to whom doubtless many supplications would be presented for graunts of benefices, which yet are to be fought for, and on behalfe of such as had little other meritt than some powerful patronage." As might have been expected, there were many Irish Sees then vacant. Amongst those for which the Council desired to make immediate provision were those of Achondry, Ferns, Limerick, Kilmacduagh, and Ross. As the period was fruitful of ecclesiastics eminent for learning, piety, and patriotism, men who reflected honour on Church and country alike, they availed themselves of the Papal privilege just referred to; and amongst the names forwarded, that of "Father Hugo de Burgo, of the Order of St. Francis," had the first place. "For the present wee have thought fitt, out of the certain knowledge wee have of the good life and abilityes well befittinge a pastorall charge of the under-named persons, to recommend them by you to His Holiness, that they be prefered respectively to the ensuinge miters and benefices: Fr. Hugo de Burgo, of the Order of St. Francis, now in Flanders, to the See of Achondry." Though De Burgo was recommended for the See of Achondry, we shall see that his appointment was to the See of Kilmacduagh in 1647.

Even before the close of the year 1644, memorable for "the cessation of hostilities," Father Scarnpi's political foresight was being amply verified. In Ulster, the Scotch Covenanters, under the command of Munroe, were largely reinforced. In Connaught, the troops commanded by Sir Charles Coote had perpetrated cruel massacres. O'Queely, the patriotic Archbishop of Tuam, was sent with a strong force to suppress those outrages. But the venerated prelate was surprised at Sligo,

after some slight successes, and slain, with many of the noblest and bravest of the West. By his sad death, which was a source of sorrow throughout Ireland, the See of St. Iarlath was rendered vacant. But the anticipated elevation of John de Burgo to the Archiepiscopal See helped to console O'Queely's sorrowing flock. His "translation" to Tuam, which seems to have been popular, was recommended by Rinuncini, a prelate remarkable alike for courage, energy, and ability, who had been just sent as Nuncio to Ireland by the new Pontiff, Innocent X. In a letter to the Holy See on the subject of his appointment, the Nuncio referred to him as "a person of mature judgment and upright intentions, but a little slow in expressing himself, and has now a flux in his eye which may damage his sight." If this recommendation, which was written on the 1st of March 1646, may appear cautious, it should be remembered that in a subsequent report, written in August of the same year, the Nuncio's recommendation is more decided. "I have," he says, "nothing to add respecting Tuam, because the Bishop of Clonfert, from the six months' experience I have of him, seems every way worthy of promotion therein."

The Nuncio had, however, on the same occasion expressed an opinion of Hugh de Burgo, which must be regarded as equally complimentary. He urged on the Holy See the desirability of his advancement to the episcopal dignity. And if he did not recommend his actual elevation to the Metropolitan See, it seems it was because he wished that a certain deference should be paid to the years of the elder brother. "I knew in Paris his brother, Hugh de Burgo," writes the Nuncio, "who seemed to me, a person more active and decided. And I believe I recommended him in a case of a change of bishops, but not directly for Tuam, not to throw slight on his elder brother. Hugh has merits of his own, but they are materially aided by the merits of his brother John," etc.

In another letter Hugh is directly referred to as a man of greater energy and activity than his brother. But that energy and activity was still employed in his country's service on the Continent. Though his mission in the Low Countries had terminated, he was asked by the Supreme Council to accept the still more important mission of their representative at the court of Spain, and ascertain what his countrymen "had to trust to and what aid they had to expect from His Most Catholic Majesty Philip the Fourth." The Council felt deeply the labour and responsibilities which the new appointment involved, and they give clear expression to their consciousness

of those facts in a letter which they addressed to him from Kilkenny on the 12th January 1645.

We think the letter of such importance that it may be quoted here in full:¹—

“LETTER to FATHER HUGH BURKE in Flanders and Spain,
from SUPREME COUNCIL.

“REVEREND FATHER,—Had wee not been assured, by almost a three years’ constant testimony, how much you doe undervalue all particular respects, when the establishment of the Catholic religion and the freedome of our nation comes in question, wee should not now (when you have obliged us rather to looke after a rewarde for your merits, and to admit a man who enjoys but an uncertaine health to repose and quiet) have thrust you on new troubles; but when the occasions of the publick may not be manadged to the best advantage without you did attend them, wee have thought fitt to make use both of your tellent and fervor, and to entrust you with the manadgement of our affaires in the Courts of Spaine, and to that end wee have sent you our commission, and letters of credence to His Catholic Majestie.

“The motives are many that have induced us to take this resolution.

“First, laying aside the fitness of the person in his care and abilities, wee have observed that the mocions of the Court wherein you reside are wholly governed by the influence of Spaine, and that you who knowe what may best be spared for our releefe in Flanders can sooner procure it by command from thence than by application to those ministers who doe regulate themselves by the direction they receive from Spaine.

“Next, the ill success they have had in Flanders, and the destruction the taking of Gravelinge hath wrought upon their affairs there, make us hopeless of any present assistance from thence, and wee stand in such a condicion that wee may not be fedd with expectation; besides that we have not found any man that could make the right use of His Catholick Majesties good inclinations towards us expressed in those wordes to his Majesties Secretary, who, upon delivery of the twenty thousand crownes unto Father James Talbot, said that his Catholic Majestie having commanded his Treasurer for the payment of that summe to our use, and the Treasurer makinge knowne unto him that His Majestie had little more left for his journey, said that he had rather himselfe his Queene and Children did

¹ Gilbert’s *Hist. Confed.* vol. iv. p. 123.

want at that present than the Confederate Catholicicks of Ireland.

"Thirdly, wee are given to understand that Father James Talbot, who formerly was employed by us in that Courte, is lately gone into Flanders without our consent or privitie, and may from thence repaire into Spaine, and make use of that authoritie wherewith he was once intrusted, notwithstandinge that it is our intencion he should no further intermeddle in our affairs.

"Fourthly, wee doe not know howe it may be taken in the Court of Spaine, that wee have not a constant resident there.

"These and many other motives highly concerninge the good of our cause have induced us to signify our pleasure unto you in this behalfe, and to send you our commission, and instructions for the negotiacion.

"Wee rest, etc.

"KILKENNY, 12 Jan. 1645."

The date of the commission referred to would show that it was issued at Kilkenny on the next day after the date of the foregoing letter. It empowers him to nominate his successors in Flanders and Germany, who were to be recognised as the only duly accredited agents of the Confederates in those countries.

"We doe therefore authorise the said Father Hugo, for us and in our name, to depute one or more discreet person or persons in his absence to sollicit and advance our affaires in Flanders and Germanie aforesaid, and to keepe correspondence with us, untill the said Father Hugo shall retourne, or that we authorise such person or persons, or any other by our express and immediate commission."¹

He also received a letter of detailed instructions set forth at considerable length under as many as seventeen headings, which were to guide his action, and which suggested the subjects which in the estimation of the Council were best calculated to enlist Spanish sympathy and support.

At the very outset he was wisely cautioned to make himself perfectly familiar with court usages, and to ascertain the dominating influences there, before taking any steps whatever in promoting the objects of his mission. His first care should then be to put before His Majesty of Spain, as he had done at other courts, a detailed account of the cruel laws by which the Catholics of Ireland had been persecuted. He was also to represent the heroic fidelity with which they clung to their

¹ Gilbert's *Hist. Confed.* vol. iv. p. 126.

faith, notwithstanding the severity of their sufferings. Their churches were plundered, appropriated, or destroyed; their Church lands confiscated; and an unarmed and defenceless people subjected to barbarous cruelties without regard either to age or sex.

His Majesty, they thought, should know that the recent uprising of the Irish Catholics against this organised injustice and oppression was marked with signal success,—so much so, that throughout the greater portion of the kingdom religion was once more perfectly free, and practised with the old accustomed pomp of a better past. He should also be informed that they were determined to accept no settlement as a final one which did not secure for the Church complete and lasting freedom.

The advantages already secured were but the fruits of this uprising of the people. But those advantages could be made permanent and secure only by a successful resistance and a continuation of the war. But the country, exhausted by its struggle with its powerful enemies, was obliged to look abroad for resources to continue the fight. If, however, they were assured of the support of His Majesty of Spain, they were prepared to sacrifice all, even life itself, in the noble struggle in which they were engaged.

Father Burke was to account for the armistice, as the Supreme Council feared it had created an unfavourable impression in Spain; and many reasons are assigned which he might urge in explanation. But there was one which he was specially charged "not to omit," and this special reason was "that they might gain tyme for obtaininge His Catholic Majestys ayde."

He was also to refer to the then prevailing "Union of the Heretics in France, Germany, and Holland," whose anxiety for the defeat of the Irish Catholics was a matter of notoriety. So large a sum as £100,000 was recently given by a few private persons in Holland to support the "Scotch rebels of Ulster." And as the English Parliamentarians were in sympathy with the Low Countries in their ambition and aims to cast off the Spanish yoke, their defeat in Ireland would prove a gain to Spanish interests. The Spanish navy would find safe harbours in Ireland, and Spanish merchants would find our country an inviting field for profitable commerce.

Amongst some additional concluding instructions, he was advised to be "circumspect, and not to dishonour the nation in anything that may reflect thereon by way of craveinge or begginge."

And, referring to the letters of introduction and credence which he received from the Council to the leading personages of Spain, they add in conclusion :—

“You are to peruse those letters, being for the most parte open, and by them you may finde out our purpose and the way wee take in our proceedings with those to whom the letters are directed.” These letters were numerous, and addressed to princes and prelates of the highest rank and greatest influence, amongst whom we may mention “the Confessor of the King,” the King’s “Favourit,” the “Secretary of State,” the “Nuncio in Spain,” the Cardinal de Borja, the “Chapter of Toledo,” the clergy of Spain, the Duke of Newburg, Octavio Piccolomini, and others, “Commander of the Spanish army in Belgium.”¹

Hugh de Burgo was on his way to Madrid, to enter on his onerous duties as Irish envoy there, when he met the Nuncio Rinuncini at Paris, and left on His Eminence’s mind those favourable impressions which have been recorded by the Nuncio himself.

The recommendations for the vacant Irish Sees made by the Supreme Council were duly considered at Rome. There were some appointments made, though the death of the Supreme Pontiff and the election of his successor occasioned a necessary interval of delay. Dr. Kirvan was consecrated Bishop of Killala, though Father Hugh de Burgo had been recommended for appointment to that See; but the Confederates could but ill afford to lose his help on the new and important mission to which he was appointed as their delegate to Spain. Clonfert was vacant by the translation of his brother to the Archiepiscopal See of Tuam; and Kilmacduagh, rendered vacant by the death of Oliver de Burgo, was still unprovided for. But it was the Archbishop’s wish that his brother should be appointed to Clonfert, and it would seem that he used all his great influence to attain this end. Father Hugh shared the Archbishop’s views as to the greater desirability of the Clonfert appointment, but the opinion was not favourably entertained at Rome. The project was actively opposed by the Nuncio. He had in the previous year recommended Walter Lynch, Warden of Galway, for the See of Clonfert, and added that his elevation to that See “would tend to the good of the province.” And as Dr. Lynch was highly esteemed, and regarded as a “good preacher and judge,” it would be difficult to object to the Nuncio’s selection. Yet Dr. Lynch’s appointment to Clonfert proved a fruitful source of disappointment to

¹ Gilbert’s *Hist. Confed.*

the Archbishop. And though Hugh de Burgo was immediately appointed to Kilmacduagh, he too is charged, even by the Nuncio, with sharing his distinguished brother's opinion on the subject. Indeed, the matter was made a subject of complaint in a letter addressed by Rinuncini to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland in 1647. From this letter it is clear that the favourable estimate in which he had held their lordships but twelve months before was materially changed. He speaks of them as "represented to be haughty, and inclined to govern after their own fashion." It was perhaps premature to form such an estimate of Hugh de Burgo's character as the ruler of a diocese; and as there then existed a complete estrangement between his brother and the Nuncio, unfavourable representations regarding him should be received with extreme caution.

The new Archbishop's duties as "Chancellor" of the Confederate Council brought him into daily contact with the Nuncio; and the differences of opinion between them on the great subjects which then engrossed the attention of the country became daily more sharply accentuated. In the letter just quoted he is referred to as "one whom I have found, whenever an occasion arose, the stiffest and most obdurate of all the bishops in opposing my authority." The Archbishop was supported by his kinsman Clanricarde, who now abandoned his "neutrality," as well as by the Anglo-Irish generally, who were unwilling to part with the Church plunder which recent legislation placed in their hands. The extent and the value of those possessions will be easily understood by the reader, when he remembers that the Earl of Clanricarde alone held the lands of the monasteries of Aughrim, Clontuskert, St. John's at Tuam, Rosserelly, Kilcruenata, Loughrea, Kilbought, Annaghdown, Clonfert, and Meelick. He and the party which he represented would rest satisfied with the toleration of their religion. His estates in England were also extensive; and his political influence there must have been considerable, considering his close family connection with the Earl of Essex. He was a Roman Catholic, and the only Irish Roman Catholic who was permitted to hold any office of honour or trust from the crown. His influence with his Catholic fellow-countrymen was not much, though it could have been considerable. But Irishmen might not hope for much sympathy or active support from the son of the man to whom the defeat at Kinsale, but a generation before, was mainly attributable. Indeed, the Catholics feared his duplicity and selfishness. They sought him more through feelings of distrust than regard.

As early as 1642, Lucas Dillon and the O'Connor Don waited

on his lordship at the Castle of Loughrea, and formally invited him, on behalf of the Confederates, to aid in promoting the cause for which his co-religionists had taken up arms. They took occasion to remind him of what they represented as his Irish birth, meaning probably his connection with Ireland and his consequent duty to the country. Though his lordship was careful to "keep them in temper" and not "to contradict their opinion," the interview was fruitless. Referring to that interview in his note-book, he cynically remarks, "I was born in Clanricarde House, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London." Lord Fingall and others appealed to him on the same subject, and explained to him their position and their prospects. And the writers add, though with probable insincerity, "There wanteth in this action no more but that your lordship will declare yourself for us, to make it happy and successful in the end." There was a special letter addressed to him by Lord Gormans-town, assuring him that the Confederates "will value beyond all respects the name of a zealous Catholic." On the 28th of November of the same year he was appealed to by the Supreme Council. The letter was signed by Lord Mountgarrett, the Primate, his kinsman the Bishop of Clonfert, and many others. In this appeal he is asked "to resist the injuries offered to religion and to God, and the indignities to which His Majesty the King was exposed." He received a copy of the circular addressed to all the gentlemen of Connaught, by which they were invited to join in the endeavour "to assure the liberty of their consciences and preserve the freedom of the kingdom." He was also appealed to by General Preston in a letter characterised by the frankness of a soldier and the sentiments of a Catholic. Preston's concluding words were well calculated to influence any less callous than the selfish Clanricarde. "Let it not be said in after ages that your lordship should so far degenerate from the worth of your ancestors, as to further the designs of the Parliament against God, your kindred, and your country; but remember you are an Irishman, and if that the Irish be extirpated you must not expect to escape scot free." But those appeals to Clanricarde on behalf of religion and country were made in vain. He continued to observe a neutrality which is mildly characterised by the Confederate Council as "stupid." But it was plainly insinuated that his neutrality was attributable to the dangerous influence of his country's enemies. He was in truth distrusted by the Confederates. Though addressing him in language that might please his self-esteem, they gave private orders to the military commander of the province to "have a wary eye" upon his

actions. The consequence was, a gradual decay of influence with the people, until he had "scarce men enough left whom he might trust with the defence of Loughreagh or Portumna." He sometimes pleaded his loyalty to the King, and sometimes also conscientious scruples regarding the oath of "association," as a justification of his neutrality. It was probably with a view to influence others that he issued a "monition" to the gentlemen residing in the several baronies of the diocese of Clonfert, requiring them to consult Oliver Burke, the then Vicar-General, concerning the proposed doubts.

Amongst the stipulations of the oath, the following may be regarded as specially important:—

1. No peace should be accepted by the Confederate Catholics until its conditions had received the approval of a majority of the General Assembly.

2. It should guarantee to Irish Catholics the same freedom as regarded the practice of their religion which their ancestors enjoyed under Henry VII.

3. It should guarantee to the bishops and secular clergy the possession of all the churches and church livings, in as large and ample a manner as the Protestant clergy enjoyed the same on the 1st of October 1641, together with all the profits, etc., and rights of their respective Sees and churches belonging as well in all places now in possession of the Confederate Catholics," etc.

As was natural, the case of conscience was submitted by the Vicar-General to his then bishop, Dr. John de Burgo, who was also his brother. The following reply, authenticated by his lordship's signature, was immediately published:—

"I answer that the said gentlemen, etc., are bound, under pain of mortal sin, to take the oath of association thereunto required by their ordinary; and are in their default liable to the censure of excommunication fulminated against obstinate refusers of such oath of association."

The significance of this declaration, published by John de Burgo, must appear in a startling light, when, a few years subsequently, we find the severest censures of the Church hurled by the Nuncio against De Burgo, as Archbishop of Tuam, and his noble cousin, for an alleged violation of the stipulations of the oath.

It was only when the growth of distinct parties appeared, and threatened to destroy the unity and strength of the Confederates, that Clanricarde abandoned his neutrality. He noted with satisfaction the growing estrangement between the Archbishop and the Nuncio. It was an opportunity which

developed his activity and energies. And when at length the estrangement had developed into hostility, the Archbishop was supported by Clanricarde, who, in common with the Anglo-Irish generally, would not part with the Church plunder which they had secured.

On the other side, with the Papal Nuncio, were the great majority of the bishops, secular priests, and people of Ireland, with their great and famous General O'Neil, determined to struggle on bravely till the ends proposed by the oath of association were attained.

When, therefore, Hugh de Burgo returned to Ireland to take possession of the See of Kilmacduagh in 1647, it was to find the cause of his country, for which he had laboured so successfully, imperilled by divisions. Though yielding to his brother the Archbishop, it would seem that he understood the sad significance of those dissensions, and regarded with patient sorrow a state of things which he was powerless to remedy.

After his consecration, the duties of his diocese seem to have almost exclusively engaged his attention. He found his cathedral church at Kilmacduagh much wrecked on the occasion of his accession. Like many of the Irish cathedrals in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, which were not appropriated or entirely ruined, it had been long deserted and permitted to sink into decay. Under the stern enactments of the penal code, the Holy Sacrifice had ceased to be offered on the altars of St. Colman's Cathedral for a generation or more, and the Divine praises had ceased to echo through its aisles. But the deserted and decaying cathedral had the new bishop's earliest attention. So energetically, indeed, did he labour in the matter, that in 1649 the roof was nearly completed; and it was once more dedicated to Divine service. He had, indeed, many influential friends to aid in the good work. The O'Shaughnessys were still faithful to the old faith, and still regarded as the lay patrons of the cathedral. The Cromwellian despotism had not yet robbed the O'Heynes of all their estates at Lydecane and Kinvara; and they, too, were devoted clients of their holy patron. But there resided in the diocese with these many of his lordship's influential Catholic relatives, whose castles remain to our time. But even with such powerful friends he could hardly have laboured without the most serious misgivings. The boom of Cromwell's cannon, already echoing ominously from east and south, must probably have sounded in his ears as the death-knell of Catholic hopes.

It was in 1649 that the two Irish parties referred to, openly

manifested their hostility to each other. The Ormondists entered into a treaty of peace with Inchiquin, whose hands were yet reeking with the blood of his countrymen massacred at Cashel; but they did so in direct opposition to the Nuncio's authority. He regarded this "peace" as a gross betrayal of Irish Catholic interests, and as a violation of the oath of association. He was justly indignant at a course of action which he knew would be condemned by the Catholic nations of Europe; and he therefore published sentence of excommunication against those by whom the treaty was accepted. The publication of the interdict excited the active hostility of some of the most influential of those against whom it was directed. The Nuncio had to fly to Galway. Clanricarde was quick to avail himself of the opportunity. He accordingly assumed command of the Connaught forces, and laid siege to the town, preventing the admission of provisions either by sea or land. The Archbishop of Tuam also disregarded the interdict, and in supporting Clanricarde proved himself then, at least, "the most obdurate" in opposing the Nuncio. It was in vain that Rinuncini had summoned the bishops to Galway. They were driven back by the Clanricarde and Inchiquin soldiers. Dr. French and Dr. Plunket had indeed come close to the city; but, finding with dismay that the Nuncio, opposed and deserted, had set sail from Galway, leaving the country to its impending doom, they repaired for hospitality to the castle of Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy of Gort, a member of the Council. Well indeed might the prelates have assured their sympathetic host that "no greater misfortune could have befallen them" or their country.

With terrible rapidity evidences of that misfortune appeared. Disasters of an appalling magnitude followed fast upon each other.

A Synod was convened at Jamestown in 1650, for the purpose of devising some remedy for their sadly altered conditions.

Ormond's policy was now condemned by the Synod. He was charged with being the cause of "losing the whole kingdom to God, the King, and the natives." He was asked to resign his position as Viceroy. And, finally, sentence of excommunication was issued against him and his adherents. The acts of this Synod had the signature of John, Archbishop of Tuam. Considering the disregard of the Nuncio's censures manifested at Galway and elsewhere by Clanricarde and the Archbishop, we may assume that those of the Synod of Jamestown were lightly regarded by Lord Ormond. It was too late. A peace

with Cromwell, which was possible at one time, might have saved the country from carnage. But even that was rendered impossible by Ormond's duplicity.

In less than a month after, another Synod was convened at Clonmacnoise. It was attended by the four archbishops, and by sixteen bishops, amongst whom was Dr. Hugh de Burgo. Appalled by the magnitude of the calamities by which the nation was stricken, they would have their people appease the anger of Heaven by penance. The solemnity of their appeal, as shown by the official acts of the Synod, almost recalls the solemn and pathetic appeals of Jeremias to the Jews of old.

The people were urged to engage in prayer and fasting to appease the wrath of Heaven, and to seek remission of their sins through the sacrament of reconciliation. The retirement of Ormond from Ireland in that year was "a gleam of sunshine breaking in on the gloom of despondency which hung over the nation."¹ The appointment of Clanricarde as Lord Deputy of Ireland, inspired some of the prelates and people with new hopes. But Clanricarde was neither a patriot nor a military leader. He had no sympathy with the people, nor with the bishops as a body. The hopes, therefore, inspired by his appointment were never to be realised. Writing of the event, Cardinal Moran says:² "There was great rejoicing at Loughrea on the feast of the Purification, 1651, when the Lord Deputy³ in viceregal state assisted at High Mass in the Church of the Blessed Virgin. The sword of State was borne before him, the chief military officers accompanied him. The Archbishop of Tuam, with the Bishops of Killala, Kilmacduagh, Limerick, Cork, Emly, Killfenora, Down, and Clonfert, were there to do him honour; banners were displayed, congratulatory addresses were presented, and the humiliations of a hundred years appeared to be forgotten in the tardy tribute to Catholic devotedness and loyalty. Those expressions of congratulation and joy were repeated in Galway on the 17th March, where he assisted with the same viceregal pomp at solemn Mass in the presence of the above-mentioned prelates. . . . But Clanricarde was found to pursue the same course as Ormond, . . . and disaster and ruin soon began to follow in his train." Even his negotiations with the Duke of Lorraine, which might have proved a source of protection to Irish Catholics, were marred by his arrogance and all-absorbing selfishness.

All was lost. In 1652 the Lord Protector's soldiers were in

¹ *Persecutions of Irish Catholics*, p. 199.

² *Ibid.*

³ He had been created Marquis of Clanricarde in 1645.

possession of the chief Irish strongholds, and free to indulge without restraint their hatred of Ireland's creed and race. The churches were plundered, and the monasteries were wrecked, and the grossest barbarities of other days surpassed. Over three hundred priests were put to death; and more than a thousand were driven into exile. Hugh de Burgo was amongst those who had to fly. At the request of the bishops of his native province, he wrote from London to Rome, to make known the state of Ireland to His Holiness through the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda. The letter is quoted by Dr. Brady in his *Episcopal Succession*. It is also published by Dr. Moran in his *Specilegium*. The light which it throws on the state of Ireland at that period may entitle it to be regarded as an interesting and appropriate conclusion to this somewhat lengthy sketch of Dr. Hugh de Burgo's chequered career.

"Of the twenty-six bishops who, previous to the recent persecutions of the Church, resided with their flocks, four only, or at most six, now survive. As the rigours of persecution allow no intercourse by means of letters between Ireland and parts beyond sea, I was sent hither to (London) by my colleagues in the province of Connaught, that I might from hence make known to His Holiness and to your Eminence the state of that province and the neighbouring parts. Also, before I departed from Ireland, Thomas, Archbishop of Cashel, was still then bedridden from old age, and the heretics, as I understand, dragged him from his bed, hurried him from Clonmel to Waterford, and put him on board a ship bound for Spain, without the food and commodities necessary for so old a man. By this cruelty the heretics sought to accomplish the bishop's death, a penalty they were unwilling to inflict on him publicly within the kingdom, lest his martyrdom might prove a solace to the Catholics. After a most rigid inquisition concerning all priests and ecclesiastics throughout the entire kingdom, a very great number of them fell into the hands of the heretics. They were all banished, and shipped on board of vessels bound for various parts,—Spain, France, Belgium, or the Indies, just as the opportunity of the vessels offered; and that without food or the necessary stores, after the heretics had taken all their goods and possessions for themselves. Not even a tenth part of the ecclesiastics escaped this inquisition, and they who did escape it lead now a life full of extreme misery in hiding-places in mountains and forests. For the Catholics cannot aid themselves with loss of their chattels and farms. And lest this should happen, the good ecclesiastics prefer to continue in the woods,

and to suffer every hardship rather than put Catholics to such risks. They lie concealed by day in caves, and in the mountains, and at night sally forth to watch for a few hours over the spiritual needs of Catholics. They are in great want of faculties, ordinary and extraordinary, which they humbly and earnestly request may be speedily sent to me by way of the Papal Nuncio, Paris, who will easily send them on to me. Without those faculties many things happen which bring heavy discouragement to the people, and to the workmen of the Lord's vineyard. In times of such most cruel persecutions of the Church, the spiritual consolations ought to be abundant. It would be hard to suffer extremes for the Church, if the Church refused to compassionate the sufferers. This hardship will be removed by your Eminence, by your zeal for the salvation of so many souls."

The terrible events which followed the Nuncio's departure from Galway came with appalling rapidity. Clanricarde opened the gates of Galway to the victorious Puritans on the 12th May 1652. The city was then stricken with famine. Pestilence as well as famine spread over the surrounding districts, carrying away vast numbers of the population, "so that the severest vengeance of Heaven seemed to have been poured out on town and country."¹ When we add to this the furious persecutions to which the unfortunate Catholics were subjected, we have a picture probably without a parallel in history.

Dr. Hugh de Burgo had sought refuge in the city of Galway with his brother the Archbishop and other prelates, and bore the hardships of the siege "with heroism."² It was only when the city was about to capitulate that he effected his escape. In 1656 he passed over to England, leaving his native land for ever. Cardinal Moran tells us that there, "under the protection of some powerful friends, he administered confirmation, and promoted piety among the scattered children of the Church till his death, which took place about the year 1656." And, speaking of his character, His Eminence adds: "He was remarkable for his ability in administration, and skill in languages, and had held with distinction high parts among his Franciscan brethren in Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Bohemia, and other countries of Europe."

¹ Hardiman, *Galway*.

² *Persecutions of Irish Catholics*.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Dr. Kirwan's tribute to the character of Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy—He supports the Confederates as Lieutenant-Colonel—His son raises a troop of fifty men—Galway betrayed—Dominick Bodkin, Nicholas French, and Richard Kirwan rewarded for their "good services"—The Castle of Gort besieged by Ludlow—He shoots forty inmates and burns the castle—O'Shaughnessy's property confiscated—Redmond Burke of Kilcornan and Edmond Meyler Burke of Moyode deprived of their lands—The Taylors get possession of the castle and lands of Castle MacGrath—Lady Clanricarde, restored to Kilcolgan Castle by Charles, is again expelled—The castle given to Captain Morgan—Clanricarde and O'Shaughnessy restored—How Dunkellin and Kiltartan were transplanted—Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy's will—Exile of Rev. J. Fahy, O.P., and Rev. William de Burgo, O.P.—Their character and career.

CLANRICARDE'S position after the Cromwellians became masters of Galway may help to illustrate the extent to which the old chieftains and proprietors were affected by the defeat of the Royalists. And we shall see hereafter that treason to the King had a large share in that surrender.

The Lord Deputy's residence at Tirellan, near Galway, was taken possession of by Sir Charles Coote. Henry Cromwell took possession of Clanricarde's castle at Portumna, with 6000 acres of his estates there. In 1658, Richard Cromwell was proclaimed Lord Deputy of Galway,¹ and all Papists were soon banished from the town; "for that noe Irish were permitted to live in the city, or within three miles thereof."²

Many leading Royalists fled, as did Clanricarde, to share the fortunes of their royal master abroad. O'Shaughnessy, for a period at least, stood high in Clanricarde's favour, but afterwards co-operated bravely with the Confederates at Kilkenny, and with the Royalists who rallied to the defence of the capital of the West. How high he stood in general esteem, may be best inferred from the following quotation from Lynch.³ Referring to the visit paid by the saintly Dr. Kirwan to the castle at Gort, he tells us that Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy presented the prelate on the occasion with a

¹ Hardiman, *Galway*, p. 139.

² *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 153.

³ *Vita Kierani*.

large sum of money, which he declined to accept, however. He also forbade his chaplain to accept the baronet's generous gift. "Nor did he accept the munificence of a similar character exhibited to him by Roger O'Shaughnessy, a most noble knight, and second to no one in the whole Province of Connaught for hospitality and liberality,—second, I say, to no one save the Marquis of Clanricarde. This Roger O'Shaughnessy was most lavish of hospitality and gifts,—so much so, that that well-known epigraph, 'Let this door be ever open, and never closed to an honest man,' might be aptly inscribed on his gate. He was well worthy of his great progenitor, Guaire, King of Connaught, who was so famed for hospitality, that when we would describe great liberality, we are wont to say, 'Such a man is more munificent than Guaire.'"

The Bishop of Killala's reason for declining the gifts offered to him was, that he pitied him in common with other nobles "whose fortunes and reverses had sustained considerable diminution, and he knew right well they could not afford to indulge in the customs of other times."

From the letter referred to in a preceding page, addressed from Fiddane Castle to his daughter, Mrs. Donovan of Castle Donovan, it is evident that Sir Roger anticipated the dangers that were then imminent. Addressing his "verie lovinge daughter" on the subject of her troubles, he writes: "As for your troubles, you must be patient as well as others; and for my part I taste enough of that fruit. God mend it amongst us all, and send us a more happye tyme." But the more "happye tyme" was slow to come.

In combating those troubles in the early part of the Confederate movement, we find the Marquis of Clanricarde bearing high testimony to his character and worth.

"I could not let so much worth," he writes, "pass from me without giving your lordship notice that in his person (Sir R. O'Shaughnessy), his son and his followers, he hath constantly, and with much constant affection, been present and assisting to me in all my proceedings and endeavours for His Majesty's service." He held a captain's commission in the royal troops.¹ His brother William was likewise a captain in Clanricarde's levy; and his character and loyalty obtained from the Corporation of Galway, in 1648, a vote that "Lieutenant-Colonel William O'Shaughnessy, in consideration of his alliance in blood to the whole town, and for the consideration and affection that he and his whole family do bear to it, and his posterity, shall be hereafter free of their guild." In 1650, Sir

¹ *King James's Army List*, p. 323.

Roger died, transmitting to his son the same strong attachment to the cause of King and country.

We find that his son and representative, Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy, had raised a troop of fifty men in Clanricarde's regiment. He married the Lady Joan, daughter of Lord Barrymore, and had two sons, Roger and Cormac.

The siege of Galway lasted "forty weeks," when it surrendered to the Cromwellian troops on the 12th of April 1652.¹ And whatever may be said by Hardiman and others of the heroism of its defence, it is undeniable that the surrender was owing in a great measure to the treason of some of its citizens.

"That there were traitors within the walls," writes Hardiman in *Iar Connaught*,² "appears from a State letter." The "State letter" referred to was addressed to the "Commissioners for adjusting the claymes of the Irish at Athlone," and is as follows:—

"DUBLIN CASTLE, 10th May 1656.

"GENT.

"The Council having of late received testimony of singular good services performed by Mr. Dominick Bodkin, Mr. Nicholas Oge French, and Richard Kirwan, inhabitants of the town of Galway, for and in behalfe of the English interest during the late rebellion, not a little conducinge, as we are informed, to the advantage of the State, though 'tis probable they had by such ample testifying of their affections to the English, prejudiced their private interests, and contracted a malice from those of their own nacion, among whom they are now to live, which may prove dangerous to them," etc.

The editor adds, "These men were accordingly recompensed for their *singular good services*."

The Gort Castle was situated on the highway between Galway and Limerick. It could not, therefore, easily escape the Cromwellian leaders, who knew its owner's high character.

The defence of Galway required O'Shaughnessy's presence in 1651, with his most experienced men. On his departure, however, he left his castle in charge of some tenants and a few soldiers under command of an Englishman named Foliot. Ludlow in that year appeared before the castle. The little garrison refused to capitulate, and bravely awaited the assault.

The castle, as is well known, occupied the site of the

¹ Hardiman's *Galway*, p. 133.

² P. 42, and Appendix, p. 244.

present military barracks at Gort. The officers' quarters on the island occupy the site of the castle, while the mansion stood where the men's quarters now stand. On the eastern side it was protected by the river, the current of which is sometimes deep and strong there. On the other sides it was surrounded by a fortification about 12 feet high, with a trench on the outside. The Parliamentarians, who, it would seem, had no artillery on the occasion, rushed for the fortifications, and with their scaling-ladders easily gained the castle courtyard. Under a well-directed fire they drove the inmates from the lower apartments of the castle, and succeeded in forcing an entrance through a window, which stood close to the ground. Foliot rushed sword in hand to meet the enemy. But, while bravely struggling with his adversary, he was overpowered by numbers and slain. Meantime the victors set fire to everything inflammable in the castle, so that the unfortunate inmates, many of them women and children, were obliged to sue for mercy. It is said there were eighty in all, together with women and children. Ludlow admits that, "being pressed by his officers that some of the principal of them might be punished with death for their obstinacy, he consented to their demands."

In Mr. Gilbert's valuable publications regarding the Cromwellian period, we find in vol. vi. p. 239, a shorter narrative of the siege of Gort Castle, which may be quoted here:—

"The Lieutenant-General taking leave of the Lord President, he was in his turn affronted by those in the Castle of Gortinsi, belonging to Sir Roger Shaghynus, trusting to the strength of the place. Our horse and dragoons, notwithstanding their not having anything but their armes convenient for a storm, yet fired the place. After long and great dispute, about forty of the rebels were slain in the storm, and after forty were shot, the castle was burnt, but the house preserved."

This narrative differs in nothing important from the preceding and more lengthened account, taken from the Appendix of Mr. Blake Foster's *Struggle for the Crown*. The lord of Gortinsiguair was soon after obliged to fly from the country and share his master's fortunes abroad, while his property was declared confiscated to the Covenanters.

Local tradition has it that the wreck of the fine old De Burgo castle at Ballinamantane was also the work of Ludlow's troops, and probably at the same time that Gort Castle was seized. The picturesque ruins of the shattered battlements and ruined keep of this fine old De Burgo fortress may still be seen casting its shadow upon the waters of the Gort river, where

it sinks to pursue its underground course to Coole. It belonged to Captain William Mac Redmond Burke, whose fidelity to the royal cause seems to have been equally ruinous to his family, as to his kinsmen the Mac Redmonds of Kilbecanty and the Mac Huberts of Iser Kelly.

We also find that "Redmond Burke of Kilcornan, in the county of Galway," was specially mentioned amongst those who, in Cromwell's Act for "settling Ireland," were "excepted from pardon for life and estate."¹ We can have no doubt that the fidelity of the family of Kilcornan to the Confederate cause was the cause of this specially severe enactment.

Nor were the few proprietors who were permitted to retain nominal possession of their estates much more fortunate.

Mr. Prendergast, in his *Cromwellian Settlement*,² tells us of the case of Edmond Meyler Burke of Moyode, in the county of Galway, which shows clearly the character of the tenure by which property was held at the time. This gentleman, who was owner of "Moyode and other lands in the county of Galway, within four miles of Loughrea, gave way to Philip Fitzgerald, a transplanter from Munster, and became tenant to him for a part of his inheritance." The recklessness with which properties exchanged hands at this period, speaks strongly of a sense of insecurity of tenure; and sometimes also, perhaps, of a sense of the injustice of the title by which they were acquired. We read of a "considerable property which was purchased for a silver tobacco-stopper and broadsword."³ In another instance, a Cromwellian trooper accepted for the lands conferred on him for his services to the Lord Protector, "five Jacobuses (£5) and a white horse."

Even in the early part of the seventeenth century, we have record of a curious case of the sale of property possessing a local interest. In 1612 a deed of sale was effected by Donogh O'Daly of Finievara. By this deed he transferred "certain premises in Finievara, with royalties over and under ground," as his proportion of the estate of Finievara held by the O'Daly family from the Earl of Thomond, to Anthony, a Galway merchant, for "*six pounds* of pure crown stamped money of England." Those Galway merchants soon after became the owners of a considerable portion of the lands of Kilmacduagh and of the County Galway. During the Cromwellian period there was but little to control the rapacity of the dominant party.

We take from the pages of Mr. Cronnoly the following

¹ Dalton's *King James's Army List*, p. 513.

² P. 153.

³ Croker's *Notes to Macaria's Excid.* p. 125.

interesting instance of local transfer of property at the period : "Another branch of the Mac Graths had some possessions in the vicinity of Kinvara, in the district of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, County Galway. Of this branch the church of Kinvara was the burial-place, and until late years this sacred edifice, the foundation of St. Coman, of whom mention is made in the ancient tale known as the 'Inramh,' or expedition of the sons of Ua Carra, was exclusively the place of interment of the Mac Graths and O'Heynes. The possessions of the Hy Fiachrian Mac Graths lay around Ballymagrath, near Ardrahan. But the proprietors thereof having taken an active part in the disturbances of 1641-49, the lands of Ballymagrath and Kilternan were granted by Cromwell to the family of Taylour or Taylor."¹

The castle still remains, annexed to the comparatively modern residence which is now known as "Castle Taylor." The castle and property remained in possession of the family to our time. Albinia Hester, daughter and heiress of Sir John Taylor, married in 1825 Francis Manly Shaw, who took the name of Taylor in compliance with the will of his father-in-law. His son is present owner of the family estates.

The family is noticed by Dr. Pococke in his *Tour in Ireland*, 1752. Referring to his journey from Galway to Gort, he says : "On my way to this place . . . I had a view of the house of Mr. Walter Taylor, whom I had seen in Galway. He is above fourscore years old, and told me he had seen about 460 descended from his father, and several great-grandchildren. He rode lately from Dublin to Turloghmore in one day, which cannot be less than 60 English measured miles. As his passion has been to encourage a good breed of horses, so at this time he is a constant attender of all diversions in this country relating to the improvement of that noble animal."

This Walter Taylor held under lease from the Bishop of Clonfert three quarters of land, or 360 acres, around Kilmacduagh. This appears from a certain deed dated February 1780, which is still preserved in the Deeds Office, Dublin. The Kilmacduagh Church lands have, however, become Taylor property since then. And as Walter Taylor was eighty years old, or more, in 1752, the purchase was not made by him. But as it is certain that his son, John Taylor, was owner in fee of those lands, it may be assumed that he was the purchaser.

But even when the Restoration came, it brought but little redress to Catholic proprietors. As Mr. Prendergast forcibly puts it : "At the Restoration the Protestants were restored at

¹ *History of the Dalcas*, p. 394.

once." Catholics might have also hoped for some recognition of their loyalty. They too might have justly expected to be restored to the properties of which they were plundered for their fidelity to the crown. Yet the recognition of those claims which His Majesty was pleased to show, was contained in a declaration to the effect that "while the Protestants should be allowed to retain all they gained, the Catholics would be restored to all they had lost."¹ This oracular pronouncement might bring some comfort to any Catholic who did not know the extent to which Catholic estates had passed to Protestant owners during the recent confiscations.

As an instance of such restorations as did take place under royal favour, I may refer to the restoration of the Marchioness of Clanricarde "to the castle and bawn of Kilcolgan, her only jointure house in Ireland."² She was widow of the late Lord Deputy, the fifth Earl of Clanricarde, and daughter of William, Earl of Northampton.

Her estates and castle at Kilcolgan had been in the possession of Patrick French of Monivea. But, as we are informed by Mr. Prendergast, "Patrick French was forced from his ancestral castle at Monivea, in the county of Galway, to an assignment on part of the Clanricarde estate, in order to make way for Lord Trimleston, banished from his manor near Trim. . . . In 1660, Patrick French lost his lands on the Clanricarde estate by the Marchioness's restoration; yet he could not regain Monivea; for, though Lord Trimleston got a decree to be reinstated in his castle at Trimleston, the adventurer in possession could not be compelled to resign it till he was given a reprise of lands as good as he had got; and Patrick French and his wife and daughters wandered about houseless, until Lord Trimleston died at Monivea on the 17th September 1667."

When the Marchioness of Clanricarde was restored to the castle and estates at Kilcolgan, she might naturally expect such protection in possession as the Lords Justices of Ireland could give; yet we find that after a short tenure she was dispossessed by force. "Five soldiers, under command of Captain Brice of the garrison of Galway, on the night of the 7th August 1662, got over the wall of the bawn, and burst into a house where two of the servants slept, in charge of the castle for the Marchioness, and drove them out, and carried away the doors, and broke the angles, making it uninhabitable, and forcibly detained it, in contempt of the order in Council." Such an instance, historically authenticated as this is, is sufficient to

¹ *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 16.

² Prendergast's *Ireland from 1660 to 1690*.

show the effect of the Cromwellian triumph in the district. And when, a few years after, Captain Morgan became the owner of the castle and lands, it may well be assumed that the transfer was effected on exceedingly favourable terms.

"But there were thirty-four of the Irish nobility and gentry whom King Charles, on his restoration, regarded as worthy of his particular favour. He therefore directed that they should, without the trouble of further proof, be restored to their former estates, according to the rules and directions given in the case of such as had faithfully served under His Majesty's ensigns abroad."¹ On this list the name of the Marquis of Clanricarde had the first place, while we find that of Sir Dermot O'Shaughnessy occupy the twenty-sixth place. He was therefore immediately reinstated to the possession of his castle at Gort, but only to two thousand acres of his ancestral property. We also find on the list the name Captain William Mac Redmond Bourke. It can therefore be fairly inferred that the Cromwellian settlement in the diocese of Kilmacduagh was in character with its terrible history through the country generally.

Though many of the O'Heyne family still occupied positions of some prominence in 1641, most of their territory had even then passed to other hands.

Mr. Prendergast throws some additional light on the extent to which the depopulated district was affected by the "settlement" projected by the Cromwellians. As far as the official arrangement for the settlement was concerned, the half baronies of Leitrim and Loughrea were set aside for the inhabitants of Waterford and Limerick. The reader will remember that the diocese of Kilmacduagh includes a portion of the Loughrea barony.

"The inhabitants of the counties of Cork and Wexford were to be transplanted into the baronies of Dunkellyn and Kiltartan."² And though Burren belongs to Kilfenora, it will not be out of keeping with our narrative to add that they were the people of Kerry who were to be transplanted thither.

The descendants of many of the transplanted Irish in Kiltartan and Dunkellin may, we think, be still identified by their family names. The following, which we have no difficulty in recognising as Cork tribe names, are very numerous:³ O'Mahony, Murphy, O'Leary, Collins, Coppinger, Duggan, Coleman, Mac Carthy, O'Regan, Roche, Halloran, O'Shea, O'Herin (Duhallow), O'Hely (Muskerry), Mac Sweeny (Muskerry), Carew (West Carbery). The following Wexford tribe

¹ *Battle of the Faith in Ireland*, p. 435.

² *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 160.

³ Connellan's *Four Masters*:

names are also frequently met with in both baronies: Doyle, Garry, Prendergast, Walsh, Cavanagh, Larkin, Nolan. It should, however, be remembered that "care was taken" by the Government, "that the several septs, clans, or families of one name removing should be as far as possible dispersed into several places."¹ Like other garrison towns,² so in the case of Gort one hundred acres around the town were "still reserved" by the Government.

The penalty of transplantation, sternly enforced against all the Irish septs, was rendered by circumstances dreadful in the last degree. Scourged all through the few preceding years almost simultaneously by war, famine, and pestilence, the country was little better than a desolate waste. So hard were the wretched natives pressed, that they were known not only to have eaten horse-flesh eagerly, but to have fed even on human flesh. Even the agents who should have helped to place the transplanted in possession of their assignments, delayed doing so until their co-operation was purchased by large bribes. But in the many cases in which the unfortunate transplanted were unable to offer a bribe, they were obliged to give those agents part of their lands as remuneration. After robbing the transplanted in this way of a portion of their lands, they frequently purchased the remainder of their allotments "at two and sixpence per acre, and, at the utmost, five shillings."³ Those who profited chiefly by those nefarious transactions were the Cootes, the Kings, the Binghamms, the Coles, the St. Georges, the Ormsbys, the Lloyds, and the Gores. The Connaught proprietors were of course plundered to make room for their plundered fellow-countrymen of the other provinces who were transplanted; while the transplanted, plundered of all they possessed at home, were, on their arrival in Connaught, again plundered by the Government officials of money, and often even of their assignments of land.

But though O'Shaughnessy was restored, he did not long survive his good fortune. He died in the year 1673. His will, which is dated the 29th January 1671,⁴ is a curious document. Its provisions throw some light on the customs and tone of the period, and may therefore be referred to here. It will be seen that they also reflect in a striking manner the truly Catholic and religious spirit of the testator.

Its first provision is a direction that his remains be laid with those of his ancestors in the family vault of the cathedral church of "Kill M^eDuagh." The ancestral tomb, with the family

¹ *Cromwellian Settlement*, p. 148.

² *Ibid.* p. 157.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 382.

arms still well preserved, in the O'Shaughnessy chapel there, has been already described in those pages. The next provision of the will is for the *immediate* celebration of Masses for his soul's repose:

"I doe order that my son and heir shall cause fyve hundred and fower skore Masses to be said or celebrated for my soule immediately after my death."

While bequeathing to his younger son some stock, with a certain mortgage, he betrays a little of the pride of the old chieftain in bequeathing "all his plate and household stuff" to his eldest son and heir," charging both to live "in brotherly affection amongst themselves, without animosity or contention."

To his youngest son he also bequeathed "his stuffe coat with gold buttons and his rapier." A piece of grey frieze is bequeathed to Edmond O'Heyne; while a piece of grey broad-cloth is bequeathed to Father J. Molony, on condition that he celebrate some Masses for his repose.

An additional singular provision of this will is the bequest of a gold diamond ring to James Devenisse for himself, on condition that he say "one hundred rosaries for his soule."

With these there were additional legacies "left for his soule for some of the clergy." There are twelve priests named for those specific legacies. The Dominicans in Galway, the Augustines in Galway, and the convent of "Inish," were similarly favoured.

In November 1655, Coote issued a proclamation at Galway regarding priests and "fryars." By this proclamation he required "that the priests or fryars now imprisoned within the town that are above the age of forty years be forthwith banished into France, Portugal, and other neighbouring kingdoms in amity with this Commonwealth; and that the rest of the priests that are under the age of forty years be forthwith shipped away for Barbadoes or other the American plantations." Should any of the exiles presume to return, they exposed themselves to capital punishment.

This proclamation cannot be regarded as at all exceptional as regards Galway. Its provisions were being rigorously enforced against the priests and religious of the country. Everywhere the churches and religious houses were plundered and wrecked, and the priests obliged to choose between exile, imprisonment, or death. Amongst the exiled fathers were Rev. J. O'Fahy and Rev. William de Burgo, who deserve to receive a passing notice here.

William de Burgo was a member of the family of the ancient Mac Hubert Burkes of Iser Kelly, in the diocese of Kilmacduagh.

Referring to his lineage, the author of *Hibernia Dominicana* speaks of him as "Clarus familia."¹ But, distinguished as he was by parentage, he was still more distinguished as a member of the Dominican Order, for which he prepared himself in early life. Having made his studies in Spain, he returned to Ireland. The ancient convent at Athenry stood close to his native diocese, and here he constantly edified his brethren by the fervour and austerity of his life. He wore sackcloth, and habitually used the discipline. In 1650 he was driven forth from his beloved convent, and obliged to seek refuge in a foreign country. He went to France, and spent the remainder of his life in a convent of his order at Vienne, where he died A.D. 1665. The Acts of a Provincial Council of his Order, held at "Castellæ," bear testimony to his remarkable sanctity.

Father John O'Fahy was another distinguished member of the Dominican Order at Athenry, and a man who, in that evil period, proved himself a brave and holy confessor of his faith. As it is extremely probable that he was by parentage or kindred of the sept by whom the Kilthomas districts of Kilmacduagh were then held as owners in fee, he may be fittingly referred to here.

He made his early studies in Italy, and with marked success. On his return to Ireland, he was appointed professor of philosophy at Athenry. Soon afterwards he was entrusted with the important duties of prefect of studies and professor of theology there, and won for himself general approval by the manner in which he discharged the duties of those important positions.

He was also an eloquent preacher, and on Sundays and holidays multitudes flocked from the surrounding districts to hear his fervid and powerful addresses. The fame of his sanctity was as widely known as his eloquence and learning, for his life was not only a life of labour, but also a life of severe mortification. He loved to wear the poorest habit, and usually travelled on foot wherever his duties called him.

In estimating the importance of the position of professor and prefect of studies discharged at Athenry by O'Fahy, it should be remembered that it had been a short time previously constituted a University College by a General Chapter of the Dominican Order held at Rome, A.D. 1644. The other convents of the order sharing the same privileges were at Dublin, Limerick, Cashel, and Culrahane.

Father O'Fahy did not shrink from taking part in the controversies of that troubled period. He proved himself to be a

¹ *Hib. Dom.* pp. 275, 575.

consistent advocate of the Nuncio's views, as he was a supporter of his wise policy. Yet he never forfeited the esteem and respect of any section of his countrymen.

The storm of Cromwellian persecution raged fiercely against the Dominicans of Athenry. In 1651, Vincent Gerald Dillon was imprisoned for his faith, and, after protracted sufferings, he gained the crown of martyrdom.

In 1652, John O'Cullen, a man eminent for eloquence and exemplary piety, was also beheaded for the faith. Such were glorious examples to encourage and sustain. When at length it became necessary for the subject of this notice to make his choice, he, like De Burgo, went into exile. He returned to Italy, and at Viterbo he spent the remaining years of his life. He died there, A.D. 1665.

As regards the episcopal succession, it only remains to be noticed that from the death of Hugh de Burgo in 1653, the see of Kilmacduagh was governed by Vicars for some years. In our next chapter we shall be able to notice the appointment of a Vicar-Apostolic in the year 1677, though nominated in 1671.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

By the "Applotment" of Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy and others, Galway contributes £2410, 15s. 3d. monthly toward the maintenance of King James—Sir Roger dies at Gort ten days after the King's defeat at the Boyne—Galway besieged—De Ginkle places Captain Morgan at Kilcolgan—He intercepts Luttrell's supplies for Galway—Captain Marcus French and Arthur French betray the town—They acquire property in Kilmacduagh—Roebuck French of Durus—Patrick French of Clogh—James French—His daughter marries De Basterot, President of Bordeaux Parliament, 1770—Their family at Durus—The Frenches of Tyrone and Rahasane—Lamberts of Aggard and Creg Clare acquire property—Royal grants to Dean Dudley Perse—The Martins of Tullyra permitted to retain their property—Rev. Thomas de Burgo of Cloghrooke exiled—His career—Rev. Edward de Burgo of Cahirforvace, O.P.—His career and writings—The Registration Act—Episcopal succession.

THE efforts made to destroy our people during the Cromwellian occupation, exceed in cruelty and atrocity anything recorded in the history of civilised nations. Yet 500,000 Irish Catholics survived it all, who in less than two hundred years were destined to number millions. The Restoration brought them new hopes and filled them with a new enthusiasm. It was indeed an enthusiasm but little justified by their experience of the faithless house of Stuart. And when James, a Catholic king, threw himself on the loyalty of his Irish Catholic subjects, this enthusiasm nerved the remnant of our Catholic people to new efforts, seldom equalled, never perhaps surpassed, in the history of our country. As soon as the royal fugitive unfurled his standard upon our shores, the Irish Catholics, who owed their ruin mainly to the falsehood of his fathers, rallied round it with a promptitude that was marvellous, considering the sufferings they had so recently endured. It was at Aughrim that the West put forth all its powers for a supreme effort for the country, and for a king, then a convicted coward and a fugitive. Though the power of the Irish chieftains had passed away for ever, yet their names still retained much of the old influence, and so the remnant of the clans rallied round them once more for a supreme effort for freedom.

French battalions, who were Celts like themselves, and, like

them, haters of England, had come to help them to shake off the galling yoke of their plunderers and persecutors. With the royal assent, arrangements were made to raise the large revenue of £20,000 per month, "according to the ancient custom of this kingdom in time of danger."¹ Amongst those appointed to aid the High Sheriff of Galway, Sir Ulick Bourke, to fix the proportionate amount for Galway, we find Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy holding first place. We also find that their "applotment" was fixed at the high figure of £2410, 15s. 3d. for three months.² O'Shaughnessy had married in 1688 the Lady Helena, daughter of Lord Clare (Connor O'Brien), by whom he had a son, afterwards celebrated on the Continent as Colonel William O'Shaughnessy.

Sir Roger took his place at the Boyne in the regiment of Lord Clare, his father-in-law, to support his King. Though not wounded in that memorable engagement, he returned to Gort in failing health,³ and died on the 11th of July 1690, ten days after his return, some said of a broken heart; and when, soon after, the clansmen of Kinel Aedh followed their leaders to Aughrim, we find it said that they carried with them to the battlefield from Kilmacduagh the relics of their holy patron, St. Colman Mac Duagh.

Dr. Pococke is responsible for this statement, and, writing as he did so soon after the event as 1752, and from information got in person at Kilmacduagh, there may not be great reason to doubt his testimony.

Referring to the position of the Kilmacduagh cathedral, he observes, in the narrative of his visit there: "To the west is a small cell,⁴ where they say the patron was buried, and that the body was afterwards carried to Agherrim." We find the statement repeated in the notes to the *Monasticon Hibernicon*. It is not our purpose to refer to the result at Aughrim, where all was lost save the nation's honour.

The victorious De Ginkle lost no time in following up his triumph. He prepared to march at once against Galway, the capital of the West, anticipating the resistance that could be offered to his forces there. To cut off supplies from the city in the meantime was a matter of supreme importance, as a prolonged defence of Galway would have given time to the scattered forces of the country to rally once more for action, and might have brought strong reinforcements from abroad. The activity of De Ginkle, and the falsehood of some of the leading Jacobites, rendered this impossible.

¹ Dalton's *Army List*, p. 29.

² *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 303.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁴ The small cell does not now exist.

In order to cut off such supplies as might be sent from Limerick or the South, a Captain Morgan was posted at Kilcolgan with a troop of cavalry. The expected reinforcements were sent from Limerick for the Galway garrison, but under command of the notorious Colonel Luttrell. We are informed that Luttrell and the cavalry under his command were driven back by Morgan, and seemingly with little bloodshed.¹ Morgan was equally successful in preventing the Irish commanders from sending any reinforcements by sea from the opposite shores of Clare. Here, too, one is struck by the comparatively small loss of life resulting from the effort. The losses on the part of the Jacobites were four men killed and eight taken prisoners. But Luttrell's treason very soon after acquired unenviable notoriety.

The antecedents of Captain Morgan, who commanded at Kilcolgan, are not clear. He was soon after in possession of the Castle of Kilcolgan, with the lands which were a short time previously in the possession of the Marchioness of Clanricarde. The family soon after settled at Monksfield, near the castle at Clogheroke, having sold the castle and lands at Kilcolgan to the Frenches of Tyrone. Their estates have long since passed from them. Treason to the Irish cause in Galway, and amongst Galway men, also rendered Morgan's successes easy. A letter of Morgan's, dated 20th July 1691, contains the following statement: "They say that the Mayor and some more of the townsmen are imprisoned for endeavouring to surrender the town to us."² Arthur French of Tyrone was the Mayor, and, as O'Kelly³ tells us, "likely would suffer had the enemy not come so suddenly to attack the town."

This unexpected attack was accelerated by the desertion of Captain French. O'Kelly thinks that his desertion may have taken place even with the connivance of "his namesake, if not relative, the Mayor."⁴ Marcus French had been a lieutenant in Clanricarde's infantry. His gallantry at Aughrim was such that he was promoted to the rank of captain. He immediately after surrendered himself to De Ginkle. Captain Morgan, writing from Kilcolgan on the 19th of July regarding him and others, states: "The man I sent to Galway has come back, and one Captain French, of L^d Clanricarde's reg^t with him, who surrendered himself to me." He goes on to specify the information which he received from the renegades regarding the condition of the Galway garrison.

¹ Hardiman, *Galway*, p. 159.

² *Ibid.* p. 137.

³ *Mac. Excid.* p. 464.

⁴ *Ibid.*

De Ginkle also obtained from a certain Captain Burke,¹ who deserted from the town, accurate information as to where the ramparts were weakest and most exposed. He guided Colonel Nassau in making the attack the following morning successfully, and in setting Arthur French at liberty.

The Captain Marcus French referred to seems to have been the founder of the Frenches of Rahasane. He married Cath, daughter of Anthony Darcy, third son of James Darcy, Vice-President of Connaught under Elizabeth. Loyalty to the Irish cause did not seem a trait for which this family was remarkable.

The force of this remark will appear more clearly from certain noteworthy circumstances in connection with the capitulation of Galway to the Cromwellians, April 1652. Then, too, "there were traitors within the walls,"² and the learned editor of *Iar Connaught* shows that Nicholas Oge French was prominent amongst them. He had, we have seen, associates in his treachery, in the persons of Dominick Bodkin and Richard Kirwan, who were all recompensed for their "singular good services."³ We have quoted the original document by which those gentlemen were recommended by the Privy Council in 1656 to the care of the "Commissioners for adjusting the claymes of the Irish at Athlone."

The land was everywhere rapidly passing from the territorial owners to new proprietors; and in the diocese of Kilmacduagh we find that many of the new owners were members of certain wealthy merchant families of Galway, generally known as the "Tribes."

There were fourteen of those families who accepted this designation, and who for the most part claim an English descent. The exact time at which the founders of those families settled at Galway is naturally involved in some obscurity. But, without desiring to consider such traditions regarding them as Mr. Dutton refers to,⁴ there is no doubt that they established for themselves, at a comparatively remote period, a high character for commercial enterprise. The relations which they cultivated with the native Irish were unfriendly, and sometimes aggressive. Even such families as the Burkes, the Mac Williams, the O' Kellys, and others, were not to share the hospitality of the Galway citizen; and it was made a matter of statutory regulation that "neither O nor Mac should strutt nor swagger through the streets of Galway." Even the bonds of a common religion failed to harmonise the

¹ Hardiman, *Galway*, p. 160.

² *Iar Connaught*, p. 42.

³ *Ibid.* p. 244.

⁴ *Survey*, p. 214.

Galway "Tribes" with their Celtic neighbours. Such facts were calculated to recommend them strongly to the favour of the executive. Hence they obtained a mural charter for their town in the reign of Richard II. They soon after secured other chartered privileges, which were only confirmed and enlarged as time went on, and which placed Galway amongst the foremost cities in Ireland.

Mr. Hardiman pertinently states that after this Galway "entirely fulfilled all the expectations of Government, and henceforth became the principal support of English interest in this part of Ireland."¹

When, therefore, a new order of things was in process of development around them in the eighteenth century, much of the old sympathy with English interests remained. Unencumbered with a sympathy with the Irish masses, unembarrassed by the ties which bound the old chiefs to their tribes, they were quick to see that ownership of land could be commercially and socially beneficial to themselves. Dr. Pococke, speaking of them, says that they purchased "all the land in the county which did belong to the Church and the Earl of Clanricarde."² This was certainly an exaggeration, though their descendants were possessed of property in 1752 to the value of £100,000 a year; and others had theirs forfeited or sold "to a much greater value."

Amongst the new owners in the diocese of Kilmacduagh we find Frenches, Blakes, and Kirwans, who are recognised as "Tribes." We have seen that the Martynns were connected with the district for a century earlier. We also find the Lamberts and Persses, whose connection with the territory must have begun soon after the Cromwellian troubles.

Early in the eighteenth century we find the Blakes at Corbally. Earlier still we find the Persse family at "Cregarosta," afterwards known as Roxboro. And in the reign of James II., influential branches of the French family settled at Durus, Tyrone, Rahasane, and Aggard, all in the diocese of Kilmacduagh.

The Frenches of Galway claim descent, through Patrick, son of Humphrey French, from Sir Theophilus French, one of the brave adventurers who accompanied William the Conqueror to England. This Patrick French married the daughter and heiress of John Athy of Galway, who, according to Hardiman, is to be regarded as the ancestor of the Galway families of the name. The principal branches of the family in Galway were

¹ *History of Galway*, p. 62.

² *Tour in Ireland*, 1752.

those of Castle French, raised to the peerage in 1798, with these of Durus, Tyrone, and Rahasane.

Their arms, which may still be seen sculptured on their ruined family mansion at Galway, are:—

Arms: Ermine a chevron sable.

Crest: A dolphin embowed upon rocks proper.

Motto: One heart one mind.

The motto as given is from Hardiman. Sir Bernard Burke gives "*Malo mori quam fœdari.*"

Durus is situated in the present parish of Kinvara. Its picturesque woodlands may be seen extending far along the south-western coast of the bay.

The founder of the French family at Durus was a Roebuck French, who married a Miss Martin of Ross, and in the time of Charles II. was owner of considerable land property in the baronies of Dunkellin and Kiltartan. We find that his son, Patrick French, inherited his father's large estates, and that he was also owner of a town house at Galway.

The great extent of his property may be ascertained with accuracy from his will, dated 1708, which is still preserved in the Deeds Office, Dublin.¹ It shows that he was owner of most of the present parish of Kinvara, of Cloghballymore Castle, and some adjoining districts in Ballindereen, of Dromharsna, and some districts in the parish of Ardahan. He had three sons, Roebuck, Hyacinth, and Patrick. To Roebuck, his heir, he bequeathed the lands of Durus, Corboy, Kinturlagh, Lissinduff, Knockellan, Mullagharde, Garmonagh, Monnscreibagh, Croswoy, Kinvara, Lisengerby, Loughcora, Clonasee, Movah, Trelick, Funchanbeg, Gortencrough, Cappaghmore, Cappaghbeg, Gortmore, Carrowkellian, Cahircunna, and Pollevallee. He also bequeathed to him the cartron of land at Balligileen, which contained 45 acres of profitable land, and was then in possession of a certain Robert Shaw of New Ford, County Galway, in consideration of a sum of £90.

He had exchanged with Oliver Martynn of Tullyra, for certain lands at Cappaghmore and other places, some 13 acres which he held in Ballylara, in the parish of Ardahan.

To his second son, Hyacinth, he bequeathed the castle and lands of Cloghballymore, which till Elizabeth's time belonged to the Mac Kilkellys, and also the lands of Mongane.

To his youngest son, Patrick, he left Dromharsna Castle, with an annuity of £100 until he should marry. It does not, however, appear that he did get married. We are able to say

¹ The writer has seen it.

with authority that he died without leaving male legitimate issue.

The Castle of Dromharsna is still well preserved. It is situated about a mile north of the Castle of Lydecane, and nearly three miles from Cloghallymore. The castle and surrounding lands are for some time past in the possession of Lord Ashtown,—the Trench family of Woodlawn.

We are assured that the youngest son, Patrick French, was the prodigal of his family, and that this feature in his character accounts for the somewhat slender provision which had been made for him in his father's will.

This will was dated on the 15th of May 1708, at Durus, and was witnessed by "Turlogh Heyne" and "Michael Heyne." This fact alone would indicate the existence of friendly relations between the new proprietors and the representatives of the old chiefs. A tradition, which is, however, unauthenticated, states that the first of the new owners was connected by marriage with the O'Heynes. But it is certain that this family were still treated with much of the consideration due to their character, integrity, and descent. We have seen that their property was practically confiscated under Bingham. In 1612 they were said to be "utterly banished."¹ We find Dominick D'Arcy of Clonouane bequeathing a life interest to Farragh O'Heyne in the lands of Kilboren, which were situated in the ancient territory of Hy Fiachrach.

This Patrick French of Durus, who was married to Miss Blake of Ardfry, was a Catholic, and one who marked his Catholic spirit by gifts to the churches of the district.² A chalice is still used in the parish of Kinvara which was presented by him. Though a Catholic, he obtained from General de Ginkle the guarantee to retain his property, as his new kinsman, Martynn of Tullyra, and some others obtained from the Government about the same period. The original deed of protection, signed by De Ginkle himself, is still preserved amongst the family papers of the present esteemed representative of the family, Count de Basterot of Durus.

Patrick French died about 1710. His eldest son, Roebuck,

¹ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 373.

² Father Gregory French, a member of the family, was then parish priest of Durus. He is referred to as a very learned man, who was ordained at Madrid. Having placed himself under the protection of O'Hogan and his rapparees, he was arrested. Bellasyse, before whom he was brought on his arrest, wrote to Ginkle regarding him as follows: "There was a priest at their meeting, but he was not condemned, because the executing of a priest would have made a mighty noise at the same time."

married a Miss Darcy of New Forrest—or Clonouane. Roebuck died before his only son, James, was of age. He also left two daughters, one of whom, Sibilla, married Mark Lynch of Barna, whose family subsequently became proprietors of Clogh. His descendant and representative, and present owner of Clogh-ballymore, is Colonel Llewellyn Blake, J.P. His second daughter, Mary French, married Martin Kirwan, whose second son, Richard, shall be noticed hereafter.

James French married Miss Mabel Donnellan of Bally-donnellan, and thus became the brother-in-law of Oliver Martynn of Tullyra, who had married her sister, Frances Donnellan.

He lived much in France, dreading the possible enforcement of the penal enactments of the period against Catholic proprietors. The tendency of his children to delicate health may also account for his stay abroad. During his residence at Bordeaux, his daughter Frances married a gentleman of eminence at Bordeaux, Bartholomew de Basterot, who, owing to the early death of all his brothers and sisters in law, except an idiot, became the heir to the Durus estates.

Bartholomew de Basterot, born in 1742, was a member of an old Bernese family. Under Louis XII. a De Basterot was governor of the town of Saint Macaire. Under Henry III., in 1574 and 1589, Louis de Basterot was a leader of the Catholic party at Bordeaux. In 1589 and 1610 he submitted to that monarch, and by his submission also secured his favour.

His second son, Francis, was appointed by Henry member of Parliament for Bordeaux. It should be remembered that the position was not then elective.

Bartholomew de Basterot, to whom we have referred above, held the position of President of the Parliament of Bordeaux in 1770. His wife died soon, leaving him an only son, James.

Both father and son emigrated to Ireland to assert their claims to the extensive properties to which they had become the rightful heirs.

But, as aliens and Catholics, the laws of the period in Ireland made it a matter of extreme difficulty for them to establish that claim. Undeterred by those difficulties, they succeeded, after a lengthened suit, extending over the years 1793, 1794, and 1795, in obtaining all the legal and statutory protection necessary, but after an enormous expenditure. Such, indeed, were the crushing costs incurred, that another considerable portion of the estate had to be sold. The purchasers were Robert Gregory of Cooli Park, and a Galway gentleman, Mark Lynch, who

erected a pretty summer residence on the sea-coast on his new property, and also erected the present Durus Chapel for the convenience of his tenantry. It was under pressure of these law costs that a debt was incurred, through which, in 1850, another considerable portion of the property was sold to a successful Galway artisan, named Comerford, whose exactions as a landlord have become memorable in the district.

James de Basterot, soon after settling in the country, married an Irish lady, a Miss O'Brien of Fairfield, near Aughrim. The difficulties which he had to contend with did not prevent him indulging his artistic tastes. The residence which he erected at Durus, and the plantings with which he clothed the undulations of the surrounding parks, must have reminded him a little of picturesque France. And, at a time when art was little known in Ireland, it is interesting to know that his leisure hours at Durus were fruitful of several paintings of no small merit. Of those some still hang in the parish church at Kinvara, and others are preserved in the residence of his grandson, the present Count De Basterot, at Neptune Vale. His relations with his tenantry were paternal and kindly; and these relations continued to be carefully cultivated by his son and heir, Bartholomew, afterwards Baron and Comte de Basterot, who was born in 1800.

As his father distinguished himself in art, so Bartholomew, Baron de Basterot, distinguished himself in literature. He lived much abroad, and married a French lady of noble birth, Pauline de la Tour Maubourg; one of the ancient and historic families of France, whose only son and heir, Comte de Basterot, is now the only living representative of both families, a gentleman whose culture and abilities are well and widely known. The published narrative of his American travels, *From New York to Lima*, proves him to be a man of high literary taste and keen powers of observation. Though he resides much abroad, he manifests a kindly sympathy with the people of this district in Galway, and seldom fails to make a short summer stay in his Durus residence.

Tyrone House and its picturesque surroundings are situated on the opposite shore of Durus Bay, and on the estuary of the Kilcolgan river. It is stated in the private records of the Tyrone family, that the castle and lands of Tyrone were purchased by Christopher French about A.D. 1650. This Christopher French is said to have been the son of Jeofrey French of Mulpit.¹ He married Jane, daughter of Peter Blake

¹ *Description of Ireland*, 1598, p. 275.

of Corbally, by whom he had a son, Arthur French, subsequently remarkable as the Mayor of Galway.

We are not in a position to state the exact extent of the Tyrone property at that period. It seems to have been extensive, however, and included certain portions of Ardrahan at the townland of Ballymaquiff. It is certain that the property was settled upon Arthur by his father by virtue of a deed dated, 20th May 1675. In that year Arthur French married Mary, only daughter of John Kirwan of Castle Lacket, in the county of Galway, by whom he had four sons and three daughters. On the death of his wife in the year of his mayoralty in 1689, he married his second wife, Sarah, widow of Joel Israel O'Farrell of Roscommon, a Protestant, by whom he had no issue.

The Mayor of Galway added considerably to his estates, but whether before or after his betrayal of Galway, it is now difficult to say. We cannot doubt, however, that he and the others by whom the capital of the West was surrendered, were generously rewarded. The Connemara estates, parts of which remain to this day in the hands of the Tyrone family, were acquired by him.

His eldest son, Christopher, inherited the property on his father's death in 1712.

Christopher French married Margaret, daughter of Israel O'Farrell of Roscommon. He professed himself a Protestant in the beginning of the eighteenth century, though his son was a Roman Catholic priest, and died in 1798. It is extremely probable that it was about this period that the remains of the adjoining monastery of St. Colga were destroyed, in order to erect on its site the unsightly Protestant church which is now dismantled there.

His son Arthur inherited the property, and married Olivia, daughter and heiress of John Usher of Carrick, Esq., and the Hon. Mary St. George, daughter and sole heiress of George, Lord St. George of Hatly St. George, through whom the Frenches of Tyrone became subsequently known by the name St. George. This change of name was legally effected by Christopher, heir of Arthur French, and only surviving son, on the death of Lord St. George, and in compliance with the testamentary settlement, A.D. 1774.

Christopher St. George, born in 1754, married, in 1778, Anne, the eldest daughter of Henry Bingham of Newbrook, County Mayo. His son by this marriage, Arthur French, inherited the Tyrone estates. He was father of the late Christopher St. George, who for a period represented his native county in the

Conservative interest. The late Christopher St. George was an authority in sporting and racing circles. His stud at the Carragh was well known throughout the country. But though the extensive estates which he inherited had at least a nominal rental of £13,000, the encumbrances were enormous. The administration of the Tyrone estates has not unnaturally, therefore, for some time past been entrusted by the creditors to the Court of Chancery.

Rahasane Park, another well-known seat of the French family, was situated about four miles north-east of Tyrone House. As seen in the early part of this century, it was a splendid residence. The mansion had then been but recently erected, and was more in the style of an eighteenth century English manor, than of an ordinary Irish country seat. It derived an additional feature of interest from the pretty chapel which was built in connection with it. Though the district is rather monotonous and unattractive, it was relieved by the extensive plantations within which the house was imbedded.

Marcus French is mentioned by Hardiman as the ancestor of the Rahasane Frenches.¹

Dalton, as we have seen, informs us that John French of Rahasane was an ensign in the Earl of Clanricarde's infantry at Aughrim. He also tells us that there was a Marcus French, a lieutenant in the same corps, who was promoted after the battle to the rank of captain, but immediately after "surrendered himself to De Ginkle."² We find from O'Callaghan the following suggestive note on the subject already quoted: "The desertion of Captain French of Lord Clanricarde's regiment to Ginkell may have been by the connivance of his namesake if not relative, the Mayor." It is now, perhaps, impossible to throw additional light on the connection, were it even desirable or interesting to do so.

He was the same Marcus French who married Catharine, daughter of Anthony D'Arcy, a descendant of James D'Arcy, who was Vice-President of Connaught under Elizabeth.³ After this we are unable to find many references of general interest to the family. They remained Catholic during the troubles of the eighteenth century. Towards the close of that century, we find that Robert French, the proprietor of Rahasane, was a popular man and widely esteemed. He added much to the value and beauty of his property by planting extensively, and by completing the beautiful mansion and domestic chapel which had been begun by his father. The plantings are referred to by

¹ *King James's Army List*, p. 860.

² *Ibid.*

³ Hardiman's *Galway*, p. 11.

Dutton at page 441 of his *Statistical Survey*. "At Rahasane," he says, "also poncasters are growing vigorously, exposed to the westerly winds, and in some plantations Scotch firs are only lingering out their lives. The largest oak probably in this province may be seen here. It is a noble tree, and spread with a charming canopy upwards of seventy feet." His plantations covered ten acres, and his name is mentioned amongst the gentlemen of Galway who received bounties for the plantings effected between the years 1768 and 1795 from the Irish Parliament.

But these for many of the Galway gentry were days of reckless expenditure; and Robert French, who died early in this century, and without issue, left his property so embarrassed that it was immediately sold. But these were days when the prestige which the "rights" of property conferred was invested with an irresistible charm.

The Rahasane property was purchased by a Mr. Power about 1825 for £20,000, and was soon after sold at a profit of £7000 to Thomas Joyce, Esq., of Galway, who, it was said, was indebted to creditors for £20,000 of the purchase-money. The debt, such as it was, proved a ruinous one, and so at about 1870 the property passed from his hands to the late unfortunate Mr. Burke, who died a victim to the agrarian troubles of the district in 1871.

Aggard is situated in the present parish of Craughwell, and in the vicinity of the village of that name. We are told by Dalton that "John French and Jane his wife claimed and were allowed an estate for life"¹ in 1691 on the estate of Charles Lambert of Aggard, county of Galway, who was at the time a forfeiting proprietor.

From documents preserved in the Deeds Office, Dublin, we find that a certain Gregory French lived at Aggard in the beginning of the eighteenth century, but was so deeply in debt that he was obliged to sell his estates there. His name is preserved in the Convert Roll, amongst those who renounced Popery in 1785. The purchaser was Walter Lambert of Creg Clare, in the parish of Ardrahan, who advanced moneys on the security of the estate. The deed of purchase, which was dated 2nd December 1729, was for one hundred years; but in case all the debts and encumbrances were not paid in the interval, with costs and interest, the property was to be the purchaser's for ever. The estate thus conveyed to Lambert in consideration of the debts contained 299 acres of profitable land.

The deed of sale, which is still preserved in the Deeds Office, Dublin, sets forth the sums of money advanced by Lambert to

¹ *King James's Army List*, p. 690.

French on various occasions. These sums must be regarded as very considerable, especially when we consider the value of money at that period. It may be instructive as well as interesting to quote the entries here. The document sets forth that the "said Walter Lambert became bound for said Gregory French for the following sums:—

"To John French, late Agart, father of Gregory French, £800.

"To John Blake of Ballimanagh for Gregory French, £200 stg. each bond.

"To Dominick Burke and John Cuffe three several bonds, £200 each.

"To Alexander Leonard for Gregory French, £200.

"To Evas French, alias Skeret, Galway, widow, £100.

"To P. Mullinix and Michael Lynch, both of Galway town, £100."

The accumulation of encumbrances in the case referred to, shows how many properties changed hands in the eighteenth century. We shall have an opportunity of seeing another very similar instance, the records of which are still fortunately preserved in the Deeds Office.

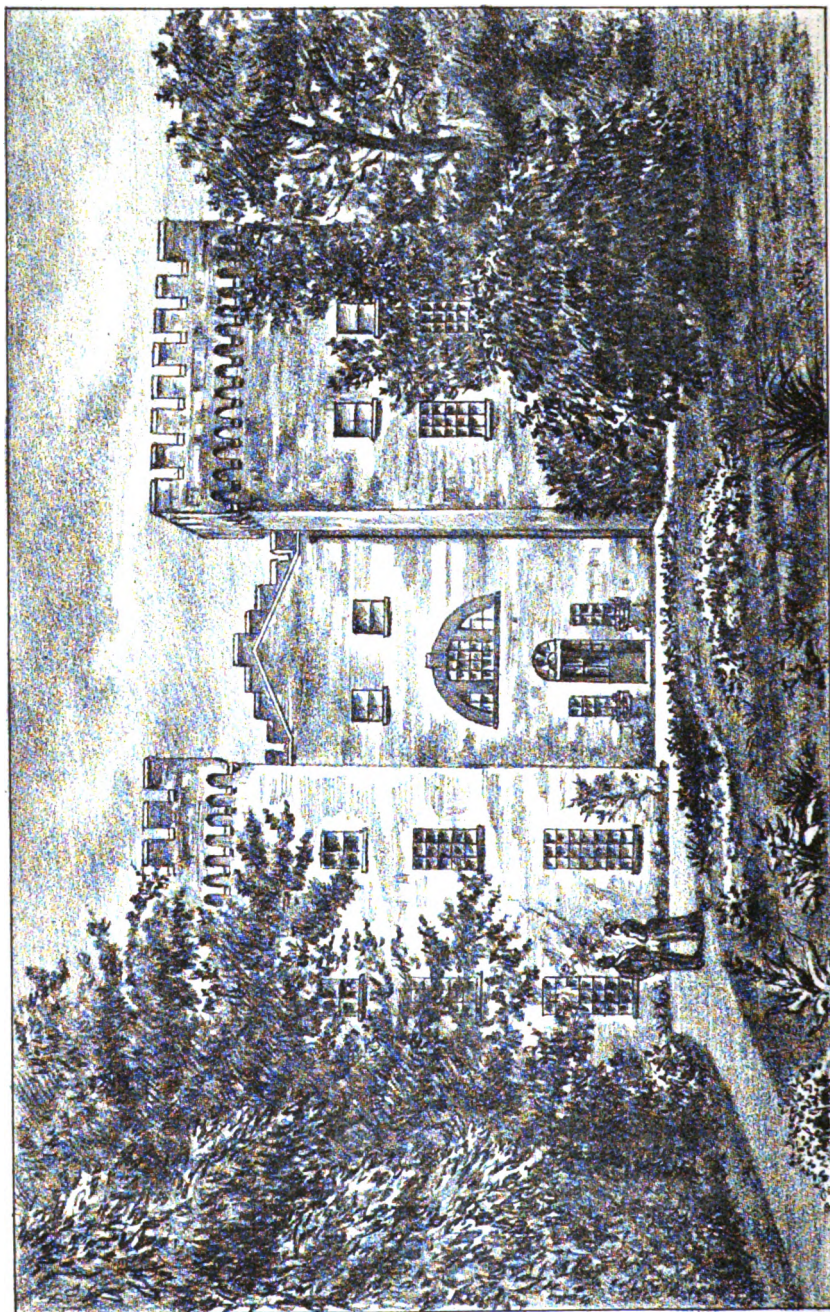
The Aggard estates, considerably increased since then, are still in possession of the Lambert family. The present owner is John Lambert, Esq. The residence, though commodious, is uninteresting. The plantations which surround it are young, but well and effectively arranged.

Walter Lambert, the purchaser of Aggard, had been then residing at Creg Clare, in the present parish of Ardrahan, which he held by lease from Dominick Bourke of Ballamana, County Mayo.

In 1726 he acquired possession of the lands of Creg Clare "for himself and his heirs male for ever," by a deed of sale, of which John Taylor of Castle Taylor and a certain Waller Taylor of Ballamana were witnesses. The property was small, consisting only of 837 acres, all situated in Creg Clare and its immediate vicinity.

The family residence there, a spacious one, was built in the early part of this century, and presents no special features which would connect it with any recognised style of architecture. But it is interesting as a good example of the style of residence which the Galway landed gentry seemed to ambition in the present and preceding century. They are usually square or oblong structures, without gables, well lighted and commodious, but wanting in every feature that is light or graceful in domestic architecture.

The property remained in possession of the family till about



CASTLE DALY.
RESIDENCE OF JAMES D. DALY, Esq., J.P.

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CASTLE PALY.
FARMER OF JAMES D. DUN, E. C. J. P.

thirty years ago, when it was purchased from James Lambert by Lord Clanmorris about 1855.

About the period of which we write, we find a branch of the Blake family holding property in the diocese of Kilmacduagh. They resided at Corbally, now known as Castle Daly, and are referred to by Hardiman amongst the representative families of the name.¹ Hardiman had written when the castle and estates of Corbally were about to pass by purchase into the possession of Peter Daly, Esq. Mr. P. Daly was the younger son of Dermot Daly of Daly's Grove, a Catholic whose ancestor was deprived of his property in Westmeath in A.D. 1652, and transplanted to Cloonbonise—Daly's Grove. Peter Daly acquired property in the West Indies, still in the possession of his family. He married Miss MacEvoy of Wimbledon, England. His son James Peter by this marriage was father of the present owner. Corbally Castle stood at the base of the Echtge Hills, about four miles north-east of Gort. But the old castle has been replaced by the present imposing and beautiful residence built by Peter Daly, Esq. The planting of the surrounding hill slopes and the erection of the adjoining pretty Catholic church were the immediate evidences of the taste and spirit of the new proprietors.

Tradition states that Corbally and the adjoining lands were portions of the estates of the O'Fahys. The inquiries quoted give authoritative support to this tradition. Of the Blake family we merely find, by incidental notices, that they were in possession in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and connected by intermarriage with some of the leading families in the county. Early in the last century we find that Richard D'Arcy of Clonouane, a descendant of James D'Arcy, one of the Galway jurors who suffered under Wentworth, married Catherine, daughter of Major Peter Blake of Corbally. We find by an original document still extant, and bearing date 16th January 1720, that this Peter Blake of Corbally was "holden and firmly bound to Hyacinth French of Cloghallymore in the said county, Gent., in the sum of two hundred pounds stg. good and lawful money of Great Britain, to be paid to the said Hyacinth French or his lawful attorney." It seems that this Peter Blake was married to a daughter of Hyacinth French. The same document also records a debt contracted by the same Peter Blake of Corbally with Peter Martynn of Cappavarna to the amount of £100 "of good and lawful money of Great Britain." This document is worth quoting here, as the only evidence within the writer's reach which shows who were the former owners of Cappavarna Castle, for some years a ruin.

¹ *History of Galway.*

We have little doubt that the Blakes of Corbally, like their kinsmen of Ardfry, secured their property after Aughrim by royal patronage.

The Blake family is an ancient one, and claims descent from Richard Caddell, alias Blake, who was High Sheriff of Connaught in 1306.¹ His eldest son, Walter, obtained a grant of the customs of Galway. Walter had five sons, the youngest of whom, William Fitz Walter Fitz Richard, was ancestor of the Blakes of Ardfry and of Ballinafad, to be noticed hereafter. The motto of the family is a beautiful one, *scil.* "Virtus sola nobilitat."

Adjoining Corbally, and extending northwards around Iser Kelly, were the fertile districts over which the Mac Hubert Burkes held sway for centuries. These were in truth the most fertile and picturesque districts of the diocese. The ruined castles, which may still be seen there, speak eloquently of the former power of this branch of the great Earl of Ulster's descendants. And whatever weakness may have been theirs in their support of the aspirations or aims of the Irish nation, they proved themselves ever zealous and faithful supporters of the fixed and unchangeable claims of the unchangeable Catholic Church. Hence they naturally disappeared when the fanatics of the seventeenth century were in the ascendant. We cannot fix the exact date in the eighteenth century when the Mac Huberts' estates in and around Iser Kelly passed into the possession of the Persses. We can fix the dates when important grants of land there, and in other districts of Galway and Roscommon, were made by the crown to Dudley Persse, "Dean of Kilmacduagh."

By the first of those grants,² made by Charles II. to the "Dean," under date 15th August 1677, he received 64 acres in the County Roscommon, and 404 in the County Galway.

On the 3rd of August 1678 an additional grant³ of 66 acres in the barony of Leitrim, County Galway, was made to Dudley Persse by letters patent from the same prince.

We find that a still more extensive and important grant of lands was made by James II. by letters patent, dated the 10th February 1686, to the same Dudley Persse. This grant comprised 2590 acres, profitable and unprofitable, in the baronies of Longford, Clonmacknowen, Leitrim, Loughrea, Dunkellin, and Kiltartan.

This does not include certain other grants made in the Galway liberties and certain portions of Roscommon county. Of

¹ Burke's *Landed Gentry*; Hardiman's *Galway*.

² Rolls Office.

³ *Ibid.*

those extensive grants enumerated, 1100 acres were situated in the baronies of Loughrea, Dunkellin, and Kiltartan. They included "the mansion-house at Cregarosta," which Dean Persse used as his residence. It has since continued to be the family residence, but under the altered name of Roxboro, under which designation the place was known when Henry Persse extended the family estates by purchases in the baronies of Loughrea and Dunkellin in June 1703. It is picturesque, as it retains all its old-fashioned features, which were never marked with any architectural regularity. The park and demesne are extensive, and amongst the most picturesque in the West. Though much of the heavy timber there has been recently cut down, the plantations are still extensive and well arranged.

There are in and around the demesne the three ruined castles which speak still of the departed power of the De Burgos of Iser Kelly. With the Echtge Mountains as a background rising boldly in the immediate east, the scene is pleasing and picturesque.

Those hills, at the base of which the Roxboro residence nestles, extend to the Shannon, and rise in the immediate neighbourhood to over 1000 feet.¹ Their principal rock formations are silex.² There are, however, various other interesting geological formations. On the Roxboro Mountain, coal, slate, and other indications of coal-beds were found "after small trial."³ Red heavy limestone, with fine clear pebbles, is very frequently seen. Along the summits there are deep boggy wastes, but along the slopes and valleys the land is capable of a high degree of cultivation. And along the Roxboro district those slopes show rich plantings of pine and birch, which almost recall their picturesque beauty when Mac Lonan sang their praises. But while copse and clumps and spreading woods make the hill slopes gay and pleasing, we look in vain for farmhouse or village there. Among the valleys within the folds of the mountains, and on the hillsides, there are lowly ruins which were once the homes of the industrious poor. They were, and they are not, for the exterminator was there.

The special merits which recommended Dean Persse to the favour of the Stuarts and the Irish Executive are not set forth in history. We are assured by a well-known tradition that his father, John Persse, had come over from England in the time of the Cromwellian troubles. Having renounced the old faith, he embraced with the reformed religion the favours which the executive conferred. It seems to have been under

¹ Scalp; Philip's *Atlas*.

² Dutton, *Survey*.

³ *Ibid.*

those circumstances that his son Dudley became a fortunate, if not a distinguished, Dean and land proprietor.

It is noteworthy that of the old Catholic proprietors the Martynns of Tullyra also passed through the social changes and bitter persecutions of the period under review without loss of property. In a preceding chapter we have referred to their lineage and social position. In the period of which we treat, we find that Oliver Martynn of Tullyra sat in King James's Parliament, A.D. 1689, as member for the city of Galway. Though attainted¹ after William's triumphs, he escaped all its penalties through the benevolent interference of the executive. And when, a few years later, a hostile Parliament devised and passed the most complete and ingenious measures to plunder Catholics of their lands, to deprive them of all the privileges of citizens, and to destroy their religion, we find that the Martynn family of Tullyra were by special enactment exempted from their operation, and secured in all their rights as citizens, proprietors, and Catholics.

Under Queen Anne there was an Act passed for "explaining and amending the Act to prevent the further growth of Popery."² In this Act, described by Hardiman as "memorable," there is reference made to Oliver Martynn of Tullyra, County Galway, Esquire, as a "person who, during the rebellion, behaved himself with great moderation, and was remarkably kind to numbers of Protestants in distress, many of whom he supported in his family, and by his charity and goodness saved their lives." It was therefore enacted "that he might enjoy his estate to him and his heirs, and settle and dispose of the same on his eldest son and his heirs males," etc.

His eldest son and heir seems to have received his father's name, as he inherited his privileges. His name was Oliver Martynn. He married Miss Browne of Castle Mac Garrett, County Mayo. He had a son, Oliver,³ who married, 1748, Frances, daughter of John Donnellan of Ballydonnellan, Esq., by Mary, daughter of Charles Daly of Calla. She was therefore niece of the Right Hon. Denis Daly of Dunsandle, Lord Justice of Common Pleas in Ireland. Her sister Mabel had married James French of Durus.

There can be no doubt that the Tullyra property at this period was extensive. We know that it extended over a portion of Kiltartan; as we shall see by the deed by which Robert Gregory, of London, gentleman, purchased the Coole property from Oliver Martynn in the middle of that century. From

¹ *King James's Army List*, p. 861.

² 8 Anne, c. 3, sec. 39.

³ *Hy Maine*, pp. 172, 173.

certain deeds of "lease and release," records of which are still preserved in the Deeds Office, Dublin, we are able to have a more accurate idea of the extent of his property. We find one bearing date 10th September 1761, between Oliver Martynn of Tullyra and Charles Daly of Calla, and John Kelly of Fiddane Castle. By this deed we find that he was the proprietor of Raheen; of Ballymaquiff and Dromharsna, in Ardahan; of Dungory, Ballybuck, Poulaveigh, and Tullick, in Kinvara parish; of Russane, Ballycahalan, Ballyconnell, and portions of Cloon, in Kilbecanty parish; of Kilomoran, in Kilmacduagh.

A few years later we find a record of a similar deed. It was executed by Oliver Martynn and his wife Frances Martynn, in favour of Anthony Daly of Calla and Walter Taylor of Castle Taylor. It is dated 27th May 1786. It is pretty clear from the nature of those deeds that this extensive property, which had then the special protection of the State, was passing fast into the grasp of creditors.

THOMAS DE BURGO, O.P., CLOGHCROKE.

Amongst the distinguished clerical exiles who were obliged to seek an asylum abroad at this period, I may mention Thomas de Burgo of Cloghcroke, and Edmond de Burgo of Cahirforvace. They were distinguished members of the Dominican Order, and children of the diocese of Kilmacduagh.

We have seen that the De Burgos of Cloghcroke¹ were one of the leading branches of the Clanricarde family. John Burke of Cloghcroke² was sheriff of the county in the time of Henry VIII. In the opening of the seventeenth century we find them still closely connected with the noble and influential families of the county. Ulick, third Earl of Clanricarde, married the Lady Honoria Burke of Cloghcroke; and we find that her mother was a daughter of Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy of Gort.

We find that Myles Burke of Cloghcroke was one of the Commissioners appointed by James II. in 1690 for fixing the taxation of Galway county.

This ancient family produced few more distinguished men than Thomas de Burgo, the subject of this notice. He was born in the middle of the seventeenth century. From his early years he prepared himself for the ecclesiastical state. Having resolved to enter the Order of Preachers, he made his early studies at Louvain.³ He proceeded from thence to Paris, where

¹ *Hib. Dom.* pp. 134, 222.

² *Ibid.* p. 583.

³ *Arch. Tuam*, p. 76.

he spent some time in the convent of St. James. From Paris he travelled to Rome, and completed his studies at the convent of St. Sixtus. Such was the esteem in which he was held at St. Sixtus, that he was appointed to take charge of the important chairs of philosophy and theology. In 1683 he was appointed Prior of St. Sixtus, which office he held for three years.

Returning to Ireland in 1686, he was appointed to the important but dangerous office of Prior of the Dominican convent at Athenry. To the great joy and benefit of the faithful, that ancient institute was open once more, for the last of the Stuarts had restored freedom to the persecuted Irish Church. But the days of its freedom were numbered. In 1697 the Prior of Athenry was compelled to fly to Rome, where he once more assumed his former duties as Prior of St. Sixtus. But new honours awaited him. He received the degree of Master of Theology in 1707. He was also raised to the office of Apostolic Penitentiary in connection with the Basilica of St. Mary Majors, which office he retained till his death in 1724.

EDMOND DE BURGO, O.P.

Cahirforvace¹ is situated in the present parish of Craughwell. It was the seat of an old though somewhat obscure branch of the De Burgos, and was the birthplace of the subject of this sketch in the middle of the seventeenth century, probably in 1661. It was at the old Dominican convent of Athenry, in the immediate vicinity of his native place, that the future distinguished writer received his early ecclesiastical training. It was there also that he was prepared for the priesthood. He made his religious profession there on the 8th May 1683. He then travelled to Spain, and prosecuted his studies at Pampeluna, and also at Salamanca, where he made the acquaintance of a young Italian named Louis Gotti. Young Gotti was destined for high ecclesiastical preferment. He was afterwards Cardinal of St. Sixtus at Rome. His friendship for the distinguished young Irish priest deepened into a lifelong affectionate regard. De Burgo subsequently travelled to Louvain, where he made a considerable stay in the monastery of his order. He remained here for sixteen years. Meantime he experienced at the hands of his brethren the highest proofs of their respect for his virtue and learning. He was appointed prefect of studies. Soon after he was appointed professor of Sacred Scriptures, and in 1706 he was appointed prior of his convent. At a general meeting of the

¹ *Hibernia Dom.* p. 222.

order held at Bonn in that year, it was decided that he should have the degree of "Master" conferred upon him.

In 1710 he returned to Ireland, undeterred by the dangers which should threaten him in that hour of the Church's trials. For nineteen years he laboured in his native land with marked success, by sustaining the faithful in their trials, by his teaching and holy life, and by refuting the tenets of heretics.

He wrote many works, which, according to the author of the *Hibernia Dominicana*, prove his extensive and accurate knowledge of the writings of St. Thomas. While engaged in his dangerous and laborious missionary labours in Ireland, he wrote an English treatise on the Rosary of Jesus, and of the Blessed Virgin. This work contains replies to certain letters recently published. Of these letters there were three. The first referred to the Pope's Infallibility; the second treated of the Easter Confession and Communion; the third regarded the obligation of hearing Mass on Sundays and holidays. This work, though written in Ireland, was first published at Louvain in 1725.

As might have been anticipated, De Burgo's book elicited a reply from an anonymous writer, who signed himself Philalethes. It was published at Rome in 1729, and condemned by the Sacred Congregation on the 29th of August the following year.

De Burgo was summoned to Rome by Thomas Rampoli, the General of his order, in 1729; and on his arrival in Rome in that year he was appointed Theologian of the Casanatensian College, an office just vacated by Thomas Plunkett.

His next work was written at Rome. It was entitled *Laqueus Contritus*, and was a vindication of the teachings of St. Augustine and St. Thomas on grace against the errors of the Calvinists. This work was published at Lyons in octavo, in the year 1736.

He wrote another work, which was not published through want of funds. The death of the lamented author soon after its completion may have also accounted for its remaining unpublished. It was a Latin treatise in defence of the teachings of the Council of Trent regarding the sufficiency of attrition with the sacrament of penance. The original copy of this work, *De Sufficientia Attritiones Tridentinæ in Sacramento Penitentiaæ*, was preserved in the monastery of St. Clement's. It was still preserved there when the learned author of *Hibernia Dominicana* left Rome in 1742.

This learned and holy priest passed to his reward on the 23rd May 1739, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

THE REGISTRATION ACT.

Before referring to the episcopal succession in the diocese, during the period under review, it will not be out of place to refer to a certain enactment passed in the beginning of the eighteenth century for the "Registration of the Popish Clergy." By this Act of the Legislature a supreme effort was made to render impossible the succession of bishops in their dioceses, or of priests in their parishes. Its aim and purpose was to give effect to the statutes previously passed for "banishing all regular and Popish clergy out of the kingdom," and to prevent Popish priests from coming into the same. All priests in Ireland in the year 1704 were accordingly required to give their names and places of abode to the clerks of the peace in the several counties. They were forbidden to have any assistants. They were to give securities bound in large penal sums that they were "not to remove out of the counties where their place of abode lies, etc." All who neglected to be registered were to be imprisoned or exiled.

With a knowledge of their abodes, they could be closely watched for any infraction of the law. And as no priests were to be permitted to come to Ireland, the few who remained would soon die out, and the Government difficulties with Irish priests would be at rest for ever.

In compliance with this enactment, a list of priests in Ireland was made in 1704, and is dated the 12th July. In that document we find the following interesting entries regarding the diocese of Kilmacduagh. The reader will note the recurrence of the old local names, the descendants of the old families guarding the spiritual interests of their plundered clansmen:¹—

Names of Priests.	Age.	Abode.	Parish.	Place and Date of Ordination.
Thomas Burke, . .	60	Tullyra.	Ardrahan.	1672 Clonbur.
John Hyne, . . .	39	Carrowbeg.	Kilchrist, Kilinane, and Iser Kelly.	1688 Kilkenny.
James Hyne, . . .	50	Ballylee.	Kiltartan.	1673 Athleague.
Bryan Laughlin, .	50	Tullyra.	Kilthomas.	1687 Kilkenny.
John Tully, . . .	49	Rue.	Kilora, Kilerneen, and Kilgibur.	1677 Cregaclara.
Tonach Mooney,	Ballivolane.	Dromacoo.	1697 Kilrickell.
Doran Molan, . .	47	Laughtyshaughnessy.	Kilmacduagh and Beagh.	1680 Ballylodge.
Denis Hyne, . . .	37	Kilcolgan.	Kilcolgan.	1691 Galway.
Anthony Hyne, . .	29	Carilane.	Killiny.	1700 Waterford.
John M'Kinine, . .	40	Kilcomane.	Stradbally.	1681 Galway.
Turlogh Hyne, . .	54	Poulneagan.	Kinvarragh.	1674 Cong.

¹ *Battle of the Faith*, p. 564.

EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION.

We shall see that the operation of this enactment was the cause of at least considerable delay to the appointment of a successor to Dr. Hugh de Burgo in the See of Kilmacduagh. From that prelate's death in 1653 to 1695 the See was governed by Vicars.

We find that MICHAEL LYNCH was selected by the Propaganda on the 12th May 1671 to be Vicar-Apostolic of Kilmacduagh. This was not the Michael Lynch who was then Vicar-General of the diocese. He was of the Tuam diocese, and probably a kinsman, if not a relative, of the Archbishop of Tuam, John Lynch, who strongly recommended his appointment. The few bishops who at that time were able to meet at Dublin, also recommended his appointment, and referred to him as a man remarkable for learning and zeal for souls.

The exact date of his appointment does not appear. But we find him in 1677 recognised as Vicar-Apostolic of the diocese. The date of his death is not given. As Martin Burke was Vicar-Capitular in 1692, the opinion may be hazarded that his death occurred about that date. An unpublished epitaph of this prelate, preserved in the archives of the Galway College house, shows that he had been at one period one of the Vicars of that city. It records his virtues in the musical measures of hexameter and pentameter, and gives eloquent expression to the writer's appreciation of the deceased prelate's character. It is too interesting to be omitted here :—

EPITAPHIUM.

Eximii admodum præsulis Domini
Michaelis Lynchæi
Sacrae Theologiæ Doctoris nec non Duacensis
Simul Diocesis pariterque Galviensis
Collegiatae Divi Nicholai Ecclesiæ Vicarii
Humanissimi musitata quadam hisce
Præsertim temporibus charitate aliisque
Egregiis pastoris virtutibus insigniter
Decatori.

Hic inopum gaza hic præsul gratissimus urbi
Norma sacerdotum, luxque decusque gregia,
Hic jacet heu Divi Nicholai vera propago
Cujus virtutum fidus alumnus erat
Virginibus viduis puerisque parentibus orbis
Pauperibusque suas suppeditavit opes

Inque pios usus proventus transtulit omnes
Scilicet hic alter nam Paterdus erat
Utque sepulturæ patuerunt ostia templi
Per tot lustra sacris haud referata viris
Illi tantarum parturo præmia rerum
Ostia cœlorum sic paruisse reor.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The O'Shaughnessy estates are declared confiscated, and conferred on Thomas Prendergast for "acceptable services"—His "discovery of the assassination plot"—William O'Shaughnessy serves in the French Army—His splendid career—Colman O'Shaughnessy, Bishop of Ossory, claims the family estates—The suit against John Prendergast Smyth continued by Roebuck O'Shaughnessy and by his son Joseph, who takes possession of the family mansion at Gort—O'Shaughnessy's defeat and ruin—Episcopal succession—Dr. O'Madden—Dr. F. de Burgo—Dr. KilKelly, Bishop of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora.

TURNING now to the south-eastern districts of the diocese, we shall witness a more arbitrary transfer of property to "the new men."

On the 11th of May 1697, the O'Shaughnessy estates were declared confiscated, and a formal Act of attainder and forfeiture was issued against Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy, lately deceased, and his son William. The official document is still preserved in the Rolls Office, Dublin, from which, through the courtesy of the officials there, I have been able to transcribe an outline which appears in the Appendix.¹ It is drawn up in abbreviated Latin. Though from this reason it is somewhat obscure, it shows clearly the vast extent of property of which those men were robbed in the name of law. Its extent was ascertained by an "Inquisition" held at Galway, under one Morley Sanders, on the 5th September, in the eighth year of William the Third's reign. The residences of which he was deprived are mentioned as well as the lands. We also find the names of the various mortgagees:—Walter Taylor of Bally MacGrath (Castle Taylor), Bryen O'Brien, Dermot Tully, Turlogh O'Heyne, Charles O'Shaughnessy, and Dermot Cloran.

This Dermot Cloran resided at Lissine, about two miles south of Gort, and was the family lawyer. Fortunately, some of his papers, which refer to the mortgages on the O'Shaughnessy estates of the period, are preserved in the appendices to Mr. Blake Forster's work.²

O'Brien was son of Lord Clare, Sir Roger's brother-in-law. We are also able to find that the Walter Taylor mentioned was

¹ See Appendix.

² *Irish Chieftain*, p. 582.

the then representative of the family at Castle Taylor. The author of the *Irish Chieftain*¹ gives the following account of the nature and character of his mortgage: "Among the bonds in his possession (i.e. Cloran's) was one from a Protestant Williamite named Walter Taylor. Captain Roger O'Shaughnessy had purchased land called Carubesida from Taylor, who had bought it from a patentee. Taylor gave his bond to execute a conveyance of those lands to O'Shaughnessy, but, however, he did not do so, as Dermot Oge did not attend to the affair at the time or afterwards, being in a depressed state of mind on account of the loss of Aghrim and the fall of Limerick. The Williamites being victorious, Taylor dishonourably took possession of Carubesida. Dermot Oge feared to question his right to do so, lest Taylor might injure him in his endeavours to keep Lissine. Therefore Taylor got back the bond, and kept the land, without returning to O'Shaughnessy the purchase-money which he had received from his father. This dishonourable transaction on the part of Taylor is fully explained by Dermot Oge in the notes and memorandums he left on his death to his son, for O'Shaughnessy's use." This transaction is referred to more in detail by Dermot Cloran in his memorandum drawn up for the guidance of William O'Shaughnessy.

The confiscated estates were conferred by royal grant on Gustavus, first Baron Hamilton, *in custodiam*. But Baron Hamilton had better things in store for him. He was afterwards created Viscount Boyne, and received also a military pension.

The Gort estates were therefore soon conferred on another favourite. On the 10th June 1697, the Gort estates were conferred on Thomas Prendergast during the lifetime of William O'Shaughnessy, "in consideration of his good and acceptable services." This grant included all O'Shaughnessy's real and personal estate. It was supplemented by others in Tipperary, Roscommon, and Westmeath. In 1699, Prendergast received a baronetcy also for his "acceptable services." His great "service" to the crown consisted in his "discovery of the assassination plot."

It was the golden age of "informers." Oates and Dangerfield had their day of inglorious success; though their degradation, which followed, was hailed by the nation as a national relief.

Prendergast's information, if true, was far more important than that of preceding informers. He was himself indeed a leading member of the "assassination plot," which, it was said,

¹ P. 539.

was composed in a large measure of his co-religionists, the Roman Catholics. It was only when all the arrangements for effecting their bloody purpose were completed, that he resolved to betray them. It would be hazardous to conjecture how far Prendergast himself may have been responsible for the real or assumed guilt of his associates. It may be idle and unprofitable to inquire if he too were actuated by the sordid selfishness of Titus Oates and others. Some may urge that he felt himself bound by feelings of loyalty to a king who was an alien in race and religion, and who, in the eyes of a large number of Englishmen, sat as a usurper on the throne of the Stuarts. However this may be, it is pretty certain that he, like other wretches of the class who are devoid alike of honour and conscience, "thought much of the danger he would incur by being true to his associates, and the rewards he might obtain by betraying them." Assisted by two other informers, named Fisher and De la Rue, Prendergast placed the King's ministers in possession of the purpose and character of the supposed conspirators. He soon had an interview with the King. This interview between His Majesty and the informer is detailed by Lord Macaulay at some length, and may be quoted here in the words of that celebrated writer: "Very late on Friday the 21st, Prendergast, who had as yet disclosed much less than either of the other informers, but whose single word was worth much more than their joint oath, was sent for to the royal closet. The faithful Portland and the gallant Cutts were the only persons who witnessed the singular interview between the King and his generous enemy. William, with courtesy and animation which he rarely showed, but which he never showed without making a deep impression, urged Prendergast to speak out. 'You are a man of true probity and honour, I am deeply obliged to you, but you must feel that the same considerations which have induced you to tell us so much, ought to induce you to tell us something more. The cautions which you have as yet given, can only make us suspect everybody that comes near us. They are sufficient to embitter my life, but not sufficient to preserve it. You must let me know the names of those men.'"

During more than half an hour, the King, we are told, continued to entreat, and Prendergast to refuse. At last, Prendergast said that he would give the information which was required, if he could be assured that it would be used only for the prevention of the crime, and not for the destruction of the criminals. "I give you my word of honour," said William, "that your evidence shall not be used against any person

without your own free consent." It was long past midnight before Prendergast wrote down the names of the chief conspirators. But the chief conspirators were quickly placed under arrest. Before the dawn of Sunday, twenty were imprisoned, and other arrests followed quickly. Prendergast's scruples about having his evidence used "against the criminals" must therefore have quickly disappeared under the subtle influence of royal favour. Assuming that His Majesty's plighted "word of honour" was religiously observed, it follows that the informer must have consented, and without delay, that his evidence might be used against his fellow conspirators. Charnock, King, and Keyes were the first victims who were executed on the informer's testimony. Two other gentlemen, named Friend and Parkins, quickly followed them to the scaffold, and their execution seems to have been ordered mainly on the evidence of Prendergast, which Macaulay speaks of as "respectable." Such was the nature of the services which secured for Sir Thomas Prendergast a special claim on royal favour, and for which he received a grant of the Lough Cutra and Gortinsiguair estates.

In 1690 he was created baronet. For some few years he was member of Parliament for Monaghan. He held the high position of Brigadier-General in the army, prior to the battle of Malplaquet in 1709. But at that celebrated engagement he was appointed to succeed Marlborough as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces.

He married Penelope, sister of the Earl of Cadogan, and had by her a son, Thomas, who inherited his title and estates, and two daughters, Juliana and Elizabeth.

Meantime Colonel William O'Shaughnessy, better known as the Chevalier O'Shaughnessy, succeeding to his father's ruined fortunes, like many other of his plundered countrymen, elected to leave his native land for ever.

We will allow Mr. O'Callaghan to tell us the story of his singular career in his *History of the Irish Brigades*:¹—

"In 1689, or in the commencement of the War in Ireland, William O'Shaughnessy, then only about fifteen, was captain of a company of 100 men, with which he served there till sent to France in the spring of 1690 in the regiment of the Hon. Daniel O'Brien (Lord Clare), and on July the 10th, 1691, was commissioned by Louis XIV. as a captain in that corps. In this grade he was the same year at the siege of Montmelian; in 1692 with the army of Italy; in 1693 at the victory of Marsaglia at Piedmont; in 1696 witnessed the conclusion of

¹ P. 336.

military operations beyond the Alps, by the siege of Valenza, at which he became commandant of the 3rd battalion of his regiment; and in 1697 was attached to the army of the Meuse.

"On the reform in 1698 of the 2nd and 3rd battalions of his regiment, he was made, April 1st, captain of Grenadiers in the battalion which was kept on foot. After the breaking out of the war of the Spanish Succession, or in 1701 and in 1702, he was employed with the army of Germany; in 1703 he was at the reduction of Kehl, the combat of Munderkingen, the first battle of Hochstedt; and in 1704 was at the second battle there, otherwise known as that of Blenheim. In 1705 he was with the army of the Moselle; and in 1706 at the battle of Ramillies. By the death from wounds there of his major, John O'Carroll, he became, July the 4th, successor to that gallant officer; and September 12th, lieutenant-colonel. He was with the army of Flanders in 1707; and at the battle of Oudenarde in 1708; at that of Malplaquet in 1709; at the attack of Arleux in 1711; at the action of Denain, Douay, Quesnay, and Bouchain in 1712; and in Germany the following campaign, at those of Landau and Friburg. Brigadier by brevet, April 3rd, 1721, he was in 1733 employed with the army of the Rhine, and at the successful siege of Kehl in October. In the same army, by letters of April 1st, 1734, he was at the attack of the lines of Ellingen, and at the siege of Philipsburg was made *maréchal de camp* by brevet, August 1st, and finished the campaign in that capacity. Continued as *maréchal de camp* with the army of the Rhine by letters of May 1st, 1735, he was present at the affair of Clausen.

"Attached to the army of Flanders by letters of August 21st, 1742, he commanded at Cambray during the winter, remained there during the campaign of 1743; and, having been appointed, November 1st, to command at Gravelines, died without issue January 2nd, 1744, aged seventy."

Thus did the representative of an ancient, a noble, and honourable house die in exile, stripped of his estates by "revolutionary vengeance and rapacity,"¹ not, however, without adding lustre to his family prestige; while a man, depicted by Swift as "a sordid betrayer of his friends and a relentless persecutor of the Established Church," had held his possessions.

But William's Act of attainder was issued only against the persons of Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy and his son William, and their property was alienated and conferred on Prendergast only during the lives of both. Consequently we find that,

¹ O'Callaghan's *Irish Brigades*, p. 337.

on the death of William O'Shaughnessy, a suit at law was instituted for the recovery of the property.

Chevalier William O'Shaughnessy died, as we have seen, without issue. His uncle, Charles O'Shaughnessy of Ardameelavane Castle, succeeded as representative of the family.¹ He married Eleanor Lynch of Rafiladown, County Galway, and had three sons, Joseph, Coleman, and Roebuck. Joseph dying without issue in 1732, his brother Coleman, afterwards Bishop of Ossory, succeeded to the representation of the family.

Coleman O'Shaughnessy made his early studies with the Dominican fathers at Athenry. Having, like many of his countrymen, gone abroad, he was for a time attracted by the glitter and adventures of a military life. But he soon laid aside the soldier's gay uniform for the cassock and cowl of the religious. Placing himself under the care of his old friends, the Dominicans at Louvain,² he completed his studies there in 1706, and was received amongst the fathers of the convent. The high estimate formed of his abilities may be inferred from the fact that he was immediately charged with the onerous duties of teaching there.

He soon after returned to Ireland, to minister to the spiritual needs of his persecuted fellow-countrymen. His labours, which were of extreme danger, as well as of importance, were confined to his native province, and were marked with signal success. His contemporary and friend, De Burgo, refers to his persuasive eloquence, and also to a certain charming frankness of manner, as amongst the striking traits in his character at this period, to which his success may be in part attributable.

He was elected Provincial of his order on the 30th April 1726, in succession to Dr. Mac Egan, Bishop of Clonmacnoise. In 1736 he was created Bishop of Ossory by Pope Clement XII.; and consecrated by the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Loneragan, assisted by Drs. Mac Egan of Meath and Mac Donough of Kilmore.

On his brother's death in 1744 he became the legal claimant for the family estates. The suit was formally instituted in the Court of Common Pleas, Dublin, against Sir Thomas Prendergast, the son and representative of Sir Thomas on whom the estates were conferred by the Prince of Orange.

It was a bold, perhaps a hopeless proceeding, for a Catholic bishop in those days, especially when we see the hostility of the laws to Catholic proprietors, and the influence of the family in possession. But, pending the hearing of the case, Bishop

¹ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 383.

² *Epis. Succession*, Brady, vol. i. p. 368.

Coleman was summoned before that higher tribunal before which all mortals must appear. His death occurred in the year 1748, at Gowran, a parish of his diocese, of which Father John O'Heyne had then pastoral charge. On the bishop's death the responsibility of supporting the family claims devolved on his brother and legal representative, Roebuck O'Shaughnessy.

When the suit at law was instituted, Sir Thomas Prendergast (second) was long in possession of the Gortinsiguairé estates. He was also a man of wide influence and high personal character. He represented Chichester in the English, and Clonmel in the Irish Parliaments. He was also Postmaster-General for Ireland. He was about to be raised to the peerage under the title of Viscount Clonmel, when he died on the 22nd August 1760, leaving no issue.

On the death of Sir Thomas Prendergast, his estates passed to his nephew, John Smyth, Esq. His sister Elizabeth had married Charles Smyth, son of Thomas Smyth, Bishop of Limerick. His nephew by this marriage, on inheriting the Gort estates, took the name of Prendergast, and was usually known as John Prendergast Smyth.¹

Considering the connection of his family with Limerick, we cannot be surprised at finding him holding positions of importance in connection with that city and county. Accordingly we find him holding the position of "Lieutenant-Colonel of the Limerick Independents, and afterwards that of Colonel of the Limerick City Militia."² He was also for a time parliamentary representative of the borough of Carlow. He was raised to the peerage on the 15th May 1810 as Baron of Kiltartan, obtaining for his nephew and successor, the Right Hon. Charles Vereker, the succession of the title. On the 23rd January 1816 he was made Viscount Gort, with reversion also to his nephew.

Roebuck O'Shaughnessy, who continued the litigation after the death of his brother, the Bishop of Ossory, married Eleanor, eldest daughter of Ulick Burke of Ower. He died in 1754, before any decision was arrived at by the courts, leaving a son, Joseph. But Sir Joseph O'Shaughnessy, probably tired of the law's proverbial delay, perhaps still more of the ruinous expenses which such a suit necessarily entailed, was foolishly induced to change the character of the case by taking forcible possession of the family mansion at Gort. There can be no doubt that he was encouraged to take this fatal step by many of the gentry of the county, as well as by the representatives and followers of the tribe with which this family had been long and honourably connected. O'Donovan refers to this, on what he

¹ *History of Limerick*, p. 225.

² *Ibid.*

and others justly regard as the authority of a well-founded tradition. He writes: "Tradition states that this Joseph O'Shaughnessy, assisted by his relatives and the gentry of the county of Galway, took forcible possession of the mansion-house of Gort, on which occasion they caused the bells of Athenry and Galway to be rung for joy."¹

The enterprise, ill-advised as it was, was also a dangerous one, as for a considerable time past a troop of His Majesty's forces held possession of the old mansion and Gort Castle for the Prendergast family. When visited by Dr. Pococke in 1749, it is thus referred to in his memorable narrative: "I was at Gort in 1749 in our tour through Munster and Connaught. It was the estate of the O'Shaghnesses, and was forfeited; and now there is a barrack in an old 'mansion-house of that family, built within the walls of the (in the) castle."² Overawed by the numbers and enthusiasm of O'Shaughnessy's followers, the soldiers in possession of the mansion wisely fled, leaving O'Shaughnessy for a time master of his ancestors' hospitable halls. The enthusiasm was boundless with which his followers gave welcome to the representative of the chiefs of Kinel Aedh to the castle of his ancestors. They recalled the memories of the past, celebrated alike in history and song, which spoke of the lavish hospitality of the chiefs of Kinel Aedh. And though the voices of the bards were then silent in the West, local poets did not fail to give expression to their joy in no ignoble stanzas. O'Donovan tells us that a very curious song of exultation was composed on the occasion by a poor man of the family named James O'Shaughnessy, the first quatrain of which runs as follows:—

"Mayst thou meet neither peril nor danger,
O hero without fault,
As thou hast won the goal,
The tribe that is in power will be the better of it.
The poets shall spread thy fame,
And the ollaves shall speak of thee,
And from the nobles of Innisfail
Thou wilt receive at Gort the palm of hospitality."

But the triumph was short-lived. A case was immediately filed in the Court of Chancery by Prendergast Smyth, which afforded the executive the long-desired pretext for an adverse decision against O'Shaughnessy. As the case now appeared, it was that of "Smyth and others, against O'Shaughnessy and others, in the Court of Chancery here in October 1760," etc. Prendergast Smyth had therefore assumed the position of

¹ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 385.

² *Tour in Ireland*, 1752, p. 108.

plaintiff. And his case seems to have been based on a "petition to the Lords Commissioners—the Lord Chancellor being then in England—on a pecuniary bill and affidavits. An injunction was granted to the Sheriff to restore the plaintiff, as devisee of the estate in question, to the possession of the mansion-house, out of which, it had been sworn, he had been forced by the defendant O'Shaughnessy, who claimed under some old dormant title, not as heir-at-law; and an injunction was also granted to the party, as to the demesne, unless cause could be shown as to the contrary in the time prescribed by the order."

It would seem that the money resources of the litigants were by this time on both sides exhausted. It is stated that Mansfield, the Lord Chancellor, procured for Prendergast a considerable sum to enable him to prosecute the suit. Some say the amount was £20,000. But O'Donovan, mentioning this tradition, gives it at £8000, which sum was a mortgage on the property. It has been said, though we think not conclusively, that Lord Brougham was the real owner of the mortgage; and that he sold his claim to Vicesimus Knox,¹ who subsequently lent additional sums for the erection of the beautiful castle at Lough Cutra. These, it is said, were the debts for which the property passed from the hands of the representatives of Prendergast Smyth in 1852.

We find that Sir Joseph O'Shaughnessy received willing help from his impoverished relatives. But his case was hopeless. As De Burgo, the learned author of *Hibernia Dominicana*, boldly puts it, *money and influence*, not justice, decided the case in favour of John Prendergast Smyth.

"The defendant (O'Shaughnessy) came to show cause against the injunction to the party, and to set aside the injunction to the Sheriff upon a notice for that purpose; but as to the first point the Court disallowed the cause, and as to the second point the Court refused to set aside the injunction, for that it is an order of course, and usually granted at the first instance, as the party is turned out of his place of residence, and may not have a place to go to; and on these motions the following points were determined:—

"That the defendant should not read any affidavits, or show any other cause than appeared on the face of the plaintiff's affidavits," etc.

In Howard's treatise, in which the case is recorded, it is fittingly referred to as one of very "great importance."

Of the defeated litigant, O'Donovan records that "he was

¹ Lord Mansfield's nephew.

the last claimant of the Gort estate, and died without issue in 1785; and there is no one now living that has yet traced his pedigree with certainty to the first Sir Dermot who was knighted by Henry VIII. Some think that this race is totally extinct in the male line."¹

The executive, profiting by its experience, immediately removed every trace of the old castle and mansion at Gort, by erecting on its site the existing military barrack. And John Prendergast Smyth, who was soon to be known as Lord Kiltartan, erected, a short way up the river, a commodious residence of the modern style, in which he resided till the castle at Lough Cutra was completed by his heir and nephew, Vereker, Viscount Gort. Lord Kiltartan's house and grounds at Gort are long in the possession of the Sisters of Mercy in that town.

EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION.

We have seen that Martin Burke was Vicar-Capitular of Kilmacduagh in 1692. As the difficulties in the way of the Catholic episcopal succession in Ireland were then as formidable as penal enactments could make them, we are not surprised to find that for some time there was no appointment to the See vacated by the death of Dr. Lynch.

Dr. AMBROSE O'MADDEN of Clonfert was his successor.² We find that he was nominated Bishop of Killala and Administrator of Kilmacduagh on the 13th of August 1695. And we also find that subsequently, on the 15th of November 1708, he was appointed Bishop of Kilmacduagh; but the issue of the brief had been delayed.

Dr. O'Madden, who belonged to the adjoining diocese of Clonfert, had been for twenty years parish priest of Loughrea. He had his name "registered" there, in accordance with the provisions of the Act for the "Registration of the Popish Clergy."

Dr. O'Madden did not wish, however, to leave Loughrea. In a letter addressed to the Holy Father, dated 24th December 1703, and in another still more lengthy communication addressed by him to the Propaganda on the 24th December 1703,³ he adduces many reasons in justification of his wishes. On those representations he was permitted to retain the parish of Loughrea, while charged with the episcopal administration of Kilmacduagh. This arrangement had Papal sanction

¹ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 386.

² Brady's *Episcopal Succession*.

³ Both letters are preserved in the *Specilegium Ossoriense*.

by brief, dated 15th March 1707. He was, however, transferred to Clonfert, his native diocese, in 1713.

From 1713 till 1720 the See was governed by Vicars.

On the 5th of January 1720, FRANCIS DE BURGO was nominated Bishop of Kilmacduagh. On the 1st of May following, he was consecrated at Dublin by the Archbishop, assisted by the Bishops of Meath and Kildare. In the consecration returns he is styled "Francis Burke of Palece."

The reign of Dr. Burke must have been short, as we find that BERNARD O'HARA—a regular—was appointed his successor as Bishop of Kilmacduagh in December 1723.

Dr. MARTIN BURKE was next bishop. He was appointed Bishop of Kilmacduagh by brief, dated 22nd November 1732. And on the 8th of March 1733, the "Electus Duacensis" was consecrated at Paris, with the observance of all the usual formalities. The Archbishop of Paris countersigned his certificate on the 26th of March 1733.

This Dr. Martin Burke is referred to in the *Hibernia Dominicana*¹ as Milo de Burgo, under date 1744. But the date 1744 is the date of his death.

Dr. KILKELLY succeeded. The brief of his appointment is dated 22nd June, A.D. 1744, and was issued by Pope Benedict XIV. By this brief His Holiness conferred upon "his beloved son, Peter Kilkelly, Master of S. Theology," the singular privilege of selecting, as the consecrating prelate, any bishop in communion with the Holy See. He was also free to select the two or three assisting prelates; and in case he should find it inconvenient to secure their presence, he was authorised to select instead two or three priests, who were, however, to be "ecclesiastica dignitate conspicui."

He was consecrated, however, in the Dominican Convent of Nuns in Dublin, by the Archbishop, assisted by the Bishops of Kildare and Meath, on the 14th October 1744.²

In 1750 the See of Kilfenora became vacant by the death of Dr. James O'Daly, an Augustinian. Being conterminous, a union was effected between both dioceses, and Dr. Kilkelly appointed Administrator of Kilfenora, while retaining the See of Kilmacduagh. Though this was to be the designation of the first bishop under the union, his successor was to be "Bishop of Kilfenora and Administrator of Kilmacduagh;" and the titles were to alternate similarly in the case of each succeeding prelate.

The union thus auspiciously begun under this distinguished prelate, was a union welcome to both dioceses, and one which,

¹ P. 500.

² Brady's *Episcopal Succession*.

initiated under the guidance of so distinguished a prelate, has been hitherto fruitful of the happiest results.

Dr. Kilkelly was, as De Burgo¹ informs us, a representative of the ancient and noble family of the name, who were owners of the Cloghballymore estates and castle to Elizabeth's time. He became a member of the great Order of Friars Preachers, and early in life was made Director of their college at Galway. It was in the university city of Louvain, however, that he completed his studies. In the year 1740 he went to Rome, and was there chosen one of the Theologians at the Casanatensian library.² In 1742 he was appointed to the rank of Provincial of his Order in Ireland, and promoted from this high position, as we have seen, to be bishop of his native diocese two years after. We have not been able to find a record of the date of his death.

¹ *Hib. Dom.* p. 222.

² Brady's *Episcopal Succession*.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Kirwan family—Kirwans owners of Ballyturrin—Richard Kirwan, LL.D., etc., born at Cloghballymore—His eminence as a writer—His death—Sibilla French marries Blake of Ballinacfad, who becomes owner of Clogh—Redingtons of Kilcornan—Thomas Redington files bills of discovery against his Catholic brother of Kilcornan—Richard Gregory of London purchases the Coole and Kinvara estates—Burke Eyre acquires the Cloon estates—Stafford Eyre's Inquisition—Dean Nethercoat gives his returns of the Papists in 1766—Episcopal succession.

THE Kirwan family were prominent amongst the so-called Tribe families of Galway, and might fairly rest their claim for distinction on the merited reputation of Richard Kirwan, LL.D., of Cregg Castle, a scholar of European fame.

The name and family are admittedly Irish, the former being originally written Ciorrovan or Kirrovan, the name of the ancient founder of the family. Whatever difficulty there may be in showing that Ciorrovan or Kirrovan was second son of Milesius, there is none in showing that some families of the name settled in Galway as early as the reign of Henry VI., at "which time," says Hardiman, "the name first occurs in its present form."

William Kirwan settled in Galway in 1488. He was the common ancestor of the various influential families of the name in the county, among which we must name the families of Castle Hacket, Dalgin, and Cregg. Mr. Hardiman thinks that Sir John Kirwan, of Castle Hacket, has established a claim on favourable remembrance, for having preserved the first herd of racing cattle in the empire, and also for being the first who, in 1689, introduced glass windows in the modern form in Galway.

Andrew Kirwan, who married Margaret French, was founder of the Cregg family. In their motto they proudly professed a love of God, of king, and country.

We also find a family of the name settled at Ballyturrin, a picturesque district on the northern shore of Lough Cutra. From an original document preserved in the archives of the College House library at Galway, we find that a certain Peter

Kirwan resided at Ballyturris in 1681, and was then owner of some property in the district.

Ballyturris was part of the extensive possessions of the Mac Redmond Burkes, then recently confiscated. And one of their many castles, which rose over the waters of the Ballyturris lake, may still be seen, sadly wrecked, near the site of the old residence of the Kirwans. Blake Forster informs us that Ballyturris Castle was thrown down by Edmond Kirwan, Esq. of Dalgan, who resided at Ballyturris about the year 1780. Though holding only the position of obscure proprietors, they retained their property there till the early part of this century. In 1843, Anna Georgina, only daughter and heiress of Richard Kirwan, Ballyturris Castle, County Galway, married John Lloyd Baggot of Ballymoe. The beautifully-situated residence which now crowns the summit of the hill, and commands a superb view of Lough Cutra and the surrounding districts, was erected by that gentleman, and is now in possession of his heir and representative.

We find the French family of Cloghballymore and Durus closely connected with the Kirwans of Cregg Castle. About the middle of the last century, Martin Kirwan, the then representative of Cregg Castle,¹ married Mary French, daughter of Hyacinth French of Clogh. By this marriage there were four sons. Patrick, the eldest, died unmarried; and Richard, the second son, became proprietor of the family estates. But the acquisition of the family property could confer no distinction on Kirwan, the distinguished scientist. Amongst the literary men of his age he held a high place. He held a leading place amongst the first philosophers of Europe in his time, and was even better and more widely known on the Continent than in his native country. Hardiman pertinently remarks that "it has been pointedly observed as a reflection on Ireland, that the abilities of Mr. Kirwan were more appreciated, and that his reputation was greater, in every country in Europe than in his own." However, it will be inferred from the fact that he occupied the position of President of the Royal Irish Academy, and also of the Royal Dublin Society, for many years before his death, that his eminence as a scholar was not entirely ignored in Ireland.

Richard Kirwan was born at Cloghballymore in 1733. The Rev. Nicholas Mac Nally, who was family chaplain at Clogh, was young Kirwan's first tutor. The extraordinary abilities

¹ He was descended from Richard Kirwan, who built Cregg Castle in 1648, "the last edifice of that description erected for purposes of defence" in the West.—Dalton, p. 767.

of his young pupil seem to have manifested themselves at a very early age. While yet a child of five years of age, he is said to have been able to conjugate a French verb. We hear of a compendium of history which he drew up at the age of seven. His love of chemistry and of experimental science developed itself very early, and proved a source of uneasiness to his mother. A letter of hers remonstrating with her gifted son on the subject, shows her to be a lady of sense and culture, and may be reproduced here from Mr. O'Flanagan's interesting sketch.¹ It was written soon after Richard had left home to pursue his studies at Poitiers :—

" 11th May 1750.

" MY DEAR DICKEY,

I would write to you a good deal about your studies, if I thought it to much purpose; but I am pretty much of opinion that experience alone must effect what advice will not at present. I apprehend that chemistry or some such abstruse study takes up your time and attention too much, for I believe philosophy, rhetoric, or any such study which you are to go through regularly after one another won't require such a number of books at once. The consequences will convince you, I fear, when it is too late, of the (folly) of studying anything but as you are directed; doing any more is but a childish curiosity that would not be approved by persons of sense here, whom I have sounded on this head; and I am sure it is so there. They say that beginning with chemistry before one has studied philosophy is beginning at the wrong end. How confounding must that be and pernicious to body and mind. The faculties of the one, and the strength and growth of the other, cannot but be hurt and weakened by it extremely, neither being come to perfection yet in you that are so young. Therefore let me tell you that if you go beyond the dictation of your masters, you are ruined. I write this early enough to prevent your doing yourself any harm; and, my dear child, you can't imagine what comfort it would give me to hear that you take my advice in this particular. . . . There are several instances of people that were turned, or 'touched,' as they call it, by study, which make me insist so long upon your not falling into the dangerous practice, which I suspect you do as you were so fond of it here, and not to be easily put off of what you would be inclined to. Your brother Patrick, if he had the greatest passion for anything, I would require but just to let him know my reasons to disapprove on it, and he would be sure in a letter

¹ *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. iv.

or two to answer my desire to the full, and seem ashamed to be the occasion of giving me so much trouble. He would let me know immediately that he would comply, and even without reluctance. What dangers has he not escaped with God's blessing by this happy temper! I read somewhere in a French book what I would have my children often consider. It runs thus: '*La plupart des hommes emploient la première partie de leur vie à rendre l'autre misérable.*' This, you see, was a very just observation of the author.

"I am so uneasy to satisfy you, I leave £6 in Mr. Usher's hands to buy anything for you that you will have a mind to, but it frightens me to think you could buy books with it. Write to me again about what books you want. If they be of chemistry, I'll never desire to hear more of them. Adieu, dear Dickey; mind your health even for my sake, and take care of your immortal soul, that it may enter into the joys of our Lord, when you leave this valley of tears. Your Grandmamma French, who loves you greatly, often thinks of you, and gives you her blessing.

"I am, my dear Dickey, your loving mother,

"MARY F. KIRWAN."

This beautiful letter, which shows Mrs. Kirwan to have been a lady of culture, of true religious feeling, and of sound sense, does not appear to have had the desired effect on her dear child "Dickey."¹ He seems to have continued his chemical studies according to the bent of his own "sweet will," though their pursuit seems to have been then unattended with the results anticipated by his fond mother. It does not appear that he was "touched." And as he was engaged by the Jesuits to profess humanity for a period, we cannot assume that he neglected his classical studies.

His brother Patrick's untimely death, which was brought about by a duel with Mr. Brereton, the Usher of the Irish House of Commons, brought Richard Kirwan from his studies abroad, and made him heir to the estates of Cregg Castle. But though the residences of our Galway gentry of the eighteenth century were not so suited to the cultivation of learning as were the halls of St. Omer, Kirwan seemed on his return to have continued his studies with unabated zeal. His favourite studies seem to have been chemistry, geology, and mineralogy.

¹ Dalton, writing of him, says: "Richard Kirwan was pre-eminently the chemist—accounted one of the greatest philosophers of the day—and a member of most of the literary institutions in Europe."—*Army List*, p. 768.

He made the daughter of Sir Valentine Blake, of Menlo Castle, his wife. She brought him, with an ancient name, considerable debts, and witnessed his studies with anything but a sense of enthusiasm or strong approval. Her opinions were shared by Lady Blake, her mother, who seems to have had less reluctance in giving Mr. Kirwan the benefit of her unfavourable opinions. Under pressure of those domestic troubles, Kirwan changed his residence for a time, his studies, and, it is said, his religion. He studied law. Under such circumstances it may have proved an agreeable relaxation. In 1766 he was called to the bar, at which he practised a little for two years. His wife having died meantime, he once more devoted himself to his favourite studies. His publications, which show the extent of his extraordinary and varied knowledge, are almost too numerous to be referred to.

His *Elements of Mineralogy* was published in London in 1784 in two volumes, and was so valued on the Continent that it was translated into French, German, and Russian. His geological essays were published in London in 1799, and in the same year he published his *Analysis of Mineral Waters*, a work much valued at the period. His work on Logic appeared in 1807 in octavo, and was published also in London. In 1809 followed his work on Metaphysics. We are assured by Mr. O'Flanagan that he had written a treatise on Music, but did not publish it.

In addition to those important treatises, he wrote several essays on subjects the most varied and abstruse. In one he treats of "Magnetism," in another of "Space and Duration," now on "The State of the Weather," again on "Coal Mines." He investigates the "Primeval Language of Mankind," and the "Origin of Polytheism, Idolatry, and Grecian Mythology."

In London he was the friend of the leading literary men of his time; so too in Dublin he was the friend and associate of the most distinguished and eminent.

On the death of the Earl of Charlemont, he was elected President of the Royal Irish Academy. He was also elected President of the Royal Dublin Society. Trinity College conferred on him the honorary distinction of Doctor of Laws. He was Fellow of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh. He was member of many foreign academies; amongst others, Stockholm, Berlin, Upsal, and Philadelphia.

It is singular that the works of this remarkable man are now practically unknown to literary and scientific men. They are sought for only by the curious, who are obliged to search for them on the upper shelves of our public libraries.

Certain opinions, which he is said to have held towards the close of his life, would seem to show that his mother's apprehensions as to the dangerous results of ill-regulated studies were realised even in his case. Hardiman tells us that "he conceived that mankind is indebted for a large portion of knowledge, particularly astronomy, to the antediluvians, and that Greek was the first language spoken by man."¹ There seems also to be a marked disposition on the part of some writers to question the orthodox character of his religious opinions in his declining years. An "Octogenarian" states that he became a Protestant, but adds it was reported he reverted to his early faith. He seems to have been a man of fine presence and of engaging manners.

His portrait, painted by Hamilton, and presented to himself in life, hangs in the board room of the Royal Dublin Society to the present day.

He died on the 1st June 1812, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and is buried in the churchyard of St. George, Lower Temple Street, Dublin.

Thirty years after his death, Dr. Pukrell of Cork delivered an eloquent eulogium on his character and writings before the members of the Society, Dr. Lloyd in the chair. It is published in the *Proceedings of the Academy*,² and is, we think, of sufficient interest to be quoted here:—

"Mr. Kirwan had been educated for the Bar, and practised for some time this honourable profession, but, having unexpectedly succeeded to an ample patrimonial income by the death of his elder brother, who was killed in a rencontre while in the act of entering the House of Commons, a new direction was given to his views and energies. Thenceforth he devoted himself in dignified retirement to the pursuits of science.

"The sciences to which Mr. Kirwan more particularly applied himself were chemistry, mineralogy, including geology and meteorology. And that his contributions to each of those departments of natural knowledge were of the highest importance cannot be doubted, although his name is not connected with any of those transcendent or dazzling discoveries which secure immortality for their authors, and mark, as it were, an era in the intellectual progress of the human race.

"In chemistry his researches were numerous and valuable in a high degree. By him, for the first time, the phenomenon naturally referred to as 'double elective affinity' was studied with accuracy and success, and the attention of chemists fixed upon the antagonist forces, which he distinguished by

¹ *Galway*, p. 318.

² Vol. iv. p. 481.

the terms 'quiescent and divellent.' He even attempted to assign measures of the degree of the affinity between acids and bases, an effort which, had it been successful, would have raised chemistry to the rank of the more exact physical sciences, and have brought its results within the domain of mathematical calculations.

"In an early communication to this Academy, he explained very accurate methods of determining the strength of mineral acids, so much employed in medicine and the arts.

"In his essays on Alkaline Substances used in Bleaching, he pointed out the nature of the colouring matter of linen yarn, and established, as he conceived, the fact, important in a national point of view, that the linen manufacture of Ireland is altogether independent of foreign salts or ashes for the purpose of bleaching.

"Next follow his experiments on the proportions of carbon in bitumen and mineral coal, and his essays on the Analyses of Soils, and the Nature and Manner of Action of the Manures best suited to each locality. From this enumeration of his chemical labours, they would appear to have been chiefly directed to objects of immediate practical utility. This, however, was not always the case, for he turned special attention to one of the most difficult departments of the doctrine of Caloric, and communicated a table of specific heats, which was published by Magellan, and had some celebrity.

"Chemists of the present time, who know in what a chaotic state their science was in the days of Kirwan, will not hesitate to award to him the merit of having been an acute reasoner and a laborious experimenter, and will not, looking at the period in which he lived, consider it any serious reproach to him that he was a strenuous supporter to the last of the phlogistic theory, which, however, he continued to maintain long after any satisfactory evidence could be adduced in support of it.

"In the department of mineralogy, the exertions of Mr. Kirwan may be said to have had a national importance. To him is undoubtedly due the merit of having introduced the study to this country. The celebrated Liskean Collection, in the possession of the Dublin Society, was acquired through Mr. Kirwan, who passed over to Germany for the purpose of purchasing it.

"And as Inspector-General of Irish Mines, he addressed an able memorial to the Irish Government, pointing out the economic importance of mineralogical science, and bespeaking for it support and encouragement."

In conclusion, Dr. Pukrell said: "With every disposition to celebrate his worth, it would after all be presumptuous to deny that the task of rendering full justice to merit so varied and transcendent will still await and solicit the execution of a more competent hand.

"Meantime, departed genius will not disdain this humble tribute at its tomb. Thirty years have now elapsed since that tomb closed upon the remains of the illustrious Kirwan, but his memory cannot fade with the lapse of time. The gratitude of mankind will attest his services, and history, in tracing the progress of those sciences which he cultivated, and to the prosecution of which by others he gave so powerful an impulse, will perpetuate to late posterity the honours of his name."

Miss French, second daughter of Roebuck French of Durus, married Maurice Blake of Ballinafad, County Mayo. He was the owner of large estates in Mayo, and the representative of an ancient family. His grandfather, Maurice Oge Blake, was deprived of his Mayo estates under Cromwell, which his great-grandfather, Walter Blake, had purchased from David O'Kelly of Dunamona.

Maurice Blake had by his marriage with Miss French three sons and four daughters.

Mark, his heir, married Christian, daughter of Martin Kirwan of Blindwell. His eldest son by this marriage was Maurice Blake, who was High Sheriff of his native county. In 1838 he married Anne, daughter and heiress of Arthur Lynch of Cloghballymore, whose grandfather, Marcus Lynch of Barna, secured the Clogh estates by his marriage with Sourn, daughter and heiress of James French.

The present proprietor of Clogh is Llewellyn Blake, Esq., youngest son of Maurice Blake and Anne Lynch.

This family, as well as their relatives, the Blakes of Ardfry, are descended from William, youngest son of William Blake, who obtained a grant of the customs of Galway.

Andrew Blake, his descendant, had two sons, Robert and Walter, from whom the families of Ardfry and Cloghballymore are respectively descended.

The eldest son, Robert, married Anne, daughter of Richard Drury, Esq. His son and successor by this marriage, Sir Richard Blake, holds a prominent place in the interesting history of his time. He was M.P. for Galway in 1639, and one of the Privy Council of Charles I. He is perhaps still more celebrated as the Speaker of the Representative Assembly of the Irish at Kilkenny during the Confederation.

Though attainted in 1691, he subsequently obtained permission to retain possession of his property. His neutrality during the Williamite wars made him unpopular with the national party, who, it is said, destroyed his property.¹ In consequence of this, he secured the support of Baron de Ginkle, who finally secured for him the privilege of holding his estates without renouncing his religion.

His descendant, Joseph Henry Blake, represented the county of Galway for many years, and was raised to the peerage in 1800, under the title of Lord Baron Wallscourt.

Robert Blake was grandfather of Walter Blake, who purchased the Mayo estates of David O'Kelly, and was therefore the ancestor of the Blakes of Ballinafad and Cloghballymore.

Apart from associations, the Clogh residence is uninteresting. It shows the severe simplicity of the residences which country gentlemen usually erected in the West of Ireland over one hundred years ago. It stands close to the fine old castle of the Kilkellys, which rises high above the surrounding woods, and commands an extensive view of the district. But the district is neither productive nor picturesque, and the several ruined homesteads to be noticed there speak pathetically of a banished peasantry, and add to the dreariness of the landscape.

Cloghballymore is now incorporated in the modern parish of Ballindereen, though in the older ecclesiastical divisions it was part of the parish of Killenavara.

The church of Killenavara is situated about a mile eastward, and has been used for a considerable time as the place of interment of the Blake family. The church is sadly ruined. Its northern side wall is nearly completely destroyed. The eastern gable contains a double lancet window of the Tudor period.

In connection with the church on the south side, we find a commodious building evidently intended for the accommodation of a small community. This building, which is two-storey, and well preserved, is flanked by a square tower, which seems to speak more of purposes of defence than of the ordinary requirements of monastic life. But we do know that such towers are found in connection with many of our religious edifices, and were erected for the protection of the inmates.

Kilcornan, to which reference has been made in a preceding chapter, is not more than about five miles from Cloghbally-

¹ Dalton, *King James's Army List*.

more. At the period of which we treat, Thomas Redington had become the representative of that ancient Catholic house, by his marriage with Sarah, daughter and heiress of Christopher Burke. He was fourth son of Thomas Redington of Cregana, a family which had come to Ireland in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Thomas Redington had married Margaret, daughter of Captain Lynch of Lydecane, County Galway. Miss Lynch was a Catholic.

By this marriage of Thomas Redington and Miss Lynch there were four sons and four daughters.

Nicholas, the eldest, a Protestant, died without issue.

Gregory emigrated to America, and was not afterwards heard of.

Michael married, in 1763, Margaret French of Cork.

Thomas, who married Miss Burke of Kilcornan, was the fourth and youngest son.

Margaret, his eldest daughter, married in 1785, Sir Thomas French,¹ who was afterwards raised to the peerage as Baron French.

Honoraria married Mr. Daly of Raford.

Mary married a certain Mr. Rutledge, and was grandmother of Mary, Countess of Nathaniel.

Eliza married a Mr. Archdekone, whose only son, Nicholas, became Bishop of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora. Her only daughter, Mary, married Walter Blake of Ballyglunin.

Michael, who had married Miss French of Cork, and professed himself a Protestant, filed the necessary bills for the purpose of depriving his brother Thomas of the Kilcornan estates. He accordingly had the necessary deeds prepared by a certain Newton Bradford of Dublin. But in the prosecution of his dishonourable purpose, and in the lengthened litigation of twenty years to which it led, he had neither sympathy nor support from any branch of his family, except from one, the Redingtons of Rye Hill. So indignant did his brother Nicholas, himself a Protestant, feel at this base action, that he bequeathed to his brother Thomas the substantial fortune of £60,000, to protect him against the injustice of the law.

Those "bills of discovery," as they were called, were frequently filed against Catholic proprietors in those days. We find that, in 1755, Heder Foster, George Clancy, and others, were deprived of the lands of "Tarmon More" and "Tarmon Beg," in the diocese of Kilmacduagh, by means of such bills filed against them in the Court of Exchequer by one William M'Grath, then residing in Dublin.²

¹ Burke's *Peerage*.

² Rolls Office.

In the present instance, the result was unfavourable to the "discoverer," mainly, it may be assumed, through the prolongation of the suit and the active influence of powerful friends. The preservation of the Kilcornan estates for the rightful owner must have been a source of joy in the district, as Mr. Redington was benevolent and deservedly popular, a man who took a practical interest in the well-being of his tenantry. Consequently, the relations which seem to have existed between them were of the most cordial kind. There was kindness on the one side, and on the other genuine feelings of attachment and respect. He sympathised with his tenantry. He spoke to them in their own language, and never failed to give wise counsel as well as practical assistance when asked. In a word, he was a model landlord, at a time when landlords abused their power, and the peasantry of the West were the helots of a blinded ascendancy.

Thomas Redington had by his marriage three sons and two daughters.

Thomas, his eldest son, was born in 1769, and died unmarried.

Nicholas, his second son, also died unmarried.

Christopher, his third and youngest son, was born in 1780. In early life he entered the army, and held the rank of captain. In 1812 he married Frances, only child of Henry Dowell, Esq., of Cadiz, a merchant of great wealth. By this marriage he had an only son, Thomas Nicholas Redington, K.C.B., born October 1815, and an only daughter, Anne, who died unmarried in 1829.

The brief notice of this Sir Thomas N. Redington which we find in Burke's *Landed Gentry* may be quoted here: "He succeeded his father on 26th May 1825, and his grandfather, 28th February 1827. He was member of Parliament for Dundalk from 1837 to 1846. In 1842 he married Anna Eliza Mary, eldest daughter of John Hyacinth Talbot of Talbot Hall, County Wexford. He was appointed Under Secretary for Ireland in 1846, and received the Order of the Bath in 1849. In 1852 he was appointed Secretary of the Board of Control, which position he retained for four years, having resigned it in 1856." His only son and heir is the present well-known and accomplished Right Hon. C. T. Redington, to whom we have already referred.

The purchase of a large portion of the Kinvara estates from James French of Durus, about 1769, by Robert Gregory, indicated the presence of a new and wealthy family in the district. The purchase included, with the ancient seaport of Kinvara, a

considerable portion of the surrounding districts. The continuation of the erection of the pier and quay at Kinvara, commenced by James French in 1773, was a more convincing evidence of the enterprise of the new proprietor, than of his veneration for the historic monuments of the district. Where the pier now stands, there was, at the period of which we write, a fine old castle of the chiefs of Killoveragh. It guarded the bay at the south side, as the splendid Castle of Dunguaire was its sentinel on the opposite shore. Indeed, its interest was unquestionable; and yet this picturesque monument of the feudal past was destroyed to supply materials for the sea-wall and pier. However, while we regret its destruction, we feel bound to add that the new landlord's desire to promote the well-being of the district may in part excuse his want of interest in local monuments of which he could know nothing.

Richard Gregory had a short time previously, 18th June 1768, purchased from Oliver Martynn of Tullyra the extensive estates of Coole and Kiltartan. The record of the purchase is preserved in the Deeds Office, Dublin. From the record there preserved, it would appear that those lands had been mortgaged to Walter Taylor of Castle Taylor, and also to Anthony Daly of Calla. Hence they were parties to the sale, "at the request, and with the said Oliver Martynn."

The following townlands situated in Kiltartan parish are mentioned in the deed, and may be easily identified at the present day: "Ballinamantane and the mill thereon, Drumeen, Kiltartan with its subdenominations, Coble, Inshee, Carrownacross, Corker, Lisatunna, Shragh." The tolls and customs of Kiltartan fair were also mentioned in the deed of sale. It included also Annagh in the parish of Kilbecanty, with some portions of Ardrahan and Kinvara.

The Irish ancestor of the purchaser of the Coole and Kiltartan estates is, according to Burke's *Landed Gentry*, "stated to have been a cadet of the Gregory family of Styvechale Hall, near Coventry, who went over to Ireland, it is thought, with Oliver Cromwell." "The Gregory family of Styvechale Hall is a very old and remarkable one, which acquired its property in the reign of Stephen in 1162, and in which there is the dormant peerage of Marmion." And the writer continues: "The pedigree from 1162 to 1681 was compiled by Glover, and continued in the College of Arms from 1581 to the present generation."¹

The interval of a century from the founder of the Irish branch of the family in Cromwell's time and the purchaser of Coole, does not seem to be clearly filled up. But the family

¹ Burke's *Landed Gentry*.

genealogy has it, as the late Sir W. H. Gregory assured the writer, that Henry Gregory lived at Galway. He was son of Robert Gregory, a clergyman of the Established Church, and had one son, who is believed to be the ancestor of the Coole family.

In early life he ran away from home, embarking for India on a vessel commanded by a Captain O'Hara, to whose memory there is a tablet erected in the Galway Cathedral. In India Robert Gregory secured a position under the East India Company, and realised a large fortune. He must have married in India. He had three sons there, Robert, Richard, and William.

On leaving India finally, accompanied by his two youngest sons, he placed such funds as he had not remitted to England at the disposal of his eldest son, Robert, who remained in India, and who would have been his heir had matters gone smoothly, but they did not.

This Robert Gregory, junior, was passionately addicted to cockfighting, which in his time was as seductive as horse-racing in ours.

On leaving India, Mr. Gregory made strong representations to his son against the dangerous consequences of a continuation of such a career. He informed his son that if he ever heard of his being again engaged in cockfighting, he would disinherit him. He naturally hoped that his salutary parental advice, enforced by such strong admonitions, should have had the desired effect, and so returned to London with few misgivings on the subject.

Passing down the Strand some time after his return, his attention was attracted by a painting which represented a great cockfight between the Nabob of Oude and Colonel Mordaunt, whom Mr. Gregory recognised as his Indian friends. There was, however, another portrait amongst the sporting group whom the old gentleman had less difficulty in recognising. It was the portrait of his son Robert, holding a white cock under his arm, in a very prominent position, impatiently awaiting his time for the momentous encounter of the feathered heroes, on which so much of his interest and money was centred. He entered the artist's shop, examined the picture closely, and found that his impressions were correct. He purchased the picture, of which there is still a good steel engraving preserved at the family residence at Coole. He lost no time in making further inquiries in India, with the result that he found his worst fears verified. Not only was Robert Gregory engaged in the celebrated fight, but he was also a partner of Colonel Mordaunt.

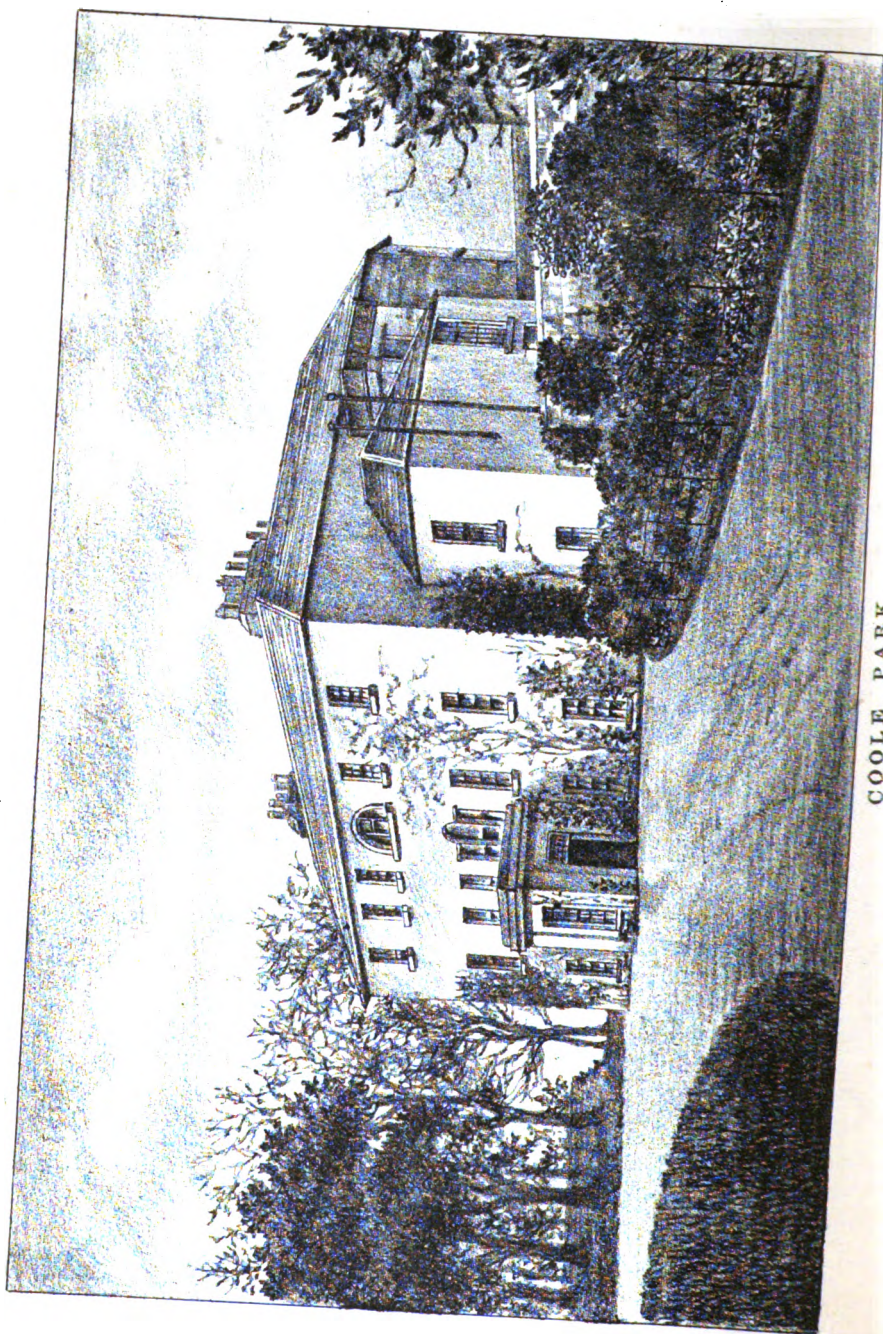
Finding his admonitions fruitless, therefore Robert Gregory, senior, bequeathed his Irish landed property to his second son, Richard, who was the direct ancestor of the late estimable and accomplished owner, the Right Hon. Sir W. H. Gregory.

On his return to England, Robert Gregory took an active part in politics. He was a Liberal, and the friend and supporter of Lord Rockingham. In 1774 he was elected as member for Rochester, against Admiral Sir Thomas Pye and George Finds Hatten, Esq. of Eastwell. He became a popular representative, and was again triumphantly returned after the dissolution of Parliament in 1780.

His connection with India was not severed, for he remained a member of the East India Company's Board; and was even chairman for a period, at a time when that position was one of the most powerful and influential in the kingdom. He resigned this position in the year 1783, on the ground that the work was too heavy for his health.

In addition to his Irish property, he purchased an estate in Essex and another in Cheshire. He had also a town house in Berners Street, then a fashionable quarter of London. These interesting facts the writer has from his great-grandson, the late Sir William Gregory. The residence at Coole is situated in a valley sheltered on every side by extensive woodlands. However, it commands, through some open glades, some pleasing views of the adjoining lakes and the remote hills of Burren. It seems that the erection of the residence and the planting of those extensive woods were carried out by Richard Gregory. He was succeeded by his son, the Right Hon. William Gregory, who was for many years Under Secretary for Ireland. He married, in 1789, Lady Anne Trench, daughter of the first Earl of Clancarty.

His eldest son, Robert, who inherited the Coole estates, married, in 1815, Elizabeth O'Hara of Raheen, County Galway, leaving by her an only son, William Henry Gregory. He was M.P. for Dublin from 1842 to 1847 in the Conservative interest. From 1857 to 1872 he represented his native county as an advanced Liberal. He was High Sheriff for Galway in 1849. In 1871 he was appointed Governor of Ceylon, which position he retained for five years, during which period he was created baronet. In 1872 he married Elizabeth, third daughter of Sir William Clay. This lady having died the following year, he married, in 1880, Augusta, youngest daughter of Dudley Persse, Esq., J.P., of Roxboro, a lady of rare accomplishments and amiability, by whom there is one son, Robert. He died in March 1892, leaving his heir and representative a minor.



COOLE PARK.
RESIDENCE OF THE LATE RIGHT HON. SIR W. H. GREGORY, K.C.M.G.

THE
LAW
OF THE
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Amongst the old Tribe families of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, the O'Fahys alone remained in actual possession of portions of their ancient territory in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

A Scotch soldier named Galbraith, who held a commission in William's army, and who allied himself closely to the Persse family, then in possession of Roxboro, was able to appropriate the Cappard districts, hitherto the O'Fahy property. It is pretty certain that Gardenblake was still their property. They also retained the Cloon estates in the parish of Kilbecanty, now Lahiff property, who hold it by purchase from a Mr. Eyre.

In the Deeds Office, Dublin, we find a document dated 1st May 1711, which throws some curious light on certain money transactions between a certain Mr. Burke of Dublin and "Thady Fahy of Clooningane, Co. Galway, gentleman." It was a deed of lease and re-lease of a considerable portion of O'Fahy's estate to Dominick Burke of the city of Dublin, and Joseph Burke, late of Ballylee, County Galway. This deed seems to have been perfected mainly to enable O'Fahy to obtain from Burke a loan of £147, for which he was to pay the exorbitant interest of £11, 18s. yearly "in pure silver and gold of the same weight and value that silver and gold now are in the kingdom of Ireland."

The deed was practically a mortgage at a ruinous interest on the townlands of Cloon and Cloonaningane, containing 105 acres profitable land, in the barony of Kiltartan.

This mortgage was taken up the following year by Edward Eyre of Galway. The deed of transfer to this gentleman is dated 6th December 1712. Meantime, Burke pressed his claim for the payment of the amount of the original mortgage. And he seems to have done so with a knowledge of the O'Fahy's inability to meet it then. He felt himself obliged to confirm to the "said Edward Eyre, his heirs and assigns, the said townlands of Cloon, containing 114 acres profitable land, lying in the parish of Kilbecanty," etc., on condition that Eyre should satisfy the claim and give in addition £50.

In the new settlement there was a provision made for redemption of the lands. It was that the entire principal should be refunded within six months, together with £50 interest.

A further loan of £50 advanced to the owner by Eyre within the following year showed that the last remnant of his paternal estates had passed away from his hands without hope of redemption.

Very soon after we find Cloon House occupied by the Burke-Eyre family, by whom it was held till the beginning of the present century.

The Eyres were Cromwellian adventurers. We find that a Colonel Eyre, a native of Wiltshire, accompanied Ludlow to Ireland. He obtained a grant from the crown in 1662 of the manor of Eyre Court and other lands, and represented the county of Galway under Charles II. in the Irish House of Parliament. We have seen a document preserved in the Rolls Office which casts a curious light on what Mr. Eyre regarded as "his privileges" as member, and on the irresponsible manner in which he was permitted to assert them, to the ruin of a member of the O'Fahy family. It is dated 12th August 1697. This Eyre rented some lands from a Colonel Burke, which he sublet to under tenants. The land agent, Patrick Fahy, being obliged to seize some cattle for rents unpaid, seized by mistake some that belonged to Eyre, the county representative. The cattle were immediately restored, but the unfortunate agent was at once placed under arrest, at the instance of Eyre, by the Sergeant-at-Arms for "breach of privilege."¹ And Colonel Burke, instead of endeavouring to protect his faithful servant in the discharge of his official duties, marked his sympathy with the aggrieved "representative" by dismissing O'Fahy summarily and promptly from his service.

We find the Eyre family amongst the zealous supporters of "law and order" in the county during the last century. Stafford Eyre was Governor of Galway. At the request of the "Lords spiritual and temporal in Parliament assembled," he furnished returns of the number of "Popish priests, monks, and friars, and of public mass-houses," etc., in the county of Galway, for the avowed purpose of entering on a "more vigorous execution of the laws against Popery," as their lordships considered that "the insolence of the Papists throughout the nation is very great."²

The zeal of this official "in searching the reputed friaries, nunneries, and seminaries in that country,"³ and in transmitting to His Grace the Primate the papers which he purloined from them, was regarded as a pleasing proof of his respect for the orders of their lordships, and of his zeal for the service of His Majesty and the Protestant religion of the kingdom.

It was accordingly resolved that Eyre should be fittingly protected from molestation of any kind to which his aggression and plunder of the religious might expose him. No protest

¹ See Appendix.

² Rolls Office.

³ Harl. Galway, p. 175.

could be raised against the injustice of his acts in any instance. It was even forbidden to invoke the standard of the then existing law against any act of his, no matter how unjust. To do so would be regarded by the "Lords spiritual and temporal" as a "breach of the privilege of their House."

According to this gentleman's returns presented to Parliament "*Die Jovis, 9 Mart. 1731,*" we find that in the diocese of Kilmacduagh there were then "thirteen mass-houses, fifteen priests, four Popish schools," while there were but four clergymen of the Established Church to perform divine service in that diocese.

Similar returns were procured by the then Mayor of Galway, Walter Taylor.¹ He may have been the same who, in 1764, was one of the members of the Common Council, and resided at Castle Taylor; the same, probably, who was referred to by Bishop Pococke in 1752. But this was "the last and most violent gasp of expiring bigotry" in the West.²

Considering the character of the period, it must be admitted that in a diocese in which there are now only ten parishes, thirteen "mass houses," the Puritanical expression for Catholic chapels, was fairly good. It must be also admitted that fifteen priests in those days of persecution was also a goodly number to administer the consolations of religion to their persecuted brethren, especially if we remember that in the present time of religious liberty the number of priests in Kilmacduagh is exactly fifteen.

It would be interesting to be able to point out the sites of those thirteen "mass-houses" referred to by Mr. Eyre as dangers to the State and to the Protestant religion. They were humble structures, which have disappeared, to be replaced by those striking and beautiful structures which the piety of our people have since raised to the glory of God and the honour of their religion. Yet, humble though they were, they were eloquent evidences of the unconquerable faith of a faithful people. And we think that in our day the faintest relic of those venerable structures, which had been the silent witnesses of the patient piety of our oppressed ancestors, could now awake only thoughts that were sacred, if not "divine." But though every trace of most of the "mass-houses" of Kilmacduagh, which existed when Stafford Eyre was official informer, have disappeared, we can trace the sites of many with tolerable accuracy.

The "mass-house" for Kilmacduagh parish was then at Newtown, about a mile west of the town of Gort. Scarcely a

¹ Rolls Office; *Hard. Galway.*

² *Hard. Galway*, p. 176.

vestige of it remains. Some mounds indicate the site of the ruined walls, which are surrounded by a little cemetery sheltered by hawthorns. But there are men still living in the parish who conversed with those who heard Mass there in the past. The growth of the town of Gort towards the close of the last century necessitated the erection of a chapel there, and another near the ruins of Kilmacduagh, in the village of Tiernevan, which was much more convenient for the country districts.

Another of those "mass-houses" referred to by Stafford Eyre was situated close to the residence of Mr. Lambert at Creg Clare. It stood within the ancient and massive stone fort of Cahir Cre, and is at present well preserved. Its rude stone altar still remains, overshadowed now by the sheltering branches of a splendid yew tree. This interesting spot was selected by the late Lord Clanmorris as his burial-place; and his mausoleum opens from the chapel enclosure.

For the parish of Beagh the "mass-house" stood close to the present commodious parish church, and within the enclosure of the existing cemetery there.

In the parish of Kilthomas, a chapel, dating from the last century, stood upon the site of the present national school at Peter's Well. A small portion of the walls remains to the present day. We are certain it was one of the "mass-houses" referred to in the report of Stafford Eyre.

In Kinvara there is a cemetery known as the "old church," about a mile south-east of the present church, in which a modern ruin stands, which was used as the parish church about one hundred years ago. It cannot be questioned that this ruin dates so far back as 1730, as an inscribed slab taken from the old ruin and inserted in the belfry of the present parish church bears the following inscription:—

"Ora pro conservo tuo Patrico Neilan, 1735."

Father Neilan was parish priest there.

We think it probable that there may have been another "mass-house" of Kinvara in the beginning of the last century, situated at Durus. The French family then resident at Durus were truly Catholic in spirit. A silver chalice, still used in the Kinvara parish, is a gift of the family at the period, as appears by an inscription still legible on it. And we know that Father Gregory French, a member of the Durus family, and a distinguished scholar, was then parish priest of Durus.¹ He made his studies in Spain, and received holy orders from the

¹ *Irish Chieftain*, p. 526.

Archbishop of Toledo. He was at one time arrested by Bellasyse, and escaped execution then only "because the execution of a priest would have made a mighty noise at the same time."¹ Having pastoral charge of Durus, then a distinct parish, he may have used the church which stands on a rising ground near the old family residence of the Frenches for divine service. And considering the active zeal of this good priest, and also the influence and Catholic character of the Durus family then, it is, we think, probable that the little church had been used there for Holy Mass. In any case, the church bears upon it clear evidence of comparatively modern restoration.

In the parish of Kiltartan there was a little chapel situated on the site of the present Kiltartan church, and close to the cemetery and old church. We have no doubt that it was the same of which Dean Cahill was parish priest in 1757, and the same of which Dean Nethercoat wrote in 1766.

The Kilcornan parish church, which now stands an interesting ruin on the grounds before Kilcornan House, must have been closed earlier than the opening of the eighteenth century. When sentence of attainder with deprivation of his property was issued against Redmond Burke of Kilcornan, we cannot doubt that the parish church which stood close to Kilcornan Castle was closed to his co-religionists.

In the opening of the eighteenth century, if not earlier, a chapel was erected close to the village of Roveheagh, at about one mile distant from Kilcornan. It was spacious for the time. Its ruins stand there to the present day, and measure about 72 feet long by 15 feet wide. The eastern gable was lighted by a square-headed window measuring about 6 feet high by 3 feet in width.

The southern side wall, in which the entrance stood, is nearly entirely destroyed. The northern side wall, however, is very complete, and shows no trace of a window. It stands about 10 feet high; and as the western gable is perfect, there can be no doubt that this was about its original height. The masonry was of a rude character, but was pretty strongly built.

This old church had been enclosed by a strong wall, most of which remains to our day. A large square doorway, which is still well preserved, gave admission to the enclosure, in the lintel of which the date 1763 is legibly inscribed. Immediately above the inscription is placed a rudely carved cross, with the monogram I.H.S.

On the left hand side of the entrance there is a slab fixed in

¹ *Irish Chieftain*, Appendix.

the masonry, bearing the following inscription in raised and legible letters—

PRAY FOR THE
SOUL OF THE REV.
THOMAS LYNCH.
1763.

At Craughwell the old chapel used at the close of the last century stood close to the site of the spacious parish church now existing there. Like the others of the diocese at the period, it was poor, with a low thatched roof. There is no reason to doubt that this poor chapel was in being when Dean Nethercoat wrote to the Government of the “mass-houses” of the diocese.

At Ballindereen we find that there had been at the close of last century a humble Catholic chapel about 400 yards north of the present spacious church. It stood near the entrance to the Tyrone grounds; and scarcely a trace of the venerable ruin can be pointed out at the present day.

In the remaining parishes of Kilchrist and Kilbecanty, we are credibly informed that the old mass-houses of last century occupied the site of the present parish churches. There can be no doubt that the Catholic population was comparatively large, despite the repressive anti-Catholic laws. We have evidence of this in the Rolls Office, Dublin, in the returns made to the House of Lords, Dublin, by the Dean of Gort, J. W. Nethercoat. The character of the returns may be best understood from the Dean's own letter, which accompanied the returns. He writes:—

“GORT, 18th April 1766.

“SIR,

“I send you enclosed a list of the inhabitants of my four parishes here, and have distinguished the Protestants from the Papists, according to the instructions I got from the Bishop of Clonfert, to whom I have wrote by this post, to acquaint him that I have sent you my list so directed.

“I am, sir, y^r most ob^t ser.,

“W. NETHERCOAT.”

“All the Protestants are heads of families, as are the Papists also.”

The Dean's "four parishes" were Kilmacduagh, Kiltartan, Beagh, and Kilbecanty.

He informs us that in Kilmacduagh parish there were then eighteen Protestant families, amongst whom we find such names as Nelsons, Delahoy, and Prendergast, while there were then two hundred and twenty-seven Catholic families resident there. He is pleased to add, "Dean Nethercoat is parish minister here, and Mr. Thomas Ward is parish priest there."

In Kiltartan there were fifteen Protestant families, and one hundred and fifty-one Catholic families; and while the Dean informs us that he was himself parish minister there, he is pleased to add that "Mr. Edmond Cahill" was parish priest. This distinguished priest, to whom the Dean refers as "Mr. Edmond Cahill," was a Doctor in Divinity, and Dean of the diocese of Kilmacduagh. A little chalice which he used is now in the author's possession, and bears upon it in legible characters the following inscription in Latin, translated:—

"Pray for the soul of
EDMOND O'CAHILL,

Doctor of Theology, and Dean of Kilmacduagh,
who presented me for the use of Kiltartan Chapel
in the year 1757."

As a descendant of the ancient chiefs of Kinel Aedh, it must have been a source of much consolation to this good priest to find that Providence had sustained his kindred and parishioners in their adhesion to the faith of their fathers.

In Kilbecanty there were seven Protestant and one hundred and fifty-seven Catholic families; and we are furthermore informed that Dean Nethercoat was parish minister, and that Mr. Patrick M'Hugo was parish priest there.

In the parish of Beagh there were ten Protestant and three hundred and thirteen Catholic families. Here, too, we are informed that Dean Nethercoat was parish minister, and "Mr. James Adams was parish priest." As regards each of the parishes referred to, the writer informed the House of Lords that "no friars" were resident in them.

From the foregoing evidence, it is clear that the Catholic population of the diocese of Kilmacduagh may be estimated in Dr. Kilkelly's and Dr. Nihil's time as not much less than its Catholic population at the present day.

The successor of Dr. Kilkelly as Bishop of the united dioceses of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora was Dr. LAURENCE NIHIL.

He was a native of Cork, and descended of an ancient family of Tirconnell, who settled in the South after their chief had

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"no friars" were resident there.

On the 17th of June 1757, the Dean informed the House of Lords

that the Catholic population of the diocese of Kilmacduagh was estimated at

10,000 souls, and that the Protestant population was estimated at

1,000 souls, and that the total population was estimated at

11,000 souls, and that the total population was estimated at

11,000 souls, and that the total population was estimated at

been defeated at Kinsale. Mr. Lenihan tells us, in his *History of Limerick*, that "they took a district near Killaloe, but, being dispossessed several years after, they got considerable lands, and formed alliances with respectable families in the west of Clare and Limerick. Amongst the chief families in the diocese of Kilfenora with whom Dr. Nihil was thus connected, he mentions those of the Mac Namaras of Ennistymon, and Mr. Calcutt, M.P., St. Catharine's, Touclea. He also mentions the Butlers of Ballyline, a branch of the Ormond family, who live near Crusheen, County Clare.

Dr. Nihil's brother James was an eminent physician, who studied medicine in Paris and other continental cities. His uncle, Sir John Higgins, held the important position of first physician to Philip V. of Spain. Towards the close of his uncle's life, Dr. James Nihil received an invitation from his uncle to Spain with the view to have him succeed to the office which he held in the Spanish royal household.¹ "He went, and found his uncle dead, and the post filled up. He showed a medical manuscript to Dr. Solano of Cadiz, who highly approved of it. He published it in London in 1742, and on account of its singular merit was elected Fellow of the Royal Society without his own knowledge. He was the author of other medical and scientific works."

Dr. Laurence Nihil was born in 1727. Though unable to collect details regarding his early studies, we can have no doubt of their success. Even the Protestant historian Farrar bears testimony to his "piety and learning," and states that it was to those qualities he owed his elevation to the episcopate. He was inducted parish priest of Rathkeale in 1762, but was subsequently transferred from that parish to the parish of St. Nicholas, within the city of Limerick, where he continued to labour till promoted to the See of Kilmacduagh. At this time he found leisure for the composition of a work, which was favourably received. It was entitled *Rational Self-Love*, and published in Limerick in the year 1770. This work was much admired, not merely in Ireland, but also in England and France. He was also engaged with his brother on another important work, the *History of the Redemption of Man*, which unfortunately was not published.

Dr. Nihil's selection for the See of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora was sanctioned by the Pope on the 7th of December, and decreed on the 13th of December 1783. The Papal brief was dated 16th July 1784.

One of the assistant prelates on the occasion of his consecra-

¹ *History of Limerick*, Lenihan, p. 673.

tion was the unfortunate Bishop of Cork, afterwards Lord Dunboyne. The preacher was Father Kirwan, O.S.F., even then a distinguished preacher. He was a Galway man, and nephew of Dr. Blake, Primate of Ireland. He completed his ecclesiastical studies at Louvain, where he held for a time the important chair of Natural and Moral Philosophy. He held for a time the position of chaplain to the Neapolitan Ambassador to the English court, in which position it is said his faith was weakened. The subject on which he preached on the occasion of the consecration was Apostasy. The fact subsequently assumed a melancholy significance in the eyes of many, from his own apostasy a few years afterwards, and that of the bishop referred to. His uncle, the Primate, on being informed by a friend that he had changed his religion, replied, "Tut, man! he had no religion to change."

Dr. Nihil's health does not seem to have been robust. From April 1792 he was unable to discharge any episcopal function. In July 1793 he postulated for a coadjutor in the person of the President of the Irish College, Douay, the Very Rev. Dr. Edward Dillon. His death occurred two years afterwards, on the 29th of June 1795, at the comparatively early age of sixty-nine years. He is buried in the chancel of the old cathedral of Kilfenora, at the Gospel side. A simple slab with the following inscription marks the good prelate's grave:—

Hic reconditur in spem
 resureo'd ad vitam quod
 Mortale fuit illimi ac Revedmi
 LAURC ARTHUR NIHILLI,
 primi
 Unitarum Ecclesiarum
 Finab Duac renunciati
 R. C. Ep.
 Viri optimi
 In sacris et profanis literis haud
 mediocriter eruditi
 Qui cum viveret opuscula
 quædam edidit in causa
 Fidei et morum eximia
 et MSS. edenda in dulci et utili
 oe punctum
 l a t u r a
 obiit in Domo die Junii 29 1795
 Ætatis suæ 69.

CHAPTER XXXI.

John Prendergast Smyth inherits his uncle's estates—He is raised to the peerage as Baron Kiltartan and Viscount Gort—He adopts Colonel Vereker, his nephew, as his heir—Lough Cutra Castle built—Beauty and historic interest of the surroundings—Mineral productions of the district—Episcopal succession—Dr. Dillon's pastoral—Declaration of the Clergy of the united diocese—Dr. Concannon—Dr. Archdeacon—Dr. French.

JOHN PRENDERGAST SMYTH inherited the O'Shaughnessy estates, as we have seen, through his uncle. He was son of Elizabeth Prendergast and Charles Smyth, who represented Limerick in Parliament for forty-five years. He was raised to the Irish peerage as Baron Kiltartan on the 15th of May 1810, and created Viscount Gort on the 2nd of January 1816.

Men still living remember him. His residence was the Bridge House at Gort, and is now the Mercy Convent. They speak of Colonel Smyth as a kindly man, who won the goodwill of his tenantry by kindness and generosity. On the "gale day" the tenantry attended in their numbers at the Bridge House; and whether they had their rents or not, they shared the lavish hospitality provided for them; and the Baron was there, like a chieftain amongst his retainers, to see that all enjoyed the good cheer. And so the Castle of Gort and its ruined chief were soon forgotten; and the memory of the old baronets of Gort passed away more quickly than might have been expected. But Colonel Smyth was enterprising as well as kind. Under his patronage industries were established for Gort, and flourished at least for a time, amongst which were a successful tanyard and brewery; and facilities for building were also afforded by him. The rapid growth of a pretty town and suburb was the result. Dutton, writing in 1824, speaks of Gort in the following words: "It has a considerable share of inland trade; it possesses an excellent weekly market and several fairs; there are extensive barracks."¹

"The appearance of this town, naturally very cheerful, has been lately much improved by the erection of a beautiful church

¹ *Statistical Survey*, p. 334.

by Mr. Paine. . . . Lord Gort's residence in this town, accompanied by a very picturesque reach of river, gives a favourable impression on entering it from Loughrea; and with the spaciousness of the streets, and the new houses that have been lately erected, has changed its former gloomy and neglected appearance into cheerfulness, and a promise of increasing trade.

"The environs are very beautiful, containing many natural curiosities. . . . I do not know any part of this country that will so amply repay the picturesque traveller a day's stay as Gort; where there is a good inn, especially when a view of Lord Gort's highly picturesque demesne is included."

The natural beauties of Lough Cutra and its surroundings had then been recently much improved. The picturesque shores of that beautiful lake offered the most charming sites to the builder, where, while the eye could feast on the loveliness of nature, the mind could recall with interest the varied reminiscences of the past which the surroundings could suggest. Colonel Smyth was quick to see this; and therefore, though his Gort residence was interesting and well situated, he determined to erect a mansion on the shores of the lake that should be the most beautiful in the West. He selected the southern shore of the lake for the site of his future mansion, which stands an enduring monument to the genius of its architect, Mr. Paine. But he did not live to see the completion of his noble undertaking.

Having no male issue, Lord Kiltartan adopted his nephew, Colonel Vereker, to succeed to his title and estates. "The Right Honourable Charles Vereker, afterwards second Viscount Gort," writes Lenihan, "was the son of Thomas Vereker of Roxboro, by Julia, daughter of Thomas Smyth, and granddaughter of Sir Thomas Prendergast, the last baronet of his illustrious line."¹ He was born in Limerick, A.D. 1768, and proved himself at an early age a brave soldier. His action at Coloony is a matter of history. We transcribe the following account of the engagement at Coloony from Mr. Lenihan's history:—

"On the 5th September, Colonel Vereker, who commanded here, received information that part of the French and rebel army had advanced to Coloony, and purposed attacking this town that night in two columns. Considering it would be advisable to dispossess them immediately from that post, he ordered Captain Vincent and 100 men, as an advanced guard; to march and watch their motions, while he moved on with 20 of the 24th Dragoons, 30 Yeoman Cavalry, 200 Limerick

¹ *Hist. Limerick*, p. 408¹

City Militia, 20 Essex Fencibles, and 30 Yeoman Infantry. On the advanced guard coming near the enemy, they sustained a smart fire, which checked them a little, when Colonel Vereker ordered Captain Waller and the Limerick light company to advance and support them, whilst he formed his line and arranged his plan of attack upon the main body, which duty Captain Waller executed with great steadiness.

"On his line being formed, he ordered Major Ormsby and one company to take post on a hill which covered his right, and prevent the enemy from turning that flank, whilst the colonel advanced on the right of the line with two currie guns. Lieutenant-Colonel Gough was ordered to the charge of the left. In a few minutes the whole came into action, and supported on both sides an unremitting fire of musketry and grape-shot for near an hour and a half. Never was a more obstinate contest. At last superior numbers prevailed. Major Ormsby's detachment was obliged to retreat from the hill, and that post being given up, the enemy began to press round in numbers to the rear of the line.

"A retreat was then absolutely necessary to save those gallant fellows, who even then maintained their post, although their ammunition was nearly expended. Never did any man show greater gallantry and coolness than Colonel Vereker at this trying moment; he never quitted his post whilst a man could stand by him; and when his artillery horses were so badly wounded that they could not bring away his guns, he attempted to have them brought off with ropes, and not until nearly surrounded on all sides did he leave them. . . . The entire loss on the side of the King's troops was six killed and twenty-one wounded. The enemy had fifty killed and wounded; many of the latter have since died in hospital here. The French fought with great bravery, and acted with humanity to the wounded officers and men who fell into their hands.

"It is singular that the three field-officers of the Limerick City Regiment were slightly wounded. Even the French general allows he never met a more gallant resistance, or a better served fire, than from the Limerick Regiment that day."¹

The writer continues: "The thanks of Parliament were voted to Colonel Vereker and the gallant men who, under his command, had saved this country. Medals were struck with the word 'Coloony.' On Colonel Vereker and his heirs a royal grant conferred the privilege, one exclusively peculiar to peers, of bearing supporters to the family arms, and adopting as the family motto the word 'Coloony.'"

¹ *Hist. Limerick*, p. 411.

He was member of Parliament before the Union, and as a member of Parliament he holds a high place amongst the few who to the last fought for the rights of their native land. "In every debate Colonel Vereker raised his voice against the Union, and his name is recorded in every division." But corruption did its work, and "Ireland was ruined."¹

The terror of an invasion of the country by the French at that period was more than can be easily realised in our time. From a printed document in our possession, bearing the name of Eyre Coote, "Major-General commanding the Western District," and dated Loughrea, December 13, 1803, we find ample evidence that the governing body were actuated by this feeling, even after the causes which could afford it justification had passed away. The document is an exposition on the part of the major-general, from a military standpoint, of the character of the crisis, and of the military measures which should be adopted. He states:—

"At a crisis like the present, when we momentarily expect the appearance of an implacable and ferocious enemy on our shores, and when every passing day renders the probability of his arrival the greater, it becomes of the utmost importance that efficacious means should be adopted, without loss of time, for removing from the coast, and out of his reach, such objects the want of which will render his subsistence in the country precarious, and his advance into the interior hazardous and difficult. To effect a measure so beneficial in its consequences, nothing can contribute more effectually than a well-regulated arrangement for driving the country, and proper steps taken for securing its complete execution."

Indeed, the captains of yeomanry had already received instructions as to the approved mode of effecting the execution of the "driving" process.

And then the "Major-General commanding the Western District" proceeds:—

"Should the appearance of the enemy be, or should he have effected a landing within Galway Bay, the baronies of Burren and Inchiquin are to drive by O'Brien's Bridge and Killaloe across the Shannon; the barony of Kiltartan and that part of the barony of Dunkellin south of the Carnamart river behind Portumna, by Derrybrien and Marble Hill; as also the half barony of Loughrea between Roxboro and Kiltartan, by the same route; and that part of the barony of Dunkellin north of the Carnamart river, with the liberties of Galway and the baronies of Clare and Moycullen, behind Tuam. The yeomanry

¹ *Ilist. Limerick*, p. 413.

corps allotted for this service are therefore immediately, as their commanding officers are ascertained that the landing will be attempted, or has already taken place, within the Bay of Galway, to proceed to drive the coast accordingly. On this service they will form as many detachments, commanded by steady officers, as the nature of their respective corps will admit, in order that as much of the country as can so be effectually done may be driven at the same time. They will commence their operations in that part of the country allotted to each which is nearest the sea-coast, and proceed to their destination by such roads as may appear to them least likely to interfere with other corps employed upon the same service: always, however, avoiding the roads from Galway to Ennis by Oranmore and Gort; . . . the road from Loughrea to Gort by Kilchrist and Roxboro; the road from Gort to Kinvara by Kiltartan," etc.

Farther on, the document explains with clearness the meaning which Eyre Coote attached to the "driving" process.

It states: "All horses and carriages are to be the first object in driving the country, next the black cattle, then the sheep, goats, and pigs, after which, would time permit, the dead stock would be to be removed. Such horses as may be in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy should be shot or hamstrung; and the axletrees and wheels of all carriages in the same predicament should be broken to pieces or damaged as much as possible.

"All domestic concerns must become subordinate to public duty.

"All strangers and people of suspicious conduct are to be strictly watched and reported.

"As an important measure of defence, I most earnestly recommend the levying of bodies of pioneers, a class of men so essentially requisite for breaking up roads, destroying bridges, and opening communications."

Bodies of men were to be enrolled for carrying out those provisions in the vicinity of their own homes.

Such is a mere abstract of Sir Eyre Coote's provisions for repelling a French invasion, fully four years after the memorable events at Colooney.

But there is no evidence that Colonel Vereker shared his fears, or approved of his scheme of martial law. High-handed measures, even on the part of the irresponsible military officials of the period, did not recommend themselves to Colonel Vereker.

The following anecdote, given by Mr. Lenihan, shows that Lord Gort was as humane as he was brave:—

“On one occasion, while crossing Bank Place in Limerick, he saw a crowd, and heard ‘the human groan assailing the wearied ear of humanity.’ On approaching the crowd, he recognised the servant of Mrs. Ross Lewin fastened to a cart, and cruelly scourged by the direction of an officer who was by; the city being then under martial law. Colonel Vereker, who was also in uniform, remonstrated with the officer, who instantly ordered an additional measure of punishment to be administered to the wretch, in consequence of his patron’s interference on his behalf. Colonel Vereker, already disgusted with the brutal conduct of the officer, was not the man to brook such an insult. Desiring him to defend himself, he drew his sword. A terrible battle ensued, but it was not of long duration. In a few moments the officer lay weltering in his blood, run through the body by Vereker’s sword.”¹

Fortunately there were no such scenes enacted around Gort, and existing needs did not justify the adoption of the military precautions offered for adoption by the “Major-General commanding the Western District.”

The completion of Lough Cutra Castle was therefore pushed on vigorously, and quickly completed. The plantings were extended, and the approaches to the lake and castle arranged with picturesque effect by Mr. Sutherland, who had acquired for himself eminence as a landscape-gardener.

Mr. Sullivan² refers to Lough Cutra Castle as “one of the show places of the western counties.” It is a castellated structure of the Tudor style. The massive walls are all of finely chiselled limestone. Towers and terraces alike command a fine view of the islands and water and wooded shore, and of the undulating line of the neighbouring hills. The grounds are extensive, and aglow with varied flowers. And along the water’s edge, where the sunlight struggles through the overhanging trees into grottoes and sheltered nooks, the rich bloom of the rhododendrons and laburnums flashes brightly through the gloom of the foliage. The site is in keeping with the beautiful structure erected there, at a cost of £50,000.

The waters of the lake, which covers an area of about eight square miles, sleep in the shelter of undulating hills, and of the rich plantings which extend around its shores. The wooded islands with which it is studded contain some interesting ruins. A ruined castle stands upon one, and on another

¹ *History of Limerick*, p. 413.

² *New Ireland*.

we find the ruins of an ancient church, the history of which is unknown. We only know that those lovely island solitudes were hallowed by some of our primitive Irish saints. St. Fechin was not deterred from visiting them by his painful experiences of some of the islands of Galway Bay. And his visit to Lough Cutra was rendered memorable by certain miracles, the memory of which he himself would perpetuate by the erection of a suitable memorial there. The present ruin may perhaps occupy its site.

In the pagan period the lake and its shores were selected by Cutra, son of Omor, as a site for a fortress and Belgic settlement. This powerful chief was brother of Aengus, whose fort at Aranmore still proclaims the ingenuity of its builders, and is justly pronounced to be one of the most magnificent monuments of that remote period now extant in Europe.

The natural richness of the district in mineral products may also receive a passing notice. On the eastern shore of the lake rise the hills of Gortacarnane. Mr. Dutton notices there "red heavy limestone with fine clear pebbles in it."

"Purple-coloured concretion of limestone from near the wood on the same estate."

"A remarkable concretion of limestone from near the wood on the same estate."

"A remarkable heavy reddish limestone in the land of Gortacarnane aforesaid; in the woods are many strong spas."

"Manganese from a large bed of it on the bank of the river in the lands of Gortacarnane."

"Ironstone from Upper Killeen estate of Lord Gort."

"Blue-black lamellar slaty stone from a vein of it in Gortacarnane wood, the estate of Lord Gort."

"Heavy red earth, with small shining particles, from the large river, from the lands of Gortacarnane."

The third Viscount Gort succeeded to an estate laden with debt and crushing encumbrances. Mr. Sullivan describes the position of that nobleman when the approach of the famine of 1848 heralded the ruin of his family at Lough Cutra.

"The Gort unsettled estates lay under a debt in all of about £60,000. 1847 found Lord Gort a resident landlord, bravely doing his duty, refusing to fly, scorning to abandon his tenantry. Rents could not be raised, and Lord Gort would not resort to heartless means of attempting to extort them. The interest of the mortgage fell in arrear. . . . A petition for sale was lodged in Chancery, whence the proceedings were transferred to the new Court created by the

Encumbered Estates Act. Thirteen years' purchase was, I believe, the highest given at this sale. Lough Cooter Castle, worth £50,000 or £60,000, was sold for £17,000. The fortunate purchaser was Mrs. Ball, Superioress of the Religious Order of Loretto, Dublin, who intended converting it into a novitiate house for the order."

Immediately after the sale was perfected, Mrs. Ball established there a branch of her order, and opened schools, not merely for the education of young ladies of the middle and upper classes, but for the education of the poor as well. The complete seclusion of the place, and its extensive woodland solitudes, seemed entirely suited to the lives of the religious, and to their pursuits. And so for some years the musical peals of the convent bell borne over the waters of the lake proclaimed their daily messages of prayer to the peasants toiling on the hillsides and in the remote hamlets.

But, from causes unknown, the community was soon recalled, and once more Lough Cutra had a change of owners. Lord Gough, a soldier who won his coronet under the burning suns of India, became the purchaser, for the moderate sum of £24,000. Its beauty and seclusion gave promise of that repose, to which the hardships of his long and successful campaigns gave the brave veteran so just a claim. Two well-mounted pieces of artillery, which he captured in India, are still preserved on either side of the entrance, as trophies of his prowess. And though he retired from Lough Cutra to St. Helen's near Dublin, he still continued to love it well, and returned to it frequently. In the hands of the present noble owner, all has been done for the beauty of the place which a generous expenditure and a cultivated taste could effect.

EDMOND DILLON, D.D., who was appointed Coadjutor Bishop of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora in the year 1793, under the title of Bishop of "Germanica" *in partibus*, succeeded, on the death of Dr. Nihil, as Bishop of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora. This distinguished prelate, who was destined to play an important part in the history of his time, was born at Carna, near Ballinasloe, in the year A.D. 1739.¹ Though we are unable to say where he made his preparatory studies for the priesthood, there can be little doubt that those studies were completed at Douay. The high position which he held as president of that college, before he was raised to the See of Kilmacduagh, was a guarantee of high scholastic attainments, as well as of his fitness to found a successful Catholic Ecclesiastical College at Tuam, as he did in after years.

¹ Burke's *Archbishops of Tuam*, p. 206.

Though a better and a brighter day had broken on the country, the Bishop of Kilmacduagh, like many more of his brother prelates in Ireland, had but little of the world's good things to remunerate him for his labours. The revenues of his diocese were then but £100 sterling; hence he obtained the parish of Kinvara from the Holy See, on the 11th of December 1796, *in commendam*. This parish of Kinvara was then populous, notwithstanding the repressive character of the anti-Catholic legislation of the period. From information supplied to the author by men who had it from their fathers, it would appear that the number of families resident there then was nearly two thousand. It may be assumed that in the other parishes of the diocese there was also a goodly number of the prescribed race and religion who had survived the cruel penal enactments of the century. It may be fairly assumed that the Catholic population in Dr. Dillon's time was not much less than its Catholic population at the present day. It is important to bear this in mind, when we come to estimate the delicacy and difficulty of the labours which his lordship had to deal with in regard to the secret societies existing then, which were leading the vast majority of our poor and credulous countrymen astray. Speaking of this matter,¹ Mr. Oliver Burke writes: "Whilst he ruled those dioceses, he laboured strenuously in support of law and order, amongst a people whom the emissaries of the French Government had laboured to poison with their poisonous doctrines. Secret societies, under whatever name they may be banded together, he denounced." The ignorance of the Irish people, at the period, of the hostility of the French Government to religion and social order, would at once explain the fault of the poor peasantry, and show in its true light the paternal character of the bishop's action. His pastoral address to the Catholic people of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora on the occasion, was dated from Kilcornan on the 6th April 1798, and is preserved by Cardinal Moran in his *Specilegium*. It may be read with interest and profit in our day:—

"KILCORNAN, 6th April 1798.

"HEALTH AND BENEDICTION.

"A father who looks on with silent indifference whilst danger and ruin in a thousand shapes threaten his family, may be considered as guilty of high treason against human nature. The emotions of paternal affection have never vibrated in his heart. Studious of his own ease, attentive to

¹ Burke's *Archbishops of Tuam*, p. 207.

himself alone, wholly occupied in gratifying his inclinations, or consulting his own safety, he feels no alarm on seeing the snares that are laid for his children, and suffers them without a pang to rush to unavoidable destruction. Such exactly would be my case should I omit at this time to warn you of the danger with which you are surrounded. If feeling the most tender solicitude for your temporal as well as eternal welfare would entitle me to be considered by you in the light of a father, I conceive myself to have an undoubted claim to that endearing appellation; but I am called upon by a tie of superior nature, that bond which unites the pastor to his flock, that sacred and awful obligation which I contracted on being entrusted with the care of this portion of the Church of Christ, to address you on the present calamitous occasion.

“There is no one amongst you who has not heard of the oaths and associations which have entailed misfortunes on various districts of the kingdom. How many atrocities have you heard committed by persons belonging to societies of a dangerous tendency? Suffice it here to observe that these oaths and associations have been proscribed by the Legislature under the severest penalties. And it would be doing an injury to the opinion I entertain of your principles, to suppose that any of you could be so little acquainted with the obligations which he owes to society, as not to know that you are bound by the law of God to obey the ordinances of the State in all temporal and civil concerns. What could be more deplorable than the state of that country in which it would be permitted to each individual to contradict the laws, to withdraw his allegiance, to oppose the Legislature? The law of God in the gospel commands us to obey our rulers. St. Paul is clear on the subject.

“But, waiving those considerations, your own interest, and the happiness of the district in which you reside, call upon you to avoid with the utmost caution all illegal oaths and combinations; thrice happy people, if, while the thunder of anarchy growls at a distance, you are allowed to quietly partake of your frugal fare, and compose yourself to rest without dread of the assassin or the midnight robber. There are amongst us men who tell us, with an ill-dissembled satisfaction, that we must not flatter ourselves with the hopes of escaping a visit from the French; and that we shall be at length compelled to bend under the iron rod of tyrants more desperate than any kings who swayed the sceptre of their nation.

“In the meantime, let me conjure you to reject with horror all clandestine oaths which may be proposed to you. As for my

part, it will be the pride of my life and the greatest consolation I can enjoy here below, should I be in any degree instrumental in preserving you from the machinations of dangerous and designing men. I may surely say without presumption, that I have a juster claim to your confidence than those workers of iniquity who delight in darkness. The God of all truth knows that I am a stranger to political parties, and that in this address I am influenced merely by the desire of promoting your happiness and by the imperious call of sacred duty.

"Indeed, when I reflect on the happy days I have spent with you at your respective chapels each succeeding year since I have been appointed to preside over these dioceses; when I call to mind that reverence and veneration which you manifested for the episcopal character; the avidity with which you received the great and consoling truths of the gospel; the warm expressions of gratitude and tender affection with which you repaid any exertions that might have been employed to influence you with a love of the morality of religion,—I am filled with the most sanguine expectations that I do not address you in vain. But should I have the misfortune to find myself disappointed in the opinion which I entertain of you, I shall at least have the consolation to reflect that I have discharged my duty, that I have not slept at my post, or failed to give you due notice of the impending danger. Immediately after the approaching festival of Easter, I shall meet you on stated days at your respective chapels, and trace out to you the plan of conduct which appears to me the most desirable for you to pursue in the emergency. I shall conclude in the meantime with the words of the Apostle St. Paul: 'May the peace of God, which surpasseth all understanding, fill your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus.'

"EDWARD DILLON."

It was a time of extreme danger for the Irish people, most of whom knew nothing of the reign of irreligion in France at the time, or of the ghastly murders perpetrated there in the name of "Liberty." They only knew it as the country in which their exiled brothers had found a home in the past, before atheism had desecrated that fair land. But most of the Irish bishops, conscious of the danger, appealed to their flocks on the subject; and so the danger was reduced to a minimum.

In the clergy of the united diocese of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora, Dr. Dillon found men anxious to aid their bishop with all their influence in guarding their flocks. They manifested the willingness of their co-operation by publishing the

following document, with their signatures.¹ It is of sufficient interest to be laid before our readers in full :—

“DECLARATION OF THE CLERGY OF THE UNITED DIOCESE OF
KILMACDUAGH AND KILFENORA.

10th September 1798.

“Alarmed at the artful contrivances which are every day employed to influence the minds of the people and seduce them from their allegiance, we, the clergy of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora, deem it our duty, in those days of peril and general alarm, to make the following declarations, and to counteract as far as lies in our power the dangerous falsehoods which are industriously propagated with a view to irritate the public mind.

“We declare, then, in the name of that holy religion, the precepts of which we are bound to inculcate both by word and example, the association oath of persons styling themselves ‘United Irishmen,’ tending to introduce a system of rapine and a subversion of all order, to be a blasphemous outrage against a God of truth. Nor do we conceive the capacity of any individual in whom the light of reason is not totally extinguished, to be so limited as not to perceive the nullity of such damnable engagements.

“We declare our obedience and adhesion to the admonitions which our Bishop addressed to his flock. We also, as far as is consistent with our rank in the hierarchy, beg leave to express our approbation of the pastoral instructions of the Roman Catholic Bishops of the kingdom, on the occasion of the present troubles; and we are prepared with God’s grace to walk in their footsteps, even to martyrdom should it be necessary, in maintaining those gospel truths which they have announced with an energy worthy of the apostolic ages.

“We declare it to be a most atrocious falsehood, circulated with fatal industry, that the army of any king is entirely composed of Orangemen, who have sworn to exterminate the lower classes of Catholics at their return from the expedition in which they are now engaged. Blessed be God, those troops are commanded by a Cornwallis, who is the protector of the poor as well as of the rich, who holds the scale of justice with an impartial hand, and at whose councils the genius of humanity and benevolence presides.

“We declare the pretended prophecies which are handed about by the agents of sedition to be a rhapsody of falsehood

¹ *Spec. Ossor.* vol. iii.

and extravagant folly, calculated to alarm the weak, the ignorant, and the timorous.

“We declare that we should treat with contempt the incessant efforts of anti-Christian conspirators to vilify the Catholic clergy, did we not apprehend the evil impression which their calumnies might make on the minds of the unreflecting multitude. Alas, how could we be insensible to the situation of the poor? Can a father be insensible to the wants of his children? Is it not from them that we receive a subsistence? Would to God it were in our power to make them all happy and comfortable. In the present convulsed state of the kingdom, we have no wish to separate our fate from theirs. While they adhere to the precepts of religion, we are determined to share in every danger which they may have to encounter. But how much soever we may displease the friends of liberty and equality, we cannot cease to announce to the poor and to the rich the doctrine of our Divine Master. We must tell them not to covet their neighbour's goods; that they must do as they would be done by; that they must obey their rulers for conscience sake; that they must never swear but in truth and justice and in judgment.

“We declare that we have hitherto every reason to applaud the conduct of the people committed to our care, and we flatter ourselves that, should they not happen to be overpowered by foreign invaders or domestic traitors, they will never swerve from that allegiance to which thousands of them, at the awful moment of receiving the sacred pledge of our redemption, promised to adhere with invariable fidelity.

“We declare it to be our well-founded opinion, that the clergy of the neighbouring dioceses are not less zealous than we can possibly be in opposing the plans of irreligious and rebellious agitators; nor do they entertain less abhorrence of a system of complicated wickedness, which, if not immediately counteracted, threatens us with the annihilation of religion, and a total dissolution of the bonds of society. But should it so happen that any idle clergyman be hereafter found amongst us, who, a stranger to the duties of his sacred profession, would unblushingly dare to hawk about French politics, and annoy every company with seditious language, we call on the gentlemen of those dioceses, and on every person who sets a value on peace, social order, and religion, to exclude such clergyman from their society, and to hold him in the light of an outcast and an apostate.

“We conjure our fellow-subjects who differ from us in sentiments of religion, to put a stop to all fanatical and

ungenerous representations, and cease to attribute to Catholics, or to their religion, the misfortunes of their country. The most superficial observer may perceive that the present contest is a war of profligacy against property, of licentiousness against subordination, of iniquity against all religion,—in a word, of vice against virtue.”

The signatures to this interesting document are as follows, and include probably all names of the clergy of the united diocese at that period:—

James Burke, P.P., Gort.
 Terrence Hynes, P.P., Craughwell.
 Edmond O'Heyne, P.P., Kilcolgan.
 Patrick O'Shaughnessy, P.P., Kilbecanty.
 John Nagle, P.P., Ardrahan.
 Thomas Talmon, P.P., Beagh.
 John Burke, P.P., Kilcornan.
 John Duffy, P.P., Kiltomas.
 Mich^l Neilan, P.P., Kiltartan.
 Nicholas J. Archdeacon, P.P., Kinvara.
 James Duffy, P.P., Kilchrist.
 Peter Lennon, P.P., Rathorney.
 Patrick O'Loughlin, P.P., Ennistymon.
 Patrick Roche, P.P., Kilmacrichy.
 Laurence Campbell, P.P., Kilshanny.
 Charles Carrigg, P.P., Kilfenora.
 Mich^l O'Loughlin, P.P., Carron.
 Bernard Mac Dermott, P.P., Glanamana.
 Timothy Davoren, P.P., Kilmoon.
 Constance Curtin, P.P., Kilaspuglinane.
 Patrick Flanagan, P.P., Clooney.

The declaration was dated from Ardrahan, on the 10th of September 1798, and gives the names of some priests whose memory is still held in reverence by the people.

John Duffy and James Duffy were brothers of Michael Duffy, who was Vicar-General of the diocese, and founder of the present church of Gort. They were men of energy, of earnest piety, and of untiring zeal.

Patrick Roche, a holy priest, was drowned as he endeavoured to pass the Liscannor ferry, to say his second Mass at Lahinch (there was no bridge in his day). His beads were preserved as a valued relic by his grand-nephew, the Very Rev. T. Shannon, V.G., Gort.

Patrick O'Loughlin was the founder of the existing church at Ennistymon, the founder also of the Christian Brothers

schools in that town; and, after the completion of those important undertakings, he resigned his parish, to devote himself in retirement, without interruption, to his own sanctification.

Father Carrigg of Kilfenora was a man who became practically a martyr to his sense of duty, and whose heroism is chronicled in verse by the Bard of Thomond.

Nicholas J. Archdeacon, then a young priest, was destined soon to attain high rank as the bishop of the diocese.

On the death of Dr. Egan, Archbishop of Tuam, Dr. Dillon was advanced to that See by a vote of the clergy in 1798. He died on the 30th of August 1809.

RICHARD LUKE CONCANNON, a member of the Order of Preachers, was appointed to succeed Dr. Dillon, by brief dated 19th November 1798. He was consecrated by Dr. Bray, Archbishop of Cashel. He was a distinguished man, and had acted for a time as agent in Rome for Irish ecclesiastics. Without, however, taking possession of his See, he resigned it, and his resignation was accepted by the Pope in audience at Venice on the 15th of May 1800.

Dr. Concannon soon after received charge of the See of New York, and was in truth its first bishop. But on his way to take possession of his See, he died at Naples. His portrait is preserved at the Casanatensian library at Rome, and bears the following inscription:—

“Fr. Ricardus Lucas Concanen Hibernen ex Theologo Cassanaten. Primus Episcopus Neoboracen in Fœderatis Americæ Provinciis. Obiit Neopoli in Campania, 13 Kalend Sextet MDCCCX.”

Provision was soon made for the vacant See, by the appointment of NICHOLAS JOSEPH ARCHDEACON, Dean of Kilfenora. He was the same who signed the declaration of the clergy of the united diocese in 1798; and, though holding the position of “Dean” at the time of his nomination for the vacant See, he was only thirty years of age.

Though a native of Cork, it was not wonderful that he should have recognised the claims which the diocese of Kilmacduagh had upon him.

He was son of Eliza, youngest daughter of Thomas Redington, Esq., and Sarah Burke of Kilcornan.¹ Miss Redington married a Mr. Archdeacon of Cork, who left one son, Nicholas Joseph, the subject of this notice, and one daughter, Mary, who married Mr. Blake of Ballyglunin, and was mother of Martin Joseph Blake, who was many years M.P. for Galway.

¹ Burke's *Landed Gentry*, vol. ii. p. 1341.

Mrs. Archdeacon was left a widow when her only son and daughter were yet infants. She emigrated to France, and resided there till her son was two years old. We have from the pen of the Archbishop of Cashel the following interesting notice of young Archdeacon's education and ecclesiastical career, before entering on his labours in the diocese of Kilmacduagh. He writes:—

"She returned to her native country, and sent her son to school in the great island near Cove, where he studied until he declared for the ecclesiastical state, and went to the Irish College, Douay. He there pursued the studies of philosophy and divinity, under my inspection, during the space of five years. And when I found it necessary to quit that unhappy country, he still remained in the college for upwards of twelve months, till he was thrown into prison, together with the masters and students of the English house who happened to remain. After some studies at Liege College, the French entered Brabant, when he returned to Ireland. He received the orders of sub-deacon and deaconship, during my stay at Douay, from the Bishop of Bruges, and was ordained priest by the Nuncio at Brussels, in virtue of dimissorials granted by Dr. Moylan. He laboured for a little time in Cashel before seeking a mission in Kilmacduagh.

"The brief for raising him to the episcopal dignity was issued on the 12th of October 1800, and, as he wanted some weeks of the thirtieth year of his age, a Papal brief had been previously obtained, dispensing him for defect of age. The clergy of the diocese had strongly recommended his appointment, and it was also powerfully urged at Rome by Dr. Bray, Archbishop of Cashel.

"It was Cardinal Borgia who promptly sent the notification of his appointment to the Archbishop, by letter dated—

"“VENICE, 17 Maii 1800.

"“ Ill^{mo} et Rev^{mo} Dom^o,—

"“ Illustrissimus Dominus noster Pius Papa Sep^{ma} Feneborensi at Duacensi Ecclesiis quibus R. L. Concannon sese abdicavit Pastorem dedit R. D. Nicolæum Archdeacon virum suffragiis tuis mirifice commendatum Dum Sacra hæc congregatio dominationem tuam de hoc ipso rexit certiore fausta interim in Domino tibi apprecamur.”"

The new bishop fixed his residence in Kinvara on the De Basterot property. His residence was known as "Hermitage," and is well known to the present day as Dr. Archdeacon's house.

It was a simple two-storey high house near the bay. The plantings which now beautify the district at Durus and New Town Lynch were not then in existence. But the bishop was a man who aimed only to live with and for his people. He was quite satisfied with his *palace*; and in the same spirit of apostolic zeal, he journeyed on horseback to the most remote parishes of his diocese when engaged in making his episcopal visitations; and as he passed he would speak to the humblest and poorest in the vernacular which they loved so well.

He avoided the well-meant attentions of his aristocratic relatives. Even the kind efforts of his relatives at Kilcormon to consult for his material comforts, were seldom received with more than qualified approval, and were not unfrequently rejected altogether.

On one occasion he became unconsciously the cause of a duel which proved fatal in its effects. But those were the halcyon days of such encounters in the West, and his lordship knew nothing of the hostile encounter. His lordship had been invited to dine on either a Friday or fast day with a party of lay gentlemen. A person named O'Malley, who resided at Galway, and possessed some property in the parish of Kilmacduagh, happened to sit next the bishop, and, wishing to indulge a coarse practical joke, poured some gravy on the fish of which his lordship was partaking. The bishop, observing this, simply put the dish aside as if nothing had happened. Though no further notice was taken of the matter that evening, it was talked about, and reached the ears of his nephew, Lord French. He at once sent a hostile message to O'Malley. They met by appointment near Galway, at a place then memorable for such meetings. O'Malley was shot dead on the field. It is doubtful as to whether Dr. Archdeacon ever knew anything of the unfortunate occurrence.

There were some occurrences in Tuam during his episcopate which led to some differences of opinion amongst the hierarchy. The value of the controversy is of little interest now. But reference to it is relevant here, as we find by a published record of the matter, that Dr. Archdeacon's position in reference to it was one of importance and trust. A letter, which he received from Dr. Bellew, senior suffragan of Connaught, contains the following. It is dated Galway, 2nd May 1810:—

“MY LORD,—I have read, in common with our conprovincial colleagues, your defence of our proceedings. . . . I return your lordship, in the name of all, many thanks for the faithful and

able discharge of the commission we engaged you to trouble yourself with. . . . I have the honour to be, etc.,

“DOMINICK BELLEW.”

It will be sufficient for our purpose to quote the following paragraph from the scholarly manifesto issued in connection with the matter by the Bishop of Kilmacduagh:—

“It is generally known that a commission was undertaken by Dr. Archdeacon, at the unanimous desire of the said Connaught prelates, expressed in their circular letter of the 13th November last, to transact the business of said province. No person can feel more strongly than himself the inefficiency of the advocate they have called upon, but, as he has most reluctantly been placed in such unpleasant circumstances, he is convinced that sentiments of generosity and honour are so predominant in the minds of every prelate in Ireland, that, far from apprehending unkindness from even those with whom he is compelled to argue, he will only be considered by them worthy of a trust, for exerting the feeble resources of his puny talent in the support of a cause confided to his vigilance.

“If the arguments and authorities he offers produce the happy effect of contributing in any degree to the restoration of ecclesiastical peace, the event will create a source of comfort to his mind which will amply compensate for the fatigue and personal inconvenience he has hitherto experienced, or any trials he may yet encounter for the conspicuous and painful part that he has submitted to his lot in the course of this lamentable business.”

The published document from which we give the foregoing extract was discovered by the author in the Galway archives, and is now in his possession.

But the work of attending to the immediate needs of his diocese was more in harmony with the good bishop's wishes than public controversy. He soon had the consolation of seeing, in three of the most important parishes of his diocese, the foundations laid of spacious churches that were to supersede the miserable structures of the preceding century, to which Stafford Eyre contemptuously referred as the “mass-houses” of a persecuted people. As Father O'Loughlin founded the fine church of Ennistymon, so Father Michael Duffy raised the church of Gort from its foundations. It has since the time of that venerable priest undergone important changes and extensions; but for that time it was a splendid proof of the faith of the people. The church of Kinvara, to which De Basterot had granted a convenient site, was also founded at the same period.

But Dr. Archdeacon's episcopate was destined to be a short one. He died at Kinvara in the year 1824.

THE MOST REV. EDMOND FRENCH, BISHOP OF
KILMACDUAGH AND KILFENORA.

Dr. French was a native of Galway, and born of Protestant parents. His father, Edmond French, was Mayor of the city in 1774; he also held the office of Protestant Warden for a period. That he shared the then prevailing feeling of hostility to Catholics, is evident from the fact that he was one of the signatories of the "Black Petition." The petition was drawn up in 1761, when a certain Charles Rivett was Mayor, and was presented to Parliament "to prevent Catholic shopkeepers in Galway from manufacturing or selling their goods, or employing journeymen for this purpose."¹ It is curious and interesting to find the sons of this gentleman, Charles and Edmond, adopting the proscribed faith early in life. Soon after their conversion, they both prepared for the ecclesiastical state, and, having made their elementary studies and novitiate at Esker, County Galway, they entered the Irish Dominican Convent at Lisbon. From the extant certificate of the rector and the collegiate authorities, we find that Edmond French had completed the full course of philosophy and theology on the 12th of May 1804. We find that his piety, modesty of demeanour, and devotedness to study are referred to in this document with approval. He was then ordained a member of the order, and, after the usual examination, described in the certificate as "rigorous," his fitness to receive faculties to preach and hear confessions is formally attested.

Dr. French must have returned immediately to Galway. He was stationed in the ancient convent of his order there. In the year 1805 we find his name mentioned amongst those considered eligible for the position of Catholic Warden. This was at a time when disputes and dissensions in connection with this peculiar ecclesiastical office were sources of continuous trouble at Rome, and of disedification at home. The lay patrons possessed the right of election to the office; and as the patronage was claimed exclusively by the so-called "Tribes," a member of the privileged families was usually selected. At this period the Vicars from whom the election should be made were of non-Tribe families.² As the lay patrons were unwilling to elect any of them, they obtained through the Rev. Valentine

¹ Dutton's *Survey*; Hardiman's *Galway*, p. 184.

² Hardiman, *Galway*, p. 263.

Blake a dispensation by virtue of which the Rev. Edmond French, a Regular, might be appointed Vicar; and also that he, with his brother, Rev. Charles French, and Father Fallon, a Dominican also, would be eligible for the office of Warden.

On the death of the Rev. Warden Bodkin in 1812, Dr. French was elected Warden. "But," writes Mr. Hardiman, "the Chapter declared the proceedings invalid, and refused to confer institution on the newly-elected Warden;" and finally appealed to the Pope, complaining against the innovation of a Regular intruding on a Secular Chapter. But the appeal was fruitless, and the election was confirmed by His Holiness on the 18th of June 1813.

After the Papal sanction had been obtained in support of the appointment, the spirit of disaffection began to subside. Besides, the affable and engaging manner of the young Warden, together with his social connection, were well calculated to conciliate.

Meantime, Warden French quickly utilised the influence which he possessed even with his Protestant fellow-townsmen for the benefit of religion. The need of a suitable Catholic church was long and widely felt in the city. He resolved to engage at once in the great work. The undertaking elicited the enthusiasm of the Catholics, but, contrary to what must have been expected by men in whose memories the "Black Petition" was yet fresh, it received the support of the Protestants of the town as well. It was the opening of a new and better time, and the local paper of the time gave fitting prominence to its importance:¹ "On the 1st of July 1814 the first stone was laid in the foundation of a new parish chapel on the site where the old one stood in Middle Street in this town. About one o'clock the popular Roman Catholic Warden—the Very Reverend Dr. French—and the other Catholic clergy of the town, attired in their sacerdotal habits, assembled at the old County Courthouse, which is now temporarily converted into a parish chapel. They were there met by Hyacinth Daly, Esq., our respected Mayor, attended by the sheriffs and other magistrates and officers of the Corporation, clothed in their official costume (*sic*), and bearing the insignia of their municipal character, together with a great concourse comprising almost the entire body of the respectable gentry of Galway. This collected assemblage moved from the Courthouse in regular procession, preceded by a band of music, through High Street, Shop Street, and Abbeygate Street, to where the new chapel is to stand. Here the usual form was

¹ Hardiman, *Galway*, p. 273.

gone through of laying the foundation-stone, which was deposited by the Mayor, in front of whose house the populace lighted in the evening an amazingly large bonfire."

In the following year Dr. French was able to establish a community of Presentation Nuns in the town. For a few years the good nuns were obliged to rest contented with such accommodation as was provided for them at Kirwan's Lane, and after at Meyrick Square. But in 1819 they succeeded in obtaining a lease of a building formerly used as a charter school, and well situated in the suburbs, at a rent of £80 annually.

On the death of Dr. Archdeacon, Dr. French was appointed Bishop of the United Diocese of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora, and was also permitted to retain for a time the office and jurisdiction of Warden of Galway.

The rescript of His Holiness Leo XII., in virtue of which he was appointed, is dated 24th August 1824. He was consecrated in March following by Dr. Oliver Kelly, Archbishop of Tuam, assisted by Dr. Coen of Clonfert, and Dr. Mac Nicholas, Bishop of Achondry.

He transacted the business of his united diocese from his residence in Galway. Even as late as 1826 we find him dating his correspondence from Galway. We find him, on the 26th of October of that year, addressing an interesting letter to the Bishop of Norwich, thanking his lordship, in the name of the Catholic people of Galway, for his lordship's "unceasing devotion to the cause of Ireland," etc.

The letter is interesting also, inasmuch as it shows the nature of the struggle in which Irish Catholics were at the period engaged:—

"MY LORD,—I have the honour to transmit the copy of a resolution agreed to at an aggregate meeting of the inhabitants of the town and county of the town of Galway, held on Wednesday last, for the purpose of promoting education amongst the poorer classes of the community.

"In tendering to your Lordship this expression of our thanks, I feel unfeigned difficulty in conveying the sense of gratitude which is universally felt throughout the country, for the generous sympathy you have at all times evinced in the sufferings of the people of Ireland. Your Lordship will feel that your exertions are not wholly unrequited in the grateful affection of an entire people, who are anxious to testify their homage for your character, and who regard with undissembled admiration those talents which have been uniformly exerted with such lustre

in promoting their political weal in common with the cause of constitutional liberty all over the civilised world.

"I may perhaps be permitted to congratulate your Lordship, as one of its oldest friends, on the steady advance which that cause has of late years made in the public mind among the people of these countries. The clang of intolerance has in a great measure ceased, and the arguments of our opponents are reduced to the single pretext of a divided allegiance; but our loyalty has been proved by the effusion of our blood, and our allegiance is evinced by the attachment with which we cling to the religion of our ancestors. Their sworn fidelity can surely be relied upon by the State, whom the sanctity of an oath has exposed to so much privation.

"If we did not justly estimate the value of the connection, we should not seek with so much fervour to share in its benefits. We look for emancipation on the same grounds on which your lordship advocates it, that religious belief affords no reason for civil disabilities. Deeply appreciating its blessings, we should regard that emancipation as valueless if restricted or less than universal. Stretching forth the hand of fellowship and goodwill to all religious persuasions, we would invoke the spirit of toleration expanded as the mercy of Heaven, to control the unnatural ascendancy by which this country is distracted and the people divided. We would invoke the genius of British dominion to unite us all as one body, to obliterate the vestiges of that system of exclusion, which, invading the sacred rights of conscience, is an anomaly in European legislation and a foul blot on the constitution of England.

"Your Lordship will forgive, I hope, the earnestness of my feelings upon this subject, and will believe that no one in this country entertains a higher veneration for your sacred person and character than myself.

"I have the hon^r. to remain, my Lord, with the most profound respect, your Lordship's most obedient and assured Ser^t.,

"EDMOND FRENCH, R.C. Bishop of Kilfenora
and Kilmacdoo, and Warden of Galway."

The troubles in connection with the wardenship in 1782 and after caused a widespread conviction to exist, that a change or modification in connection with the lay patronage at Galway was necessary in the interests of religion.

The then Archbishop of Tuam proposed the total abolition of the wardenship and the annexation of Galway to Tuam. Hardiman speaks of this project as being "totally unexpected;" and though Dr. MacEgan made every effort at Rome to have

this union effected, his efforts were defeated by the vigilance of Warden Joyce and the lay patrons. But Rome, proverbially slow to act, did not lose sight of the difficulty. To some in high authority it appeared that the office of Warden should be for life in the case of each appointment, and that appointment to parishes should be according to merit.

From a letter on this subject, addressed by Dr. O'Kelly to Dr. French in 1829, it appears that this rational arrangement was advocated by His Grace.

"Would to God," he says, "you could prevail on a certain portion of the lay patrons to put forth a memorial praying that the Warden may be for life, and the parishes given, not by rotation, but merit. If a respectable portion of the lay patrons were to make such application, it would be directly attended to."

It was then and previously under consideration that an "Apostolic Visitor" should be appointed to inquire officially into abuses and their causes. "But," writes His Grace, "they are really staggered to know how to act. It puzzles them what plan to adopt which would be least likely to give offence to all parties."

In the year 1830 the solution was found, in the abolition of the form of government by Wardens, and in the erection of Galway into an episcopal See, and suffragan to the Archbishop of Tuam. The letter of the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, Cardinal Cappellari, on this subject, dated 4th December 1830, is addressed to Dr. Oliver Kelly. It was immediately communicated to Dr. French. As to the selection of the new bishop, it was entrusted *pro hac vice* to the bishops of the province, with the Bishop of Down and Connor, Dr. Crolly, and the Bishop of Dromore, Dr. Kelly. The election was to be proceeded with without delay.

The following extract from the Archbishop's letter to Dr. French must be interesting to the reader:—

"TUAM, Dec. 28, 1830.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"By the annexed extract from Cardinal Cappellari's letter, which I received at a late hour on the 25th, your Lordship will perceive that the S^d. Congreⁿ., on the 20th Nov., had decreed that the Wardenship of Galway is to be erected into an episcopal See; and that the privilege of recommending those candidates is conceded *pro hac vice* to the bishops of this province conjointly with the Right Rev. Doctor Kelly of Dromore, and Dr. Crolly of Down and Connor. Your Lordship

will also observe that it is the ardent wish of the Cardinal that the recommendation do take place with as little delay as possible."

On Wednesday the 12th January following, the meeting of the prelates was held at Tuam, which resulted in giving Galway its first bishop in the person of Dr. Browne.

With that appointment in 1831 the connection of Dr. French with the Galway diocese ceased. We find him soon after residing in Kinvara. Just at that period the work of church-building inaugurated at Kinvara under his predecessor was being urged with singular energy throughout the diocese. He had the gratification of seeing eight or nine churches, to which we shall refer more in detail, practically completed in the diocese during his episcopate. It was an arduous effort for bishop and priests alike; and its success reflects credit upon them, but still more on their faithful flocks.

It is interesting to find that Dr. French, in the midst of those arduous duties, manifested his love for the Blessed Virgin by asking for the privilege of honouring her Immaculate Conception in the Mass, and of adding in her litany the title, "Mary conceived without sin." His lordship's request was entrusted to his agent, the Rev. F. J. Nicholson, and duly submitted by him to the Roman authorities. In a letter dated Paris, Feb. 15, 1845, Father Nicholson wrote to Dr. French, assuring him that "both the Pope and the Cardinal have with great satisfaction gratified you; and I now have the happiness of enclosing to your Lordship the papal rescript."

The rescript referred to is dated 26th January 1845. The shadow of famine was soon upon the land. It was a terrible time for all, but especially for those broken down in health, by age, labours, and infirmities, as was Dr. French at the period. But the struggle for corporeal life was not so terrible to the good pastor as was the struggle then necessary to guard the faithful from spiritual dangers. To undo the scheme so astutely devised by Whately and others for the ruin of the faith of Irish children—to expose the true character of the Queen's Colleges, and secure their authoritative condemnation,—these were the great labours of the bishops at the time, in which Dr. French was powerless from failing health to take an active part.

From a letter of Dr. Mac Hale's, addressed to him from Tivoli, under date 12th October 1848, we can see that he was in exact accord on the great question with his episcopal brethren. The letter will be read with interest:—

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I send your Lordship the annexed rescript, which will speak for itself. It is only in compliance with the duty prescribed to me by the Sacred Congregation that I have annexed the letter addressed to me by the Cardinal Prefect. This, I am sure, will be exhortation enough, as I am well aware of the unceasing vigilance and zeal of all the bishops of the province.

"Your Lordship will rejoice, your flock will rejoice, all Ireland and the Christian world will rejoice, at the utter solemn and final condemnation of the impious system of the godless colleges. Amidst all their misery, this will call forth many an Alleluia.

"I know the clergy are now suffering. It will pass away soon. We are all suffering. What matter? We must be free; nor shall we ever sell or barter the faith of St. Patrick.

"Kind regards from the Bishop of Ardagh.

"Yours, my dear Lord,

" + JOHN MAC HALE."

"In a few days—perhaps to-morrow—I hope to send you all a copy of this noble and valuable document which saves the Irish Church."

Dr. French, in extremely delicate health, spent the closing years of his life at Gort, where he died on the 14th July 1852. His remains were interred at Kilmacduagh, in the grave traditionally regarded as that of St. Colman Mac Duagh.

CHAPTER XXXII.

GORT TOWN.

Father Duffy is appointed parish priest—He builds the church—His character and career—The Very Rev. M. Nagle succeeds—His career—Parishes of Kilmacduagh and Kiltartan united—The Very Rev. T. Shannon succeeds—His labours and career—The present incumbent—Recent church extension.

THE area of the present town of Gort is about eighty-four acres. In Dr. Pococke's time (1752) it was "a very poor town, like a village." But under the patronage of a kind and intelligent landlord, it grew up rapidly in the beginning of the present century to considerable commercial importance. A tanyard, which proved very successful, was established there. A brewery was also established about the same period. A large flour-mill established there soon after gave still greater promise of profitable industry. The existing spacious court-house was erected in 1815. The Protestant church, an interesting building in late Gothic, with tower and spire, was erected in 1814 at an estimated cost of £2000. A very important addition to the military barrack was also made about the same period, by the erection of quarters for commissioned officers, at a cost of £7000. Unfortunately, nearly every vestige of the old castle was done away with by the erection of this structure. Good business houses, erected with strict regard to the symmetrical appearance of streets, etc., many of them three and four storeys, were also quickly erected; so that the writers of the *Topographical Dictionary* give the number of such structures existing in the beginning of the century as 565. The population before the famine was over 3000. The area of the town includes portions of Beagh and Kiltartan with Kilmacduagh. On the eastern approach to the town the river cuts off the small section which belongs to Beagh; and as regards the remaining parts of the town, they form one parish since the formal union of the parishes of Kilmacduagh and Kiltartan in 1853. But even before this union, the Gort church was practically the parochial church for the town, and is still used as such by the entire town and neighbourhood.

The old chapel, a humble structure, stood on the site on which the parish national school had been built in 1847; but with the growth of the town and the brightening prospects of the Catholic community, the need of a more commodious church made itself strongly felt. Nothing could be done in the brief period of the pastoral charge of Father O'Loughlin, who succeeded Father Burke. But the appointment of Rev. M. Duffy as his successor, in 1807, gave gratifying promise of the speedy erection of a suitable church. He was a clergyman of remarkable energy, piety, and an almost apostolic zeal.

The Rev. Michael Duffy was a native of the neighbouring parish of Kilthomas, and a member of a family that gave two other priests to their native diocese. His elder brother, James, was parish priest of Craughwell, and Vicar-Capitular of the diocese pending the appointment of Dr. Archdeacon. His younger brother was for a time in charge of Kilthomas and Kilbecanty, and is buried within its ruined church of Kilthomas.

Father Duffy, like his brothers, received his early training in classics from his father, Laurence Duffy, who was a scholar of considerable attainments, and who made his school at Kilthomas widely known in the West. Indeed, several ecclesiastics made their preparatory collegiate studies under his care. Amongst those I may mention his grandsons, the two Fathers M'Grath; Father Mullins, afterwards parish priest of Clarinbridge; and Father Geoghegan, afterwards parish priest of Craughwell. It is also said on good authority, that Dr. Oliver Kelly, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, made part of his early studies under Mr. Duffy's tuition.

Maynooth was then fast becoming the nursing mother of the Irish priests, and at Maynooth Mr. Duffy made his collegiate studies. We cannot fix the date of his ordination, but we can have no doubt that his appointment to Gort in 1807 was early in his career. Immediately on his appointment he devoted all his energies to the correction of abuses, and to the creation, as far as was then possible, of an enlightened Catholic spirit amongst the people. During the long night of legalised oppression, the evils of enforced ignorance did their sad work. Hence the religion of some of the poor people was little better than a compromise with superstition. Dissensions were prevalent, and intemperance not uncommon.

Such were the evils with which he had to deal, and against which he directed his untiring zeal.

He adopted a rather singular but very successful expedient for the purpose of impressing the people with the sacred character of the sacraments, and with the importance of careful

preparation and thanksgiving in connection with their reception. When holding the village stations of confessions, he would induce the people to abstain from labour, and regard the day as practically a holiday.

Faction fights were very frequent, and against this deplorable evil he waged a vigorous and constant warfare. To remonstrance and paternal advice he added vigorous action; and often, when entreaties were fruitless, and the advice was forgotten, he himself appeared unexpectedly on the scene of action, using his little stick freely, but effectively, on the backs of his erring children. For the good priest it was indeed a last resource, but it was always effectual in securing peace. The flock knew well how dearly their pastor loved them; and so they never questioned the character or methods of his paternal corrections.

The poor thatched church at Gort, then the parish church of Kilmacduagh, was too small to accommodate more than a section of the people. A small chapel erected at Tiernevan afforded also some partial accommodation to those residing in the remote districts of the parish. But Father Duffy lost no time in preparing for the erection of a suitable church at Gort. The similar effort successfully carried out in Kinvara under Dr. Archdeacon must have encouraged him. The site was readily obtained from the landlord. The building, in which the people helped enthusiastically, was a cruciform structure, without chancel, measuring 69 feet by 25 feet in length, and 67 feet by 25 feet between the transept gables. The structure was a neat one, designed by Mr. Payne. But now it is difficult to recognise its character in the present church, with its commodious chancel, its striking façade, and much extended dimensions. The good priest had the gratification of having his new church dedicated to the Divine service under the invocation of St. Colman Mac Duagh on the 29th of October 1828. The estimated cost of its erection was £1000.

The lease of the grounds and site of the church was made to Dr. French, the Bishop, to Father Duffy, and others, for a thousand years, at the nominal rent of an "annual peppercorn." And with the church grounds the proprietor also leased the site of the old chapel for a school for the education of the children of Gort. This liberal-minded nobleman even presented a valuable oil painting to the church—a fine copy of the "Repose," by Mola, which still hangs in the sacristy.

It must be admitted that the erection of such a church, at such a time, was at once a tribute to the faith of the people and the zeal of the pastor. The manacles were not yet legally

removed from their arms, and yet they hastened to the altar to consecrate themselves anew to the religion for which their forefathers had so long and so severely suffered.

The old chapels were yet the schools in which the children were instructed; and though the course of education given in those somewhat primitive Irish schools was limited, yet a sound rudimentary knowledge of what has been termed the three R's was imparted, and the Christian doctrine was usually very successfully taught through the medium of the Irish language. We need hardly add that his schools in the chapel of Tiernevan and in the old chapel at Gort had the good pastor's care. But when the insane agitation and combination known as "Terry Alts" extended through the country, maddening the people, and driving them into revolting crimes, the denunciations by the old priest of the crimes and their abettors were terrific. And they were generally heard as sentences of doom which Heaven would ratify against those against whom they were directed. On one occasion, individuals were pointed out by written notice, posted in the entrance to Tiernevan chapel, holding out against them some terrible threats. No one dare remove it till the good priest came. But when he became aware of its tenor, he took a large wooden crucifix from the altar, and, bearing it on his shoulders, he went and tore down the document before the assembled people. When he addressed the congregation from the altar after, he used words but too prophetic of the ruin which soon after seized the family by which those crimes were being instigated.

His devotion to the holy patron of the parish and diocese—St. Colman Mac Duagh—was an interesting feature in his character. It was a devotion which he drank in with his mother's milk, and was strong and widely spread amongst the faithful of the diocese even in its darkest days. But Father Duffy's trust in the powerful patronage of St. Colman was the simple trust of a child in a good father's protection. We have a signal proof of that trust in his holy patron's patronage when his flock was stricken with cholera in 1832, and were daily dying around him. He was ever by the bedside of the stricken ones; and when others fled in terror, and even the nearest friends would abandon the victims of the plague, his hands would place the poor remains in the coffin for interment. It was in July (13th) of that year he summoned old and young to meet on a fixed Sunday in the old cathedral at Kilmacduagh, to beg by their united prayers that the plague might be stayed through the mercy of God and the prayers of their holy patron. The old and the young were there; even

the feeble and the decrepit came to join in united supplication, and the vast multitude knelt on the gravestones within the ruined cathedral, where the Holy Sacrifice had not been offered for nearly two hundred years until that day. When, after Mass, the old priest turned to address his people there beneath the crumbling arches, exhorting them to earnest prayer, and to confidence in the patronage of him who over twelve hundred years before had himself offered the Holy Sacrifice within these very walls for their forefathers and predecessors, needless to say that his words moved every heart; and, as if to add intensity to their emotion, he held a skull in his hands, illustrating as words could not our weaknesses and our needs. The earnest prayers of the assembly were broken only by tears and sobs; but they were mercifully heard in heaven before they departed from the sacred precincts of the venerable ruin. And from that day the fell cholera ceased within the parish. This fact is attested by living witnesses who remember the cholera, and who were then present at the celebration of the Mass in the old cathedral by Father Duffy. There are several still living whose memories go back to his time, and who speak of him with the greatest reverence. His labours were fruitful of lasting good. He found the parish in a state of religious torpor and of enforced ignorance. But he roused the people from their slumbers, and caused the light of religion to shine out once more with its cheering brilliancy upon them.

It is said he was austere, but he was chiefly austere to himself. To his humble residence any but a woman was welcome. But into that sanctuary no woman was privileged to enter. All charge of his domestic comforts was entrusted by him to a man-servant, who was at once valet, cook, and laundress.

After a long and fruitful mission of thirty-seven years in Gort as parish priest, he died on the 26th February 1837. His appointment as Vicar-General was after his brother's death. He is buried in the church at Gort. The slab which marks his grave bears the following inscription:—

Pray for
The Soul of the
Very Rev. MICHAEL DUFFY,
Vicar-General,
And for 30 years Parish Priest of
Kilmacduagh.
He died the 26th Feb. 1837.

His grave is immediately before the Virgin's Altar. The slab which marks it is a proof of the affectionate reverence entertained for his memory by John Forrest, Esq. The Virgin's Altar is also a tribute to his memory from the same generous benefactor of the church. An inscribed brass plate on the base of the altar shows the following inscription :—

“In Memory of Very Rev. M. DUFFY, P.P., V.G., by John Forrest, Esq., Gort.

A fine pulpit in Caen stone and marble is an additional tribute to the good priest's memory. It is the gift of his grand-nephew, M. Mullins, Esq., of Nashville, and bears the following inscription in the Irish character :—

ḡuio
 ar an aṭair oirḃioḃíneac
 micél o duḃṭaiḡ
 úí na saḡart parráiste
 ḡoirṫ-inse-ḡuairḡ
 aḡus na fear ionaid easboiḡ
 iḡ cill mic duaiḡ
 fuair bás
 san m-bliadain—1837.

THE VERY REV. MICHAEL NAGLE, P.P., V.G.

Father's Duffy's immediate successor in Gort was the Very Rev. Michael Nagle. He was also appointed Vicar-General of the diocese. He was a native of the diocese, a nephew of the Rev. John Nagle, who was parish priest of Ardrahan when the “Ardrahan Declaration” was formulated and signed; he was also uncle of the Rev. Michael Nagle, who was for many years parish priest of Kilbecanty. He made his studies in Maynooth. On coming on the mission, he laboured for a

time in the parishes of New Quay and Clarinbridge. It was from Clarinbridge that he was transferred to Gort. In his missionary career he always secured the affection of the poor by his kindly interest in their temporal and spiritual well-being. He also gained by his engaging manner the regard of the better classes, without distinction of creed. That he was also esteemed by the clergy of the diocese, is clearly proved by the fact that he was elected Vicar-Capitular of the diocese on the death of Dr. French.

He was deeply interested in the education of the people ; and yet the old chapels of Gort and Tiernevan were then the only schools. Though the site of the old Gort chapel was leased in 1828 by Lord Gort to Father Duffy and others for educational purposes, the old chapel continued to be used for a considerable time as a school. It was not till 1847 that the present ornate and commodious schools were erected. The building consists of two storeys, and comprised a school for boys and one for girls. The front is of cut stone, showing windows with Tudor mouldings and gables with pinnacles.

The years of famine saw Father Nagle watching his flock with sympathy, assiduity, and sorrow. The town workhouse was overflowing with the famishing and dying. But it was nevertheless, in its neglected state, the only asylum for the starving poor of the town and parish. Its condition at that day may be gleaned from the pages of the Hon. and Rev. S. Godolphin Osborne :¹ "The first thing that struck me was the very wretched state of some children in a yard on the right as you enter the main building ; there were about two hundred of them, of the class under fifteen years of age. They were in a shameful state of neglect as to cleanliness and clothing ; they were sitting or squatting here or there, though not a cold day, still shivering ; many were only clothed in such rags as I could conceive a beggar would consider as the cast clothing of his order. . . . In a yard at the back of the workhouse and in a day-room opening into it, there were, as the numbers were given to me, 529 women and children, 129 of whom were between five and nine years of age. In addition, they had with them 24 babies in arms. This crowd of human beings was lying and crouching about the surface of the yard in masses and in groups, whose disgusting appearance it is difficult to describe. They were in the rags in which they had entered the house ; many had been in from one month to three—many, I believe, longer. What dress they had seemed to be rags of the red petticoat of the country from below the

¹ *Gleanings in the West of Ireland*, p. 40 and foll.

waist, rags of some black stuff above it. Some of the infants were nearly naked, and very evidently in a most filthy state. In spite of all that had been said to me to the contrary, my own senses satisfied me that soap and water were as equally foreign articles to this yard as decent clothing. . . . I found the name for this tribe amongst the officials was 'the black women,' to distinguish them, I presume, by their rags and dirt from the cleaner clothed women of other wards. They sleep close packed in long sheds, have no sheets, and must either sleep naked or in their rags, as it was admitted—indeed, it was evident—they had in very rare cases any body linen. The one day-room for this mass of living filth was crowded as much as the yard. I leave the reader to conceive what the state of things would be did rain drive them all into it. It is my firm belief that were the cubic feet taken of the space these women are forced to live in, and could the details of their last few weeks' existence be published, a more dreadful *exposé* could hardly be imagined." Enough. This was in 1850. It was, perhaps, as bad in many another workhouse throughout the famine-stricken land. We refer to it here chiefly to indicate the character of the duties, at the period, of the good priest to whom we refer.

But there was more. The depopulation of the district spoke sadly of a perishing people. To indicate the character of the depopulation, we take the following returns from official statistics, contrasting the population of four villages in the Kilmacduagh parish in 1841 and 1871:—

	Persons.				Persons.		
Ballyvoher, .	37	in	1841		3	in	1871
Cappanapisha, .	37	"	"		3	"	"
Kilmacduagh, .	31	"	"		3	"	"
Knockanatouk, .	76	"	"		33	"	"

These villages are in the Castle Taylor property, and with the exception of one village have been since used as sheep-walks.

Still more sad are the returns in the Lahiff estate in the same parish, as the following returns clearly indicate:—

	Persons.				Persons.		
Castle Quarter, .	144	in	1841		7	in	1871
Newtown, .	82	"	"		4	"	"
Newtown Glynn, .	82	"	"		5	"	"
Newtown Regan, .	85	"	"		11	"	"

The totals tell their sad tale with sufficient clearness, without burdening those pages with details. The total population

of the parish in 1841, excluding the town, was 1473 persons, as against 973 persons in 1851. Including the population of the town, the returns are 2378 individuals in 1841 as against 1580 in the year 1851.

To witness the ruin of his people by famine and extermination was hard enough, but there remained yet more to try this good pastor. This period of the people's agony was the time of which some God-fearing Protestants would avail themselves for the purpose of converting the benighted Irish Papist. Their death in a workhouse of want and filth might be witnessed with an easy conscience; they might be flung on the roadside without pity; and if the ocean gave graves to thousands who fled from the famine-stricken land, it mattered little. But those who escaped the famine and eviction and exile—should they not abjure the religion of their fathers?

The strong feeling on this subject entertained by the owners of the Kilmacduagh property was a new trial to the parish priest.

A school was erected at Tiernevan by Mr. Taylor, the landlord, and placed for a time in connection with the Board of Education. But he soon appointed Protestant teachers for the Catholic children, and endeavoured to support them there by his far-reaching influence.

Father Nagle's action was that of the vigilant pastor. He pointed out the danger to his people, and with few exceptions the children were withdrawn. Once more the old Tiernevan chapel had to do service as a parish school, until a new national school was erected. Mr. Taylor continued to use all the influence which his position as a landlord gave him in those days over his tenantry, for the purposes referred to. His efforts failed, however, and the school, which had been for a period a source of much local trouble, has been long devoted to quite other purposes. But those were the days when the Gospel according to the Apostles of Kildare Street was being preached in the West, and rendered attractive by material arguments in such centres of grace as Castle Taylor.

But Father Nagle's labours were then near their close. He was summoned to his rest soon after, on the 26th of July 1854, and is buried on the south side of the cathedral in the Kilmacduagh cemetery.

THE VERY REV. T. SHANNON, P.P., V.G.

The traditional connection of St. Colman Mac Duagh with Kiltartan, to which we have referred, gives to the parish a special interest. It derives additional interest from the many

monuments of the past which exist there. Its slopes and undulations are crowned by an unusually large number of "Danish forts," which, with its fine old castles, merit a far greater share of the attention of our antiquarians than they have hitherto attracted.

The district is on the whole fertile and very picturesque, where the Coole plantations extend westward to the lakes.

The old name of the parish was Kilattaraght.¹ It was also the old name of the barony, which has been changed to Kiltartan. We think that the name "Kilattaraght" is identical with Kilaraght in Coolavin. Hence, though the patron Saint of Kiltartan has been long forgotten, we think it must be St. Attracta, the venerated patron of Kilaraght Church, a Saint who to the present day is honoured as the patroness of Coolavin, and of other parishes in Sligo. St. Attracta was a contemporary of St. Patrick, and received the veil at his hands.² Dr. O'Rorke thinks that her birthplace was in the diocese of Killala or Northern Hy Fiachrach. Her fame, therefore, should be well known amongst her kindred in Southern Hy Fiachrach. Even her attendant would be sure to spread her fame amongst them. He was an O'Mochain,³ one of the followers of the Mac Kilkellys, one of the chiefs of the tribe of Guaire in the Kilmacduagh districts. We are informed, too, that this family were the "Keepers of the Cross of St. Attracta."⁴ It is no wonder, therefore, that her name should be venerated by her kindred in Southern Hy Fiachrach, and we can have no doubt that the old church of Kiltartan is dedicated to her memory. "In the calamities of the past times" we find the true causes why her name and memory passed from amongst us. "Owing to the calamities of the times," writes Dr. O'Rorke, "the festival of St. Attracta was uncelebrated from the Reformation down to the year 1864, when the Pope, after satisfying himself of her claims to a place in the calendar of Saints, authorised, by an indult of the 28th of July of that year, her mass and office to be celebrated in Ireland."

St. Attracta's church at Kiltartan bears upon it many evidences of restoration at different periods. But a portion of the east gable and southern side wall are of great antiquity. An altar-tomb on the Gospel side shows some ornate carving of the late fifteenth century period. The existing eastern window seems to belong to the same period.

Its peculiarities have attracted the attention of Sir Denham

¹ *Iar Connaught*, pp. 324 and 351.

² *History of Sligo*, vol. ii. p. 368.

³ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 63.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 41.

Norreys, and are referred to in a paper read by him before the Archæological Society in 1876, on the "Kiltartan Church." He says: "While on a visit with a family near Gort, in the county of Galway, chance led me into a small ivy-covered ruin by the roadside, the old church of Kiltartan, at about two miles north of the town. There appeared to be but little to interest in the interior; and I was about to leave it, when two curious projections carved on the mullions of the east window attracted my attention, and on closer examination they appeared to be stone staples for holding bolts.

"As I had never before remarked contrivances of the kind, I returned the next day, and with a short ladder, which alone I could procure, I succeeded in making the measurements from which I have drawn the sketches which I now send. Owing to the shortness of my ladder, I was unable to reach the head of the eastern window outside; and from the large mass of ivy covering it, I could not detect its form, or that of its drip-stone, but the interior of the window shows that it was flat-headed, and I presume from the simple form of the mullion that there was no elaborately-worked label. . . . If there was glass between the mullions, those staples or bolt-holes must be for shutters." The writer's suggestion is that "the church was not in constant use, and that after service it was closed up by shutters; but that when in use the shutters were removed, and light frames of some transparent material were substituted."

But, interesting as the little church is, we have found no reference to it in our annals or ancient records, and hence we have made no reference to it in the preceding pages.

Early in the eighteenth century an humble chapel was erected on the opposite side of the highway, and under the shadow of this old church. It was an oblong structure, and, like the "mass-houses" of the period, thatched with straw. It remained till 1842, when it was replaced, by the Rev. P. Fallen, parish priest, by the present simple cruciform structure. A slab in the gable has the following inscribed record: "This chapel was erected in 1842 by the pious exertions of Patrick Fallen, P.P."

Dean Cahill, whose chalice is in the author's possession, was probably parish priest there in 1757. This interesting relic has the following inscription:—

"Ora pro anima EDMONDI O'CAHILL sac. Theol. Doct. Decani Duacensis, etc., qui me fieri fecit in usum Capellæ St. Sartinæ. Anno 1757."

The Rev. Michael Nelan was parish priest in 1798.

The Rev. T. Geoghegan was in charge prior to his promotion to Craughwell.

The Rev. Father Fallen succeeded. He was afterwards transferred to the parish of Touclea, and became Bishop of the diocese.

Father Nelly succeeded.

On the death of Father Nagle, V.G., Father T. Shannon was appointed to the charge of Kilmacduagh and Kiltartan, then for the first time united. This desirable change recommended itself to the bishop, and indeed to the general public, because of the anomalous ecclesiastical divisions of the little town of Gort, and because of the greatly diminished population of both parishes.

The Rev. T. Shannon was a native of Derry, in the west of Clare and diocese of Kilfenora. He was grand-nephew of the good priest, Father Roche, who was drowned in crossing Liscannor ferry, in order to discharge his Sunday duties. He made his studies in the Irish College, Paris, and was ordained in 1839.

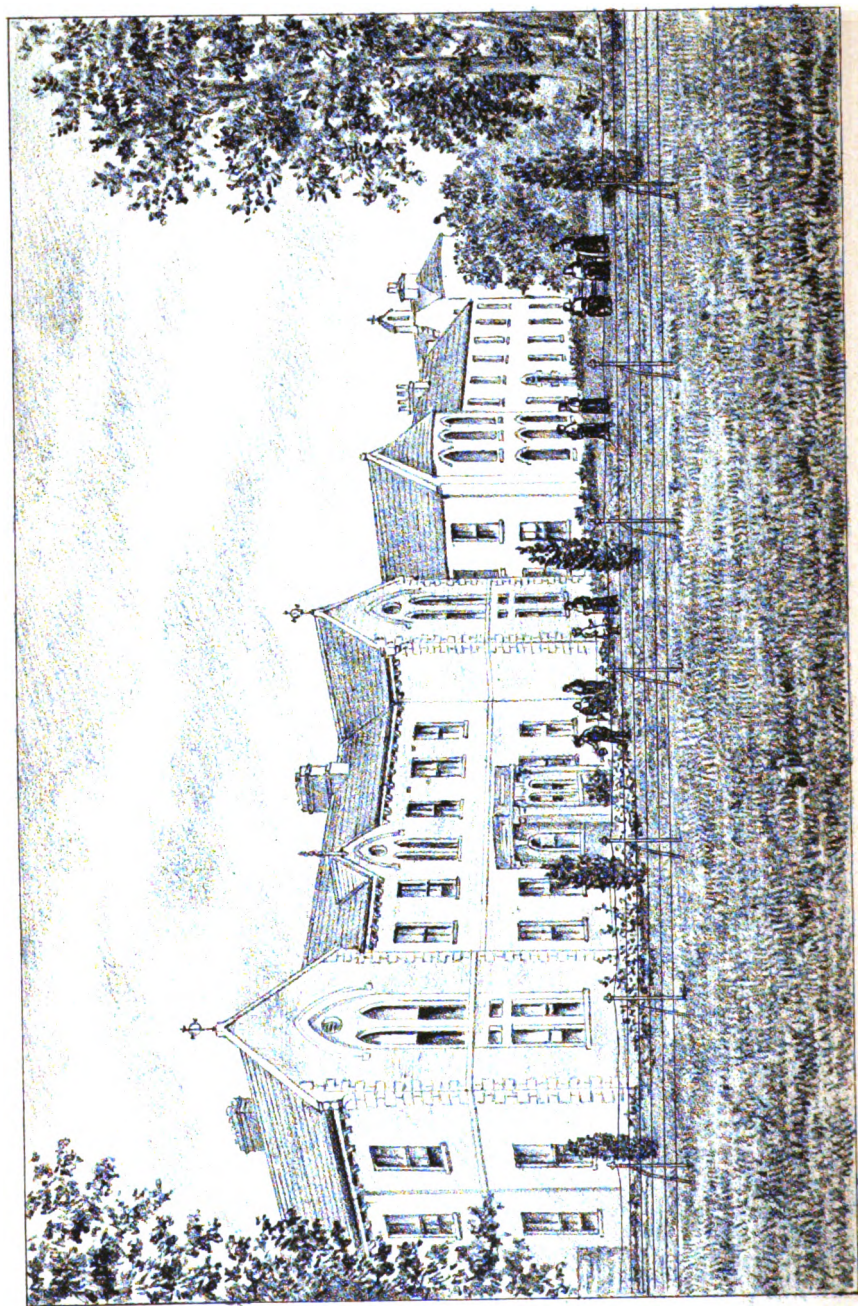
From the beginning of his missionary career he endeared himself to the people amongst whom he laboured. He was long and affectionately remembered in Kinvara. And at Ardahan, where he discharged the onerous duties of the parish from 1846 to 1849, his zeal is well remembered; while it is also within the memory of many that his revenues from all sources amounted at the time only to £28 annually.

On his appointment to the charge of the united parishes of Kilmacduagh and Kiltartan, he was also appointed Vicar-General of the diocese.

The old thatched church at Tiernevan received his immediate attention. He determined that it should be replaced by a new and commodious church. In so poor a district the undertaking was a difficult one, especially as he determined that the new church should show many of the most striking features of the adjoining cathedral at Kilmacduagh.

In 1856 he laid the foundations of the new church. It is a Gothic structure, consisting of nave measuring 73 by 28 feet, and a chancel measuring 20 by 20 feet.

The well-cut doorway is an accurate reproduction of the southern doorway of the cathedral. The windows of the cathedral, though representing various periods of Gothic, are also reproduced. Those who may cavil at finding windows of different periods and sizes in this church, should not forget the motive of their reproduction. It was rather an ambitious building for the locality. Thanks, however, to the generosity



CONVENT OF MERCY SCHOOLS, GORT,
WITH WING OF CONVENT.

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of the charitable, it is now comfortable in its internal arrangements. It is also well enclosed, and stands a monument to the zeal of the good priest by whom it was founded. The present writer is pleased to be able to add, that by an expenditure of £250 he has added much to its completion.

In 1856, Father Shannon devoted himself energetically to the establishment of a convent at Gort. The old residence of Lord Kiltartan, to which was attached a good garden and spacious grounds, was for a considerable time uninhabited. These he succeeded in securing for his purposes, and the work of repairing and furnishing was quickly carried out.

Regarding the Sisters of Mercy as being more directly bound by the rules of their institute to the care of the poor than the more secluded orders, he secured a branch of that order from the parent house of Carlow. The foundress was Mother M. Aloysius Doyle, under whose pious care, and that of the subsequent superiors, the children of the town and district have had excellent opportunities of acquiring a sound moral and religious training. The facilities for this desirable end have been much increased by the erection in 1887 of the present splendid schools by Mrs. M. A. Irvine, the then superioress. The accompanying illustration gives a good idea of their style and character.

In 1876, Father Shannon effected a most desirable improvement in his parish church, by the erection of its present chancel and sacristy, by means of the generous bequest of the Rev. T. Grealy, parish priest, Peter's Well, for that purpose. The splendid window and marble altar with which the chancel was then enriched are the gifts of J. Forrest, Esq., of the town. But the man's true character was best shown by his constant and assiduous labours as a missionary priest. He was untiring in the confessional; and in season and out of season he would exhort his people in the language of simple earnestness. His exhortations were usually delivered in the vernacular, and always exercised a powerful influence on his pious flock. Even in his old age he sought no relaxation from his customary duties.

It was on St. Patrick's Day, 1883, that the summons came calling him from labour. He had celebrated two Masses, but was stricken, on his return to his residence, by the illness of which he died. His death occurred on the 23rd March.

He is buried in the parish church, before the altar of the Sacred Heart. On his grave we read the following simple inscription:—

“Of your charity
Pray for the Soul of
The Very Rev. T. SHANNON, P.P., V.G.,
who died
on the 23rd March 1883.”

A fine stained glass window to his memory has been placed soon after in the south transept by “his friends and parishioners.”

The writer of these pages received his letters of appointment to succeed Father Shannon as parish priest and Vicar-General on the 29th of the same month, from His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Mac Evilly, then Bishop of Galway, Administrator-Apostolic of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora, and Coadjutor Archbishop of Tuam.

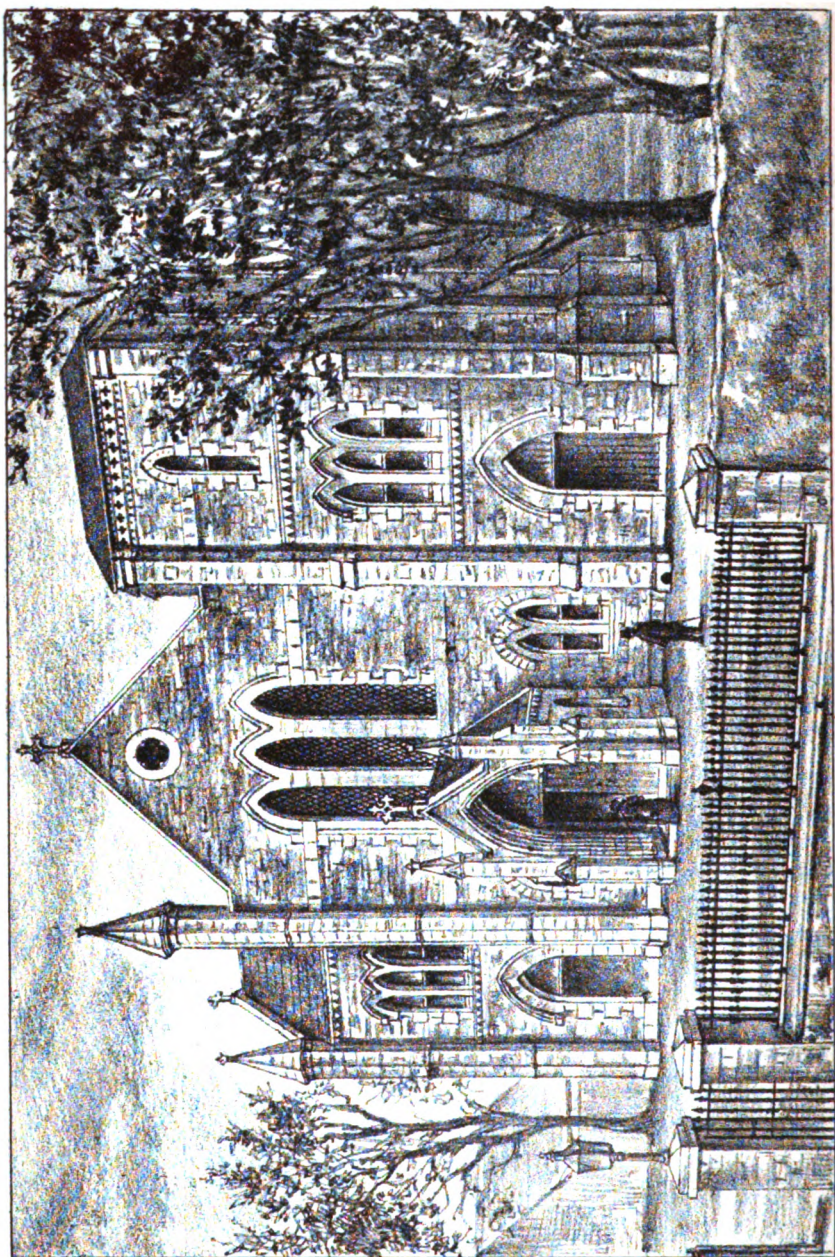
He has had the consolation of seeing his parish church much improved since his appointment, at an outlay of £2000, contributed for the most part by the generous people of the town and district. It is due to the memory of the late A. O’Kelly Nolan, M.D., that his charitable bequest of £300 is included in the estimate just given. The extension, designed by Mr. O’Connor, architect, Ennis, is all of fine ashlar, and includes, with extended front, a tower and baptistery. The style is Early English, the severity of which is well relieved by ornamental strong courses.

In the entrance porch is a recessed and richly-moulded doorway. It is supported on either side by buttresses, which terminate in pinnacles. A fine triple lancet window rises above the porch.

The tower, flanked by buttresses, rises on the right, as yet incomplete. When completed, the tower and spire shall rise to a height of 120 feet. It harmonises in style with the church front.

The baptistery is on the left, supported by well-cut octagonal buttresses, which terminate above the roof in effective pinnacles. A well-designed wrought-iron screen gives admission to the baptistery from the church. The font is of many-coloured marbles, rich in ornamental detail. Amongst the graceful columns on which it rests are two of onyx. The colours of the tessellated floor, which harmonise with the rich and varied shades of the marble, look softer still in the mellow tints which a stained glass window, showing the baptism of the Redeemer, casts upon it. It is the gift of Mrs. P. Spelman Gort.

From the chancel gable to the western gable the length of the church is now 110 feet, while the porch covers 10 feet additional.



ST. COLMAN'S CHURCH,

GORT.

(Front View.)

CHAPTER XXXIII.

MODERN PARISHES.

The Parish and Church at Kinvara ; succession of priests—The Parish and Church of Ballindereen ; succession of priests—Parish and Churches of Clarinbridge ; succession of priests—The Parish and Churches of Craughwell ; succession of priests—The Parish and Church of Beagh ; succession of priests—The Parish and Church of Ardahan ; succession of priests—The Parish and Church of Kilbecanty ; succession of priests—The Parish and Church of Kilthomas ; succession of priests—Parish and Churches of Kilchrist ; succession of priests.

THE PARISH AND CHURCH OF KINVARA.

IN the existing parish of Kinvara we have the union of the three ancient parishes of Kiloveragh, Kilena, and Durus. We cannot say when they were united, but we have no doubt that the union exists for some three centuries at least. As regards the existing ruined church in the town of Kinvara, it may be interesting to know that, in the opinion of Mr. O'Donovan, it is not more than five hundred years old, and that it stands on the site of the old church of St. Coman.

The ancient church of Durus does not appear to have attracted the attention of antiquarians. We would wish to think it may have been the church of St. Colman Hy Fiachrach, but feel obliged to confess that we have no historical data to support the supposition. It is situated on a gentle eminence overlooking the bay. There was an oratory to St. Kyran on the adjoining strand, where the patron's day was kept till recently. Hardly a trace of the oratory remains.

The ancient church of Kilena is still extant. Of its history we can know nothing. We cannot doubt that it was dedicated to St. Enda. But though its history is forgotten, its great antiquity is pointed out at length by O'Donovan. He states in his letters that "it is one of the oldest churches I have yet seen. It is built of enormous stones, some of which are 4 feet long and 1 foot 10 inches high." The east window is decidedly a primitive window, which was never "remodelled" or "repaired." It is, he thinks, exactly like the window in the

church of Kilrea, near Killala. As regards its western gable, he thinks it comparatively modern, and assumes that it must have been rebuilt in the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

As regards the other objects of antiquarian interest in the united parishes of Kinvara, we have referred to them in the preceding pages.

When the commerce of Galway began to decline, in the early part of the eighteenth century, an illicit commerce with Kinvara and the surrounding districts sprang up, and continued for a considerable time. And if the efforts and enterprise of the "smuggler" be ever dangerous, yet all the circumstances of the time to which we refer seemed to recommend them to popular favour.

It is certain that the illicit importation of wines, tobacco, and brandy to the Kinvara coast, towards the close of the last century, secured for Kinvara considerable notoriety, and with it a dangerous but profitable trade. The charmingly situated cottage which overlooks the harbour, and is the Presbytery now, was then the residence of "Captain de Lemaïne." As current rumour had it, the "Captain" was familiar with the character and value of the mysterious cargoes which frequently arrived from abroad. And it was admitted that the excellence of the Bordeaux brandy and tobacco, which his extensive vaults contained, could not be easily surpassed.

Perhaps, under the circumstances, it was not unnatural that even the "loyal minority," may have in part sympathised with their countrymen in their toleration of this successful adventurer's trade. Sometimes, indeed, the activity of the Government authorities gave matters then a passing notoriety. The *Connaught Journal* of 1st March 1792 reports that—"Last Tuesday, Messrs. Morrison and Mason, assisted by a party of the 17th Regiment of Foot, seized twenty-three bales of leaf tobacco at a village called Knoggery, and lodged the same in His Majesty's stores. Too much praise cannot be given on this occasion to the active exertions of Lieutenant Craven in particular, and the corps under his command, through the whole of a forced march—nearly forty miles—over a country indented with rocks and precipices, during the whole of a very wet night and day!" The village referred to is within the Kinvara parish, and is situated within about three miles of the town of Kinvara.

On the 12th of the same month a similar seizure was effected in the adjoining village of Durus. The report which we transcribe shows that the "authorities" had been aroused to the need of vigilance and action. The report is as follows:—

"Last Thursday, Charles Gordon, coast officer, and William Morrison, gauger, assisted by a party of the 17th Regiment, seized at the village of Tureen, near Kinvara, twelve bales of leaf tobacco and four large cases of bottled wine; and yesterday, William Roche, Esq., surveyor of excise, assisted by the above revenue officers and a party of the said regiment, seized at Durus and Kinvara, nine bales of tobacco and two hogsheads of wine — all of which was safely deposited in the custom house stores. Yesterday arrived the *Sea Flower*, King's cutter, Captain Webber, from a cruise, and has brought in with her three bales of leaf tobacco which were seized in one of the islands of Arran."

Once more, on the 23rd August in the same year, we have another record of a similar important seizure at Durus, near Kinvara, of similar merchandise :—

"Last Tuesday, Messrs. Neville and Mason, revenue officers, assisted by a party of the 22nd Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Jauncey,—who deserves much praise for his exertions on this occasion,—seized at Durus, near Kinvara, 500 lbs. weight of leaf tobacco and a quantity of French bottled wine, which were safely lodged in the custom house here."

There were numerous agents in the villages and neighbouring towns willing to share the perils and the profits of the trade. But the notices just quoted show that the Government was aroused, and its activity then heralded the ruin of the successful smuggling trade of the bay.

The familiar features of the quaint old town were soon to change a little. The small quay built there in 1773 by James de Basterot was extended in 1807 and 1808 by Richard Gregory of Coole, the new proprietor. And in a little time one of the fine old castles, which flung their shadows on the little harbour, was thrown down to supply building materials for the erection of the existing pier, alongside of which schooners of fair tonnage may safely ride at anchor.

The new quays were at once evidences of, and encouragements to, the trade of the district. And greater projects were discussed, such as the construction of a canal which would connect the Fergus with the sea at Kinvara. Like many other enterprises which might have benefited the country, the canal never advanced beyond the region of theory.

We have seen that a little chapel, known as "the old chapel," about a mile south-east of Kinvara, was used from the early part of the eighteenth century for the celebration of Holy Mass. The inscribed slab referred to in a former chapter shows that the Rev. Patrick Neilan was parish priest there in 1730.

In 1798 the Rev. Nicholas Archdeacon was parish priest of Kinvara. He was, as we have seen, soon after consecrated bishop of the diocese. His successor in the parish was Dean Burke, who resided at Normon Grove.

On the occasion of Dr. Archdeacon's appointment as bishop, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the population of Kinvara parish was estimated as containing 1900 families. For the religious needs of this vast population the "old church" was still used as their sole place of worship. His lordship, therefore, was painfully impressed with the urgent necessity of erecting a commodious church in the parish. A desirable site was granted by James de Basterot, Esq. of Durus; and with the site the generous donor also gave a quantity of land for forming a suitable enclosure.

The new church was a cruciform building, with chancel, measuring 81 feet between eastern and western gables, and 78 feet across the transepts. It was not ornate; but it was commodious and well lighted. And if there be those who may criticise the absence of architectural effect, they should remember that it was erected at a time when such a structure as a Catholic church was unknown to the law of the land in Ireland. We venture to say it stands amongst the oldest of the churches which the great revival in this century has called into being in the West of Ireland. It was completed in 1819; and we know from Hardiman that the foundation-stone of St. Nicholas, the Galway Pro-cathedral, was not laid until 1816. It was not till the year 1827 that the foundation-stone of the Tuam Cathedral was laid. The parish church at Gort was not completed till 1828.

The estimated cost of the Kinvara church, as given in Lewis' *Topographical Dictionary*, is £2000. But we think it did not cost so much. Mr. James de Basterot, with his family, shared in the general elation of the parishioners, on the erection of their new church. And as he was an amateur artist of high attainments, he soon enriched the new church with some good paintings in oil. The altar-piece is by his pencil. It is a Crucifixion, with the figures of Our Lady, St. John, and the kneeling Magdalene. The treatment is very devotional; and time has only mellowed its colours. The antependium of the altar is a good study of cherubs peering from either side, through masses of clouds, at a chalice in the centre. The Madonna, which hangs where the north transept forms an angle with the nave, is also from his pencil, and is in a good state of preservation.

As the parish was mensalised on the appointment of Dr. Archdeacon, the succession of priests was comparatively rapid.

During the erection of the church the Rev. M. O'Fay was Administrator. We shall have again occasion to refer to the career of this good priest, when describing the present parish of Craughwell.

Father O'Fay (Fahy) was succeeded by Father Acton, a regular, whom Dr. Archdeacon had engaged for the duties of the secular mission, because of the difficulty of procuring priests trained for the secular mission. Father Acton was afterwards parish priest of Ballindereen.

The Rev. John Fahy succeeded. He was a native of Peter's Well parish, a parish which has given a large number of priests to the diocese. He made his studies at the Propaganda. The outbreak of the famine, and the efforts at proselytism then initiated in the town, made his connection with the parish one of exceptional difficulty.

He was succeeded by the Rev. T. Shannon, afterwards parish priest of Gort, and Vicar-General of the diocese. His connection with Kinvara was brief.

The Rev. P. Forde succeeded. He was a native of the parish of Kilchrist, and was remarkable for a zeal for religion, and for an affectionate interest in the cause of the poor. He died a martyr to duty in the year 1847, and is buried close to the Virgin's altar in the Kinvara church.

Father Forde was succeeded by the Rev. Francis Arthur. Father Arthur was a native of Ennistymon, though by extraction a member of the ancient family of that name in Limerick. He made his ecclesiastical studies at Maynooth; and soon after his ordination was appointed to the charge of the Kinvara parish, which then contained about 1800 families, to whom he very quickly endeared himself.

These were terrible times to live through. In the West, famine and sickness held the country. The '48 movement had proved a sad failure, and the peace which set in seemed destined to become the peace of the desert. The leaders of the movement sought to escape as best they could, with a price upon their heads. It was treason even to shelter them.

Writing of Mr. Dillon's escape, Gavan Duffy merely says that "he was put on board a small brig in Galway, disguised as a priest, and made his way to New York."¹

He came to Kinvara and sought shelter under Father Arthur's hospitable roof. But he had scarcely reached Kinvara when intelligence of his arrival reached Gort. A friendly message was, however, immediately sent to Father Arthur to provide for the safety of his guest. He was accordingly sent farther down the

¹ *Young Ireland.*

bay to a farmhouse at Durus, while Father Arthur and his curate, Father Kelly, secured the services of an experienced boatman to take him on to the Aran Islands. They well knew that John Holland of Kinvara, whom they engaged, was not alone an expert seaman, but trustworthy and honourable also. So, disguised in Father Kelly's clerical attire, Mr. Dillon was put on board Holland's boat at Durus, accompanied by his friend, Father Kelly, and sailed for Aran. Heavy seas were encountered off Black Head, so that all the fishing smacks were obliged to seek shelter landward. Yet, undeterred by the gale, Holland sailed boldly on. The priest and the fugitive had got ill, and were obliged to seek the shelter of the little cabin, when one of the cutters guarding the bay gave chase. Coming quickly alongside, and seeing only one man on board, it permitted them to continue their course. A thick fog set in meantime, and Holland veered as if sailing for Costelloe Bay on the opposite coast. He soon reversed his course, and landed his passenger safely on the middle island of Aran, while one of Her Majesty's boats was lying at anchor in the adjoining harbour of Kiltonan. Here Dillon assumed the disguise of an Aran native, and sailed next day for Barna, near Galway. The brig *Barbara* was about leaving the docks for America, and Mr. Dillon succeeded in securing his passage without any further serious difficulty. The police search at Kinvara, after Dillon's departure, resulted only in the arrest of two innocent men, who were soon after set at liberty.

The effects of the famine years were sad everywhere, but in Kinvara the results were very deplorable. Nothing can better show the sad changes which were effected in the parish during Father Arthur's administration, than a comparison of the population on his departure with what it was when he took charge. On his departure in 1867 there were less than 700 families, as compared with 1800 on his appointment years before, showing a decrease of 1100 families, or of 5500 souls. The chief proprietors were obliged by clamorous creditors to sell their lands. In 1849, Mr. Lynch of Galway became purchaser of a large portion of the De Basterot property at Durus. The remaining portion had a far less desirable purchaser, in the person of Isaac Comerford, who also resided at Galway.

Almost at the same time that the De Basterot property at Kinvara was sold, the town of Kinvara and the extensive districts in the parish which were owned by the Gregorys of Coole were also sold, and, unfortunately for the district, transferred to the same purchaser, Comerford.

The old rents were moderate and never harshly exacted. The old proprietors at Durus and Coole had and inherited a sense of their responsibilities as well as of their rights. And so, when ruin stared at them, they preferred to face it manfully rather than place their tenantry under burdens which they knew they could not bear.

But the new proprietor was burdened by no such feelings. He was a successful artisan, unburdened by traditions. And if he had ascertainable sympathies, they lay probably in the matter of remunerative investments. He had an intelligent appreciation of the rent-producing capabilities of the Western peasantry. He recognised and respected the power vested by law in the landlord to utilise those capabilities. And so Mr. Comerford, on succeeding Baron de Basterot and Gregory as landlord in Kinvara, revised the rent-roll, with the result that the rental of Kinvara, which had been £335, went up to £1150, and the newly-purchased property was made to pay three times the old rents.

But the machines were overworked, and the geese that laid the golden eggs were done to death, and the comparatively short interval of about twenty years witnessed the ruin of over a thousand homesteads in one parish. The "last straws" have done their work effectually; and, as a natural outcome of events, the property has been for a considerable time past placed under the management of the Court of Chancery in the interest of creditors.

It is much to be regretted that the purchaser of Northampton subsequently should have also contributed in any degree to promote the depopulation. He was a successful Galway merchant, enterprising, kind, and charitable. He was also a scientific farmer. The villages which adjoined his newly-purchased residence at Northampton were, to say the least, not progressive. Many may have owed arrears of rent. But the houses and holdings of the struggling peasants there have disappeared in the well-cultivated fields and extensive plantations which soon attracted attention in the neighbourhood of Northampton house. In Lough Curra south and north there were in 1851 25 families, or a population of about 125 souls. In 1871, we have a return of only 11 families, or of about 55 souls. It is but justice, however, to add that he was a kind and considerate landlord to those who remained.

The present esteemed and zealous pastor of Kinvara was appointed in 1870, soon after Father Arthur's departure to take charge of the Craughwell parish. The Rev. J. Moloney is a native of the parish of Ennistymon. After completing his

studies in Maynooth, he was placed for a little time on the Galway Mission. His promotion to the charge of Kinvara was very early in his missionary career, and a clear proof of the high estimate then formed of his missionary zeal by the Apostolic Administrator of the diocese, the Most Rev. Dr. Mac Évilly. He was but a few years in charge, when the convent was erected at Kinvara.

A splendid site and commodious grounds were the gratuitous gift of Captain Blake Foster of Galway. A sum of £2000 sterling was bequeathed by W. Murray, Esq., Northampton, towards the erection of this convent; and a further sum of £2000 was bequeathed for its endowment by the same generous benefactor.

In connection with the convent there is a commodious church in the Romanesque style, in which there are slabs fittingly commemorating the generosity of those charitable benefactors.

Meantime, decay seems to be the chief progressive agency in Kinvara. The tolls, which indicate the commercial activity of such places, were up to £200, but have sunk to £60. And since 1872 the population of 689 families has sunk to 451 families in 1890.

THE PARISH AND CHURCH OF BALLINDEREEN.

The present parish of Ballindereen is situated within the barony of Dunkellin. It is formed of a union of the old parishes of Dromacoo and Killenavara with portions of Kilcolgan.

We have already described the interesting ecclesiastical ruins at Killenavara. We have also referred at some length to those which recall the holy lives of St. Sourney and St. Colga. We have not, however, referred to the ancient church at Kiltiernan, chiefly because we have been unable to glean any reference to it in our annals. It is right, however, that I should add that the church is one of the oldest in the diocese. Petrie refers to it as an interesting specimen of our cyclopean ecclesiastical buildings. O'Donovan makes a somewhat lengthened reference to it in his letters. He says: "It is perhaps the second oldest church in Ireland, Bishop Mels', at Ardagh, being the very oldest. It is, however, in a far better state of preservation than St. Mels, and deserves particular attention from the investigator of ancient architecture. It is 45 feet in length and 13 in breadth. The east gable is level

with the ground, and—*lamentabile dictu*—there is a considerable breach in the south side wall. The west gable is nearly perfect, and retains a perfect doorway in the primitive semi-cyclopean style, which is well worthy of the attention of the historical architect. The stones are enormous, and very well laid with a small quantity of lime and sand cement," etc. The learned editor of the *Martyrology of Dongeal*¹ tells that there was a St. Ternan. We also find a St. Tiernan (St. Tighearnan) mentioned in the genealogies given in the book of *Hy Fiachrach*.² He flourished towards the close of the fifth century. He was fourth in descent from Prince Fiachra. His descent would therefore account for the willingness of his kinsmen in Aidhne to honour his sanctity and venerate his memory.

This St. Tiernan is also patron of the Abbey of Errew on Lough Con. We are told by Mr. O'Donovan that St. Tiernan's dish "is still preserved at Rappa Castle, in the barony of Tirawley." He may have been the patron of this church. The outline of the country is uninteresting. Its rugged character is somewhat relieved, however, by the plantings around Cloghallymore, and by the still more extensive woodlands of Tyrone. Like many other districts in the diocese, it has been much depopulated. In 1851, Kilcolgan had a population of 124 families; in 1871 it had only 25. In 1841, Dromacoo had 205 families; in 1871 it had only 99. In 1841, Killenavara had 245; in 1871 it had 143. We do not think that the penal laws were enforced with any great severity against the Catholics of the district in the eighteenth century. The Clogh family had its chaplain, and the Tyrone family remained Catholic for a little time. And though Arthur French, son of Christopher, became a Protestant, his brother Christopher was a Catholic priest. It is said he often celebrated Mass at Tyrone House in his brother's lifetime. He is buried at Dromacoo. The following may be read on his tomb:—

"Pray for the Soul of
The Rev. Doctor CHRISTOPHER FRENCH,
who died 11 Feb. 1706,
aged 98 years."

The vestments of this clergyman were, it is said, long preserved at Tyrone House.

We find that the chapel then used for the celebration of the Sacred Mysteries at Ballindereen was erected probably in the

¹ P. 168.

² P. 12.

beginning of the eighteenth century. It stood a short distance north of the present church.

In 1782, Father Edward Hynes was parish priest of Ballindereen. He was a member of the old and still respectable branch of the O'Heynes family, who resided at Poulmagceann, in Kinvara parish. In his time Protestant service ceased to be given in the church erected on the site of St. Colga's monastery a short time previously. And in his time also, Christopher St. George, son of Arthur, became a Catholic. The causes which led to this gentleman's conversion, and to the closing of the church, may not be accurately given in our time; but the tradition regarding them, still preserved in the district, may be briefly given.

It is said that the church became so infested with locusts, or flies, that prayer within its precincts became impossible. When every effort to banish the invaders proved fruitless, Mr. St. George invited Father Hynes to read the blessings of the Church there. The priest consented, on condition that Mr. St. George would become a Catholic in case the prayers of the Church proved effectual. It is said that they were effectual, and that Mr. St. George's conversion followed immediately.

Of the fact of his conversion there can be no doubt. We have it on good authority that he made on this occasion thanksgiving offerings to the religious communities at Galway. As to the appearance of the locusts in the West in that century, it was a public phenomenon, and one which attracted much attention. We are assured by Hardiman¹ that they appeared as a scourge in the West in 1688.

This Christopher French had assumed the name of St. George from his mother, Olivia, grand-daughter of Lord St. George. He was, we believe, the builder of Tyrone House, one of the finest mansions in the county.

We have been unable to ascertain the exact date of Father Hynes' death. We know that he lived in 1798, and that he was then described as "parish priest of Kilcolgan." We know with certainty that he is buried before the altar in the old sanctuary of Dromacoo.

After the death of Father Hynes, Father Lahiff had pastoral charge of Ballindereen for a little time. We think he was soon after transferred to the adjoining parish of Kilcornan.

In about 1817 Father Acton received pastoral charge of Ballindereen. He received on the occasion from Arthur St. George of Tyrone a desirable site for a presbytery. The date

¹ Hardiman, p. 220.

of its erection, 1817, is engraved over the entrance door. This simple-minded priest retained charge of the parish till 1833.

Father Andrew Fahy, a native of Kiltomas, obtained charge of the parish at this period. He had previously laboured in the Connemara Missions. His tenure of Ballindereen was short. He died in 1836, and is buried in the same grave at Dromacoo Church as his predecessor, Father Hynes.

In that year the Rev. Thomas Kelly succeeded. He was a native of Oranmore, and remarkable for an easy, cultivated address, fine presence, and powerful physique. Old men tell marvels still of his athletic feats. In 1841 he undertook the erection of a new parish church. He obtained without difficulty a suitable site from Christopher St. George, on an eminence near the village of Ballindereen. Like the churches then usually erected in rural districts through the West of Ireland, it is cruciform. It has, however, a short chancel, measuring 24 feet in width by 5 feet in depth. The nave measures 64 feet by 24 feet. The distance between transept gables is also 64 feet. The building was well proportioned, and altogether is effective in appearance. It was a costly undertaking for such a district. But the family at Clogh relieved him of much of his arduous responsibility by their generosity. The altar and the altar-plate are memorials of their charity. A chalice still used there bears the following inscription:—

“Pray for the souls of ANDREW BLAKE, and Mrs. MARY BLAKE, his wife, who caused this chalice to be made for theirs and posterity’s use—1722.”

Another chalice has the following pious appeal for prayers for Patrick French of Clogh:—

“Ora pro an^o PATRICII FRENCH de Clough et CATH^{na} KIRVAN ejus uxoris qui hunc calicem donavit parochiæ Killinavariensi An^o Dom. 1747.”

Mr. Christopher St. George, who, though a Protestant, willingly gave Father Kelly the site for his church at Ballindereen, was in many senses a remarkable man. He was a man of recognised ability—a keen sportsman, well known on the turf. His stud at the Curragh was by common consent amongst the most valuable there. Though in no sense a politician, he represented his native county for a short period.

in the Conservative interest in Parliament. With the large estates which he inherited, he inherited also a ruinous debt, said to exceed £100,000. Of this vast debt, much was of a character which he might have, it is thought, repudiated; but he did not, and actually reduced the vast amount by £70,000.

Father Kelly, after roofing his new church, was transferred to another parish; and the Rev. John Lannon succeeded as parish priest of Ballindereen in the year 1854. It was under his care that the interior of the church was completed, together with its enclosure. He is buried within the church grounds; and the slab which marks his grave bears the following simple inscription:—

“Pray for the Rev. JOHN LANNON,
P. P. of Ballindereen for 14 years,
died 5th May 1868, in the 54th year of his age,
and 25th of his priesthood.”

The Rev. Timothy Geoghegan succeeded. He was a native of the parish of Beagh, a nephew of the Rev. T. Geoghegan of Craughwell, and of the Very Rev. John Sheahan, parish priest, Vicar-General, Ennistymon. His brother, the Rev. Michael Geoghegan, is a much-respected member of the Redemptorist Order. His tenure of the pastoral charge of Ballindereen was brief, as he was soon transferred to Craughwell. It was during his incumbency that the fine bell was presented to the church by a member of the Clogh family.

Father M'Crowe succeeded for a little time. And the present writer had charge there for two years. He retains an affectionate remembrance of its pious and warm-hearted people.

The Rev. Francis Forde, recently deceased, soon after received charge of the parish. On his death in 1884, the present zealous and respected pastor, the Rev. T. Burke, was appointed his successor. Father Burke is a native of Ardrahan, and made his studies successfully in Maynooth.

A notice of Ballindereen parish would be incomplete without a reference to Richard T. Cronnolly, author of the *History of the Clanna Rory*, who was a native of the parish. His work was published in 1864, and did not attract at the time the attention it merited. But it could not be expected that a member of the constabulary force, more or less unknown, could be at first very favourably received as an author. His abilities, since admitted on all hands, were then unknown. He himself seems to have had a lively sense of the difficulties involved by his position. He states in his introduction:—

"Not without considerable timidity are the following pages offered to the benevolence of the reader. It is not from any doubt of the interest felt by his countrymen in the subject to which their notice is solicited, but it is from the presumption that his work might have gained in completeness by more extensive research than the laborious duties of a calling adverse to all literary pursuits permitted, that the author feels obliged to acknowledge the hesitation he feels in inviting the attention of the learned to this slender result of much labour."

But the "slender result of much labour" has secured both the attention and approval of our learned archæologists; and there can be scarce any opinion regarding them, except one of regret that copies are so rare, and that the death of the author makes the issue of a new edition practically hopeless.

THE PARISH AND CHURCHES OF CLARINBRIDGE.

The village which gives its name to the present parish of Clarinbridge is situated about a mile west of Kilcolgan. It stands on the most inland point of the Bay of Maree, on a bright stream which pours its waters there into the sea. Formerly the place was known as "Atha Claith Meadhreaghe," i.e. the hurl ford of Maree. It was the scene of a battle in which many chiefs of Hy Maine were slain. The event forms the subject of a long poem in the *Dunseanchrus*. A wooden bridge, erected there in comparatively modern times, has secured for the place its present designation.

The rising ground, which O'Donnell selected as the place of his encampment on the occasion of his memorable raid on Thomond and Clanricarde, is immediately outside the village on its northern side. The extensive woodlands of Kilcornan shelter it on the east, while one may catch on the south some interesting glimpses of the bay.

The pretty village is evidently of quite modern growth. It is made attractive, not merely by its situation, but also its pretty convent, and the fine Celtic memorial crosses recently erected there by the present proprietor.

In the modern parish of Clarinbridge we have the parishes of Kilcornan and Kileely, incorporated with portions of Stradbally and Kilcolgan. There can, we think, be no great reason to doubt that the ruined church within the Kilcornan grounds was a parochial church, as were those of Kileely and Stradbally, till the Cromwellian period, when, it will be remembered, Redmond Burke of Kilcornan was attainted and his estates con-

fiscated. The execution of his nephew, Edmond Burke, at Loughrea, in 1654, a martyr to his faith and country, showed clearly that the Kilcornan family and district had excited the special hostility of the Government.

Early in the eighteenth century a chapel was erected on the north-east of Kilcornan, and not far from Roveheagh. The ruins may be seen there still. They stand just outside the demesne enclosure. The south side wall is entirely destroyed. But the northern side wall and gables, which remain, show the true character of this humble chapel, in which the Catholics of the district braved the laws of the persecutors of that terrible period. It was an oblong building, measuring about 72 by 15 feet, which we have already described.

We can have no doubt that it continued to be the chapel for the entire districts which have since remained amalgamated. It continued to be used for Mass even in the early portion of this century.

It may be unnecessary to remark that many of the ecclesiastical observances with which our people are now perfectly familiar, were at that period either unusual or unknown. We may illustrate our meaning by the universality in our time of the custom of wearing the distinctive ecclesiastical garb in church at ecclesiastical functions; which had during the penal times necessarily fallen into disuse. The departure from the custom in Ireland at that period is accounted for by the impossibility of its observance.

It was under those circumstances that the simple faithful who continued to assist at the celebration of the Divine Mysteries at Roveheagh had ceased to regard the soutane as a Catholic ecclesiastical dress. And when at length, in the early part of the nineteenth century, the then parish priest, Father Lahiff, felt himself at liberty to resume once more the long-discarded soutane, they had come to regard it with the gravest suspicion. The incident may perhaps possess sufficient interest to justify a brief notice of it here.

Father Lahiff, who had been recently appointed, was desirous of wearing the ecclesiastical dress, at least in his church. Accordingly, when about to celebrate in the Roveheagh church, he appeared in soutane. His pious parishioners, unprepared for the transformation, regarded him for a time with a searching scrutiny. They had either known or heard that clergymen of the Established Church officiated in some kind of flowing robes with which they were unfamiliar. But that a priest should appear in such a garb was new to them, and seemed dangerous. Could it be that this new

priest had adopted such a suspicious garb? And might it not be that with the garb he adopted the religious principles with which it was associated? So they argued; and, leaving the church by a common impulse, they openly discussed the matter in the chapel-yard—deciding to segregate themselves, at least for the present, from the dangerous innovator.

Surprised at the conduct of his congregation, the clergyman availed himself of the earliest opportunity of inquiring into its cause. Having met one of his most intelligent parishioners a few days after, he asked if he had been in the chapel on Sunday, and if he left like the others. The man replied that he had been there and left. When asked to state his reasons for his strange conduct, he replied that he was opposed to Protestantism in every form.

In the year 1820 a new church was founded, nearer to the village of Roveheagh, and close to the highway between Moyveala and Dunkellin. Like the older church, it was erected by the Kilcormac family. It was, as originally built, a plain oblong structure, without aisles or chancel, measuring 80 feet in length by 26 feet in width. It was restored and beautified by C. T. Redington, Esq., in 1873, from designs furnished by Mr. Ashlin. The window tracery is of decorated Gothic, and all are filled with ornamental glass. Over the well-cut western entrance there is a fine rose window, which is surmounted by a neat open belfry. The sanctuary is lighted on either side by stained memorial windows. That on the south side, which represents St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Francis Xavier, is erected to the memory of Sir T. N. Redington and Mrs. T. Xavier Redington, his mother. That on the north side represents St. John the Evangelist and St. Thomas the Apostle, and is erected to the memory of Mr. C. T. Redington's maternal grandfather, J. N. Talbot, Esq., and Mr. Thomas Lynch of Lavally.

The woodwork of the interior, which is unique in design and execution, was supplied by the firm of Early & Powell, Dublin. The roof is of open woodwork, and is supported by graceful shafts, which spring from well-cut corbels. They intersect the moulded ribs of the vaulted roof, dividing the spaces into panels, which are richly painted. The altar, which is of wood, beautifully carved and decorated, is also supplied by the same firm. The style of decoration may be styled Gothic Arabesque. The tabernacle is of enamelled brass, supported by a reredos, showing three panels on either side, on which are well-designed angelic figures. The pinnacles at either end form niches containing statues. From the centre

behind the tabernacle rises a fine representation of the Crucifixion, with statues of the Blessed Virgin and St. John.

The sacristy contains a fine baptismal font, designed and well executed in marble by Messrs. Harrison of Dublin, who have also supplied the pretty holy water fonts which stand inside the entrance porch of the church. Altogether this church is a model of neatness, design, and good ecclesiastical taste, which, we think, is equalled by few rural churches in Ireland. And when we add that this was done by the generous Catholic spirit of the proprietor, we sufficiently indicate his claims on the gratitude of this Catholic district. In doing so, however, he was but consistently following the practices and traditions of his family.

The convent at Clarinbridge is a splendid memorial of the charity of his benevolent and pious grandmother. Early in the century this good lady realised that one of the most crying needs of the poor was the want of means to obtain a sound religious and secular education. It was with this conviction that she undertook and carried out the great work of founding a convent at Clarinbridge, and endowing it for a community of Sisters of Charity, who have been as ministering angels to the poor of that district for over half a century. The site is at the entrance to the village; and though close to an armlet of the sea, it is embedded amongst sheltering trees. Though admirably suited to the purposes for which they were designed, the convent and schools are models of monastic simplicity; but the little chapel, with its plain exterior and simple lancet windows, is enriched with many objects of great religious and artistic interest. But perhaps it is best to allow the gifted biographer of Sister M. Aikenhead to tell us of the convent at Clarinbridge.¹

"The house was founded at Clarinbridge, in the county of Galway, by Mrs. Redington of Kilcornan, with an endowment for five sisters. To it are attached twelve acres of land, the gift of her son, Mr. (after Sir Thomas) Redington. No expense was spared in providing all that was necessary for the sisters, and requisite for the work they went to be engaged in. The convent chapel was finished with the greatest care and taste. The altar and the tabernacle are of the most costly marbles. An exquisite, delicately-carved group in white marble, by the sculptor Hogan, representing the Ascension of our Lord, surmounts the tabernacle. The altar and tabernacle cost £700. Over the altar hangs a good copy, richly framed, of Raphael's 'Transfiguration.' The chalice is a work of high art, and was

¹ *Life of M. Aikenhead*, p. 304.

consecrated by Gregory XVI. The cup alone, which is of pure gold, is worth £105. Equally beautiful is the Remonstrance in emblematic design. A figure of Religion holds with both hands above her head the circle with rays, in which the sacred Host is placed. She stands on a globe, and this again is supported by a gracefully-carved pedestal, on which three little angels are seated, one holding the cross, another the crown of thorns, and the third the pillar. Besides these costly gifts, Mrs. Redington gave the sisters very precious reliquaries.

"On the 24th June 1844 Mrs. Mac Carthy and two of the sisters went as guests to Kilcornan House, where they remained to oversee the final preparations at the convent. On the 11th of July three other sisters arrived, and later on came another, with two lay sisters. The altar was consecrated, and the Blessed Sacrament deposited in the tabernacle on the 16th, the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, when the nuns took possession of their new dwelling, the Convent of Our Lady of Mercy. Mrs. Aikenhead appointed as rectress of the convent at Clarinbridge a beloved and trusted member of the congregation—Sister Mary Baptist Griffin, 'gentle Gerald's fondly-cherished sister.' In the month of December 1872 the foundress of Our Lady's Priory (of Clarinbridge) died at Boulogne. Her remains were brought to Ireland, and laid in the convent lawn, literally within the shadow of the sanctuary. The spot was chosen by her pious grandson, that her soul might have the benefit of the prayers of the poor, whom she loved so well. He has placed over her tomb a beautifully-executed Celtic cross, which forms a striking and interesting object on the convent grounds." The grandson referred to is the Right Hon. C. T. Redington, the present esteemed and accomplished proprietor of Kilcornan.

The village of Roveheagh was, we believe, very populous in the early part of the century. But as the village of Clarinbridge grew into importance, it was felt by some that the erection of a chapel of ease there also would be desirable. The local proprietor—Christopher Redington—erected, at his own cost, an auxiliary church in the village. It was a plain cruciform building, and was completed in the year 1817. At a time when all the chapels of the diocese were but humble structures covered with thatch, there can be little doubt that the new chapel of Clarinbridge was an object of admiration in the district. Very recently this chapel has been superseded by another in a better situation, at the cost of the present proprietor.

We have seen that Father Lahiff was pastor of Clarinbridge in the early part of the century.

The Rev. M. Nagle, who was afterward parish priest of Gort and Vicar-General, had charge of the parish for a period.

The Rev. Father Mullins was, we believe, his immediate successor. He was a native of the parish of Kilthomas, and descended of an old and very respectable family. He acquired his elementary knowledge of classics at Mr. Duffy's school, which just adjoined his native place. As he was also a relative, we may assume that Mr. Duffy took a special interest in his pupil. As a missionary priest Father Mullins is favourably remembered for his piety and amiability.

Father Mullins was succeeded by the Rev. M. Connolly. Father Connolly is a native of the adjoining parish of Craughwell. After a very successful course of studies at Maynooth, he received faculties for missionary duties in the year 1843. After retaining charge of Clarinbridge for several years, Father Connolly accepted the pastoral charge of Beagh; and on the occasion of his transfer, he was also appointed Vicar Forrane of the diocese by the Most Rev. Dr. Mac Evilly, then Apostolic Administrator of the diocese.

For a brief period the Rev. J. Staunton had charge of the parish.

In 1873 the present esteemed pastor—Rev. P. A. Mac Donough—was appointed to its pastoral charge. He studied at Maynooth; and, after completing his studies there, he held charge for a period of the Chair of Rhetoric in the Irish College, Paris. But as his health was weak, he soon returned to his native diocese, where his amiability has secured for him general esteem.

We do not think there are in the West of Ireland many districts of the area included in the modern parish of Clarinbridge that contain so many objects and places of great historical interest. The battlefields of Aughrim or the Boyne are not more interesting than Turlogh Art, whether we consider the forces engaged or the interests involved.

The remains of the Eiscir Riada, the old Irish highway, which dates back to the oldest historic period, should interest us as much as do the remains of the highways of old Rome. The churches of St. Colga and St. Foila are second only in interest and importance to those of St. Mac Duagh. There are few monuments in the West which speak more clearly of the strength and of the weakness of the De Burgos than do the old castles of Kilcolgan and Dunkellin. And though Roveheagh is now a little better than a name, it is a name that recalls

the ceremony and pomp of inaugurating an O'Heyne, and placing in his hand the official wand which bound him to rule in justice over Dathy's royal race in the plains of Aidhne.

CRAUGHWELL PARISH.

The present parish of Craughwell is constituted by a union of the parishes of Kilora and Kilogilleen with the chief portion of the old parish of Kileeneen. Its population in 1841 was about 798 families against 324 in 1871.

Amongst the depopulated districts, the following may be mentioned as typical:—

Carheen	in 1841	had	12 families	and only	4	in 1871
Monksfield	"	"	19	"	9	"
Aggard Beg and More	"	"	40	"	7	"
Sleiveroe	"	"	13	"	3	"
Moneyteigue	"	"	35	"	3	"

The old parish chapel stood but a short distance eastward of the present parish church. It was of the class usual in the last century, little better than a hut. It is probable that it was used during a great part of the eighteenth century. Its remains may still be seen.

We have seen that the Rev. Terence Hynes was parish priest of Craughwell in 1798. He was succeeded by the Rev. James Duffy, transferred from Kilchrist. Father Duffy was a man endowed with many of the priestly qualities of his brother, the pastor of Gort. He was always uncompromising in the discharge of duty. Yet he was esteemed not merely by his faithful people, but by men of every rank and persuasion with whom he came in contact. The regard in which he was held by his clerical brethren may be inferred from the office of Vicar-Capitular, which he held after Dr. Nihil's death.

An effort at proselytism inaugurated there in his time must have caused him some anxiety. But he had the consolation of seeing its total failure.

The insane and criminal action of the secret agrarian movement of the period was also a source of great uneasiness to him. James Hardiman Burke, a gentleman of position and influence in the neighbourhood, was, it was said, fired at, though fortunately without receiving any injury. The outrage was attributed to the Ribbon Society, and a respected countryman named Daly, residing near Seefin Castle, was arrested for the outrage. Whether justly or unjustly, he was supposed to be a local leader. He was tried at Galway 1820, and sentenced to be executed at Seefin. The condemned man was driven in

a cart from Galway, obliged to sit on his coffin, under a strong military escort. Even on the scaffold the poor man declared his innocence of the crime. And to the present the opinion is a general one amongst those who remember the event, that Anthony Daly died an innocent man.

The gentlemen of Galway had a character for fire-eating and duelling, which Lever and Thackeray have immortalised. Lever writes: "One has heard wonders of the country, the dashing, daring, duelling, desperate, rollicking, whisky-drinking people." In Father Duffy's time those gentlemen of "fire and sword" had some representatives in the vicinity of Craughwell.

Ulick Burke, a relative of the Marquis of Clanricarde, was one of the class. His residence at Strongfort, about a mile east of Craughwell, was a curious combination of the Norman keep and the modern dwelling. Mr. Burke loved the hunting-field, and felt strongly that the manly sport should be reserved exclusively for those who could boast of patrician blood.

Under the influence of such convictions he "insulted" a gentleman named Blake, who was connected with some profitable commercial business, and, forgetting his plebeian origin, had gone to the "meet." An arrangement was quickly made to have this "affair of honour" settled according to the good old method. On Christmas morning 1822, the combatants met outside Loughrea. The interference of the authorities prevented the encounter there. They then proceeded to Portumna, and, passing over to the Tipperary side of the river, they exchanged shots, with the result that Burke fell mortally wounded. It may be added that the deplorable incident was the last of the kind which has occurred in the county.

Father Duffy's death occurred in 1833. He was succeeded by the Rev. Timothy Geoghegan, a native of the parish of Beagh, who, as we have seen, made his early classical studies at Kilkenny with Mr. L. Duffy. He made his ecclesiastical studies at Maynooth. As a missionary priest he was known as a zealous labourer, and as an effective preacher. He usually addressed his people in the Irish language.

In 1845 he laid the foundation of the present parish church. It is a spacious cruciform structure, in Gothic outline, and measures 54 feet by 28 feet in length. The transepts are 27 feet by 28 feet each, and the chancel 5 feet by 28 feet. The famine years set in. Under the terrible difficulties of the time he was able only to raise the walls a small way above the foundation, when he died in 1847. His remains repose near

the high altar on the Gospel side in the church which he had founded.

His successor was the Very Rev. Michael O'Fay, D.D., and Count of the Holy Roman Empire, a man of energy and of special taste for church-building. He received his appointment in October 1847.

We have seen that the Rev. M. O'Fay, who was a native of Ardrahan parish, had aided in the completion of the Kinvara church under Dr. Archdeacon. It was after that period that he went to Rome to complete his ecclesiastical studies. He made the protracted stay of twelve years in the Eternal City, after which he returned to his native diocese, having received the degree of Doctor of Theology, and having the title of Count of the Holy Roman Empire conferred on him by His Holiness. It was unusual to confer this latter title on ecclesiastics. It was seldom conferred upon any who could not lay claim to noble birth. Dr. O'Fay used to amuse his Irish friends by telling them how he satisfied Roman requirements on this point. He told them in Rome of a grand-uncle of his, who usually arrayed himself in a "cocked hat," and carried a sword, and who on a certain occasion used his sword with some effect in an "affair of honour." The statement was accepted as sufficient evidence of the nobility of his erring and martial progenitor, and the doctor accordingly received his title, which he bore with an entire absence of ostentation.

After his return to his native diocese, he had charge for a brief period of the parish of Glanamanagh, in the diocese of Kilfenora, better known as New Quay. He erected there, in a short period, a good church and splendid residence. It was from New Quay that he was transferred to Craughwell in 1847. On his appointment he was also made Vicar Forrane of the diocese.

No more eligible appointment could be made, considering the urgent need of completing the church and the difficulties of doing so. Undeterred by difficulties, he entered on the work inaugurated by his predecessor. In 1854 he had the church roofed-in and fitted up for the celebration of Holy Mass.

Dr. O'Fay found it also necessary to erect a chapel of ease near the old church of Kilogilleen. He obtained a suitable site at Ballamana from Sir Thomas Redington of Kilcornan, and within a brief period had the church completed. It is perhaps one of the best-designed rural churches in the diocese. And here it may perhaps be remarked that Dr. O'Fay was always his own architect.

After a long and fruitful ministry, he died in 1867. His remains repose in Ballamana church.

On the death of Dr. O'Fay, the Rev. Francis Arthur was transferred from the administration of Kinvara to the pastoral charge of Craughwell, which he held till his death. He died in 1876, much respected and regretted.

The Rev. Timothy Geoghegan succeeded Father Arthur. He was nephew of the founder of the Craughwell church, and was transferred from Ballindereen, where he had laboured for some years. He was a man kindly and genial, and a favourite with all. His health gave way soon in the discharge of his duties. He died on the 1st of April 1884, and is buried in the parish church.

The Rev. B. Quinn, the present respected pastor, was appointed on the 15th August following. He is a native of Kinvara, and made his ecclesiastical studies for a time at the Irish College, Paris, and completed them in our National College, Maynooth. Already the evidences of his zealous labours are manifest in the parish church. It is mainly through his exertions that it has been made at once complete and comfortable in its internal arrangements. The erection of a suitable presbytery on the church is an additional evidence of successful labours.

THE PARISH OF BEAGH.

The parish of Beagh comprises the south-eastern districts of the diocese. It therefore comprises the old Belgic settlement of the Clan O'Mor, at and around Lough Cutra, and the splendid castles of Fiddane and Ardameelavane, which still speak of the departed power of the chiefs of Kinel Aedh. It also includes some mansions of the last century, which are now fast sinking into decay. They were occupied by the Butlers, the Fosters, the Clovans—who sprang up under the old chiefs about two hundred years ago, and who, like the chiefs, have disappeared from the districts.

The Butlers had mansions at Bunahow and Ballygegan, and seem to have been descended from junior branches of the Ormond family. Theobald Butler married Helena, daughter of Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy. This witty lawyer was better known as Sir Toby Butler, and was one of the most prominent men at the Irish bar in the time of James II.

The following brief extract may be transcribed here as illustrative of his character:—

“Sir Toby Butler, the Solicitor-General of our second King James, who ‘lost Ireland,’ . . . was a clever lawyer—ready,

witty, faithful, eminent. He drew up the Articles of Limerick, a document of wonderful ability, but soon after to be torn in shreds by those who pretended they would abide by its terms. . . . Pleading one day before a certain judge of very bad character, in the county town of 'rare Clonmel,' the learned judge in a half jocose way remarked that Sir Toby's ruffles appeared rather soiled.

"'Oh yes, my lord,' said Sir Toby, in the blandest manner possible; 'but,' showing his hands, 'you perceive, my lord, that my hands are clean.' The judge reddened, and would have roasted Sir Toby amidst the laughter which the retort courteous elicited in a rather crowded court. Sir Toby was true to his king and true to his party."¹

It was probably by intermarriage with the O'Shaughnessys that the Cregg property was acquired.

After the confiscation of the O'Shaughnessy property, he purchased the O'Shaughnessy forests for £2500, which were, it is said, valued at £12,000. The splendid woods were quickly destroyed, and the grand old trees sold at sixpence each.

The Fosters, whose principal residence was at Ashfield, claim an English descent. We learn from deeds preserved in the Record Office, Dublin, that they obtained the Ashfield property by royal grant from Charles II.; and Ashfield continued to be the family residence from the period of the Restoration to our own time. They were Catholics, and patrons of the humble "mass-house," which, during the entire of the last century, stood within the cemetery which adjoins the present parish church. A small portion of this old chapel remains to the present day.

The Foster estates in Beagh have passed from their hands within the present generation. The family is now represented by Mr. O'Donnellan Blake Foster of Ballykeale, Kilfenora.

A solicitor named Mac Nevin was their agent before the famine years. He too resided in Beagh, in a pretty villa called "Rosepark," and acquired property. His son became eminent as a writer and speaker, amongst the gifted young men who in '48 opposed O'Connell. His *History of the Volunteers* was well received. Sir Charles Gavan Duffy gives the following graphic sketch of young Thomas Mac Nevin:²—

"He had distinguished himself, as we have seen, in the College Historical Society, as a competitor with Butt, O'Hea, and Torrens Mac Cullagh, for its honours and applause, and preceded Davis and Dillon in its chief executive office. He was below the middle size, but well made, well poised, and

¹ *Clare Journal*, 1872.

² *Young Ireland*, vol. i. p. 74.

agile, with auburn hair and clear blue eyes, which he believed he inherited from Danish ancestors. His face was mobile, and possessed the power, not given to one man in ten thousand, of expressing a wide range of feeling without exaggeration or grimace. He was a born orator of the florid and emphatic school, and he had studied elocution as an art under Vandenhoff and Sheridan Knowles. Joyous, exuberant, and fond of display, but of upright and fearless character, it is the supplement of this nature to say that in foresight and judgment he was not strong. He was indeed rash and impetuous, but as amenable as a child to friendly counsel. By age, for he was little over thirty, and by culture he was associated with the young men; but by personal relations and family ties, with O'Connell."

And Davis¹ thought Mac Nevin "a man of real genius, with great capacity for public affairs, but as one who wants a great deal of discipline. A couple of years' training in the House of Commons, where he would probably at first encounter many disappointments, would lop off some of his exuberances and chasten his action, which is too theatrical. In the meantime, if he gives himself up to hard, solid work, such as his *Analysis of Kane*, we will make of him a statesman of whom Ireland will hereafter be proud."

Alas! poor brilliant, interesting, and clever Mac Nevin! Such were the high hopes entertained by his friends of the author of the *Volunteers*,—hopes which were not realised. He was "not strong in foresight" of the practical kind. His friends' anticipations were never realised in his regard. Their possessions have passed from their hands, and the pretty villa of Rosepark knows them no more.

The Rev. Thomas Talmon was parish priest of Beagh in 1798.

The next of his successors whose name we can record is Father M. O'Shaughnessy, a man of exceptional abilities. The population of the parish in his time was over a thousand families, though the number in 1871 stood at 543 families. The need of erecting a suitable church was therefore urgent. It was about 1840 that Father O'Shaughnessy undertook the erection of the present church. It is in outline a cruciform building without a chancel. It is nicely situated on a wooded eminence immediately adjoining the site of the old church. The site was granted by the Foster family. The work was completed within a comparatively short period, a fact which showed at once the zeal of the clergyman and the

¹ *Young Ireland*, vol. i. p. 177.

interest of the people in the completion of the work. Improvements have been effected in the church since, especially by the present respected pastor, which shall be noted further on. The improvements, however, have effected no change in the outline of the church.

Father O'Shaughnessy, who was transferred to Kilbecanty, was succeeded in Beagh by the Rev. M. Tully. He was a native of Ardrahan, a student of the Irish College, Paris, and held pastoral charge till his death on the 1st of October 1859. He is buried in the little cemetery adjoining the church.

The Rev. John Barry succeeded Father Tully, and retained pastoral charge till his death on the 14th of April 1870. His grave adjoins that of his predecessor. On the death of Father Barry, the present respected parish priest, the Very Rev. M. Connolly, was transferred from Clarinbridge to take charge of Beagh parish, and was, as we have seen, on the occasion also appointed Vicar Forrane of the diocese. His church has been recently much improved by the erection of an altar in Sicilian marble. It is the gift of Mrs. Tierny, Gort, and is erected in memory of her amiable daughter, lately deceased.

Some readers may perhaps notice with surprise the omission of all reference to the ruined church which stands in the village of Beagh, on the river's banks at Lady's Grove. It is regarded by many, though we think incorrectly, as the Franciscan monastery of Beagh, of which Archdall speaks in his *Monasticon*. It should be remembered that Archdall describes the Beagh monastery as amongst those of Clare county. And we know that in the present parish of New Quay there is a Beagh townland, in which there are some ancient ecclesiastical remains, which it may be more justly assumed are the ruins of the monastery of which Archdall speaks.

On the islands of Lough Cutra lake there are also some interesting ruins—a church and castle amongst others, on the history of which no light has yet been cast. We find, from an "Inquisition" taken before John Crofton, Esq., at Athenry, on the 1st of October 1584, that Richard, second Earl of Clanricarde, was then seized of "Beagh and 4 qrts. of land, and the ruined castle of Lough Cutra, with an island in the Lough aforesaid." It may be desirable to add that the Beagh referred to is the old ruined church on the Gort river, about two miles east of the town, which had been long previously the parish church of Beagh. There can be little doubt that the lands referred to were its confiscated property.

ARDRAHAN PARISH AND CHURCH.

The present parish of Ardrahan comprises portions of the baronies of Dunkellin, Kiltartan, and Loughrea. In point of area it is extensive. But in the earlier portion of the century it was much more extensive, as the Castle Daly districts, which have since been annexed to Kilchrist, were then portions of the parish. The annexation was effected under Doctor French. In 1841 its population was 596 families, against 344 in 1871.

In the eighteenth century the parish chapel of Ardrahan stood within the old fort of Cahir Cre, within the Creg Clare demesne. It continued to be used for divine worship to the beginning of the present century. The site on which it stood formed part of the grounds of Mr. Lambert, a Protestant resident proprietor, a fact which deserves to be recorded as a striking evidence of liberality at a time when our religion was banned by the laws of the realm.

Mr. Dutton, in his *Statistical Survey of Galway*, refers to the chapels recently erected in Galway county. He tells us that there was then a new chapel erected at Lahane, a village situated a mile from Creg Clare, and about an equal distance from Ardrahan.

The new site was granted by Mr. Lambert, and with it a subscription of £50 towards its erection. The church was erected about the year 1810, and is referred to by the writer we have quoted as "handsome and comfortable."¹ It was, however, but a low thatched cruciform building, quite inadequate in its dimensions to the accommodation of the increased population of some years later.

We think that Father John Nagle was the founder. He died in the beginning of the century, and is interred in the O'Shaughnessy chapel of the Kilmacduagh cathedral.

Father Nagle was succeeded by Father John Nolan, who had made his studies at the Propaganda. He must have been appointed to the parish immediately after Father Nagle's death. A stone holy water font in the old chapel had his name inscribed as parish priest, with the date 1815. He retained charge of the parish till 1830, the date of his death.

Father Patrick B. Quinn succeeded. He was transferred to Ardrahan from Kiltomas, where he had been engaged in the erection of the present parish church, and had made considerable progress with the work at the time of his transfer. In the famine years Father Quinn entered into the struggle for

¹ Dutton's *Survey*, p. 507.

his people with all the ardour of an ardent nature, but died in 1846.

He was succeeded by the Rev. T. Shannon, the same who was afterwards the respected parish priest of Gort. He retained charge from 1846 till 1849. During those years his yearly income from all sources averaged £29 sterling.

Fathers Nelly and Nagle had temporary charge of the parish till 1851, when the Rev. D. Geraghy, a native of Kilfenora, was appointed pastor. At that period the opinion had become general that the Lahane chapel was neither "handsome" nor, indeed, suitable for divine worship; and Father Geraghy undertook to found a more suitable and commodious church about the year 1856. The old site would, however, be insufficient, and additional room was necessary. The Lambert estates at Creg Clare had at this period passed into the possession of Lord Clannmorris, but that nobleman generously offered, free of charge, any accommodation that might be necessary. The new church, of Gothic design, was to consist of nave, measuring 71 feet by 33 feet; and a chancel, which measured 25 feet by 22 feet. In the windows of the chancel and western gables were placed mullions and tracery of an effective kind, well carved in stone, and copied from the Kilmacduagh cathedral. The generosity of his people enabled Father Geraghy to complete his undertaking. But the local Catholic family at Tullyra were the prominent and generous patrons of the work.

A proselytising school was opened at Castle Taylor towards the close of the famine years, which was destined to prove a source of considerable trouble to the priests and people of Ardrahan. The efforts which, as we have seen, were to fail at Kilmacduagh were but the extension of a zeal which was freely expending itself at Castle Taylor. Of course the zeal was chiefly expended amongst the tenantry, who were poor, and who, it was supposed, could best understand gospel messages from those who, in the words of an English statesman, exercised the power of "life and death" over them. And who can doubt that gifts—even poor ones—add force to arguments when coming to the poor from such sources. The process was a fruitful source of local trouble and sorrow for many years.

In 1866 the amiable and accomplished Father Hanrahan received charge of the parish. For two years he endeared himself to the people, when he was transferred to Ballyvaughan.

The Rev. P. Mac Donough succeeded, and retained charge till 1872, when he was transferred to Clarinbridge.

The present writer succeeded Father Mac Donough, and had charge till May 1876.

On the transfer of the present writer to the pastoral charge of Kiltomas in 1876, the Rev. T. B. Considine was appointed, and has since retained the pastoral charge of the parish. He made his collegiate studies for a time in the Irish College, and completed them in Maynooth. Soon after his appointment in 1878, it was found necessary to unroof his church, and rebuild the southern side wall. The restoration and improvement was well carried out, at a cost of £500, by the energetic pastor. In 1884 a fine bell tower was added by E. Martynn, Esq. of Tullyra. As it now stands, the Ardahan church has a fine open roof of stained pine. It is well seated, and floored in neat tiling. The high altar is of Sicilian marble, the gift of Mrs. Martynn of Tullyra, as is the fine stained-glass window which floods the sanctuary with its glowing colours. Father Considine has also erected there a commodious residence, which is an additional evidence of a zeal and energy which, we trust, shall continue a source of blessing to the district for many years to come.

The parish affords an interesting field for antiquarian research. It has as many as ten old castles within its limits, amongst which we do not include the ancient round tower of Ardahan.

Only a small portion of the round tower remains. It stands in the southern angle of the cemetery wall. Seen from the outside, it stands only 8 or 10 feet above the surface level, while in the inside it is almost hidden away by the accumulated *débris* of the cemetery.

The De Burgo castle at Ardahan is perhaps the most interesting memorial of the historic past existing within the parish. It stands immediately outside the village on the north side, and within the ancient fort of the chieftains of Aidhne. O'Donovan tells us that "the fort was made of earth, and was extended round the castle."¹

The ditch on the east and partly on the south is still visible. The inner mound (*agger*) is seen on the south and south-west side. The only part remaining of the mound in the outside of the ditch is that which encloses it on the east.

An inquisition taken before John Crofton, Esq., at Athenry, on the 1st of October 1584, found that Richard, second Earl of Clanricarde, who died in 1582, was seized in fee of the castle of Ardahan, and 3½ quarters of land there.

An inquisition held in Galway in 1608 before Geoffrey

¹ *His Letters.*

Osbaldistone, found Ulick, third Earl, seized of the same castle, with one quarter of land.

But this interesting relic of the past is at present in an exceedingly bad state of preservation. Unless it receives the attention of some of our public bodies charged with the preservation of our national monuments, it must soon completely disappear.

THE PARISH AND CHURCH OF KILBECANTY.

The parish of Kilbecanty is, we think, dedicated to St. Fechin. It extends from the immediate vicinity of Gort, to beyond the shores of Lough Cutra. Indeed, the county of Clare forms its boundary in that direction. The adjoining parish of Kilthomas forms its northern boundary. It is the most fertile and picturesque district within the diocese of Kilmacduagh. It was held by the Mac Redmond Burkes, the descendants of the Earl of Ulster. Their chief residence may still be seen at Ballyconnell, though sadly wrecked, in the battlefield rendered memorable by King Guaire's defeat.

In 1766, W. Nethercoat, Protestant Dean of Gort, gave information to the House of Lords, Dublin, through their secretary, the Hon. Baker Sterne, regarding the Catholics of the parish. From his interesting letter we gather that there were then 157 Catholic families residing there, and only 7 Protestant families. And we also learn that "Mr. Patrick Mac Hugo" was parish priest at the time. Of course the reverend Dean was the "parish minister."

We do not learn if there was a "mass-house" there at the time. We rather think not. About a mile southward there is a spot known as "Kilaughtis," still much venerated by the old people of the district, where they say Mass was usually said in the penal times. The pile of stones which are supposed to have served for a rude altar may be seen there still, under the sheltering branches of some large hawthorns, with a very rude cross placed upon them. It is not improbable that Holy Mass was still celebrated on that rude altar when Dean Nethercoat was furnishing the authorities with his interesting statistics.

Tradition has it that the Rev. Father Adams was parish priest here towards the last decade of the eighteenth century.

The Rev. P. O'Shaughnessy was parish priest of Kilbecanty in 1798. We are supported by tradition in the opinion that he was a member of the O'Shaughnessy family who resided at Russane, and whose property is said to have been purchased by

Oliver Martynn in the early part of the eighteenth century. We find the name of another priest of the same family inscribed on a slab in the O'Shaughnessy chapel at Kilmacduagh as *Vicarius perpetuus de Rossane*.

The Rev. P. O'Shaughnessy is buried in the O'Shaughnessy chapel at Kilmacduagh. A slab marks his grave, on which one may read the following simple inscription :—

“Pray for the Rev. P. O'SHAUGHNESSY, etc., 1801.”

A thatched chapel was erected perhaps about this period on the site of the present parish church, though we cannot say by whom it was erected.

Not long after Father P. O'Shaughnessy's time, the Rev. J. Ford was appointed to the charge of the parish. In the interval preceding his appointment, the Rev. John Duffy, parish priest of the adjoining parish of Peter's Well, had charge of its administration. The population about the period of his appointment had risen to the exceedingly high figure of 4544 inhabitants.¹ It was no wonder, therefore, that the desire to erect a commodious church should have been generally entertained. About the year 1830 steps were taken by the good priest to replace the old chapel by the erection of the present commodious church. They retained the old site. In 1839 they had the consolation of seeing their work rapidly approaching completion. The roof was just finished, when it was blown to the ground by the memorable storm of that year. But for the completion of God's work the necessary means are always found, and Father Ford had soon after the consolation of opening his new church for divine service. It is a plain cruciform building, without chancel or decorative features. Father Ford was remarkable for the simplicity of his manner and the holiness of his life.

He was succeeded by the Rev. M. O'Shaughnessy, who was transferred from Beagh.

The Rev. M. Nagle succeeded Father O'Shaughnessy. He was nephew of the Very Rev. M. Nagle, Vicar-General of Gort, and grand-nephew of the Rev. J. Nagle of Ardrahan. He provided the church with the existing belfry and bell. He died parish priest of Kilbecanty in 1883. His successor was the Rev. J. Staunton, who died in 1892.

The present zealous pastor, the Rev. Michael O'Farrell, was appointed his successor.

We have given no notice of the ruined church of Kilbecanty, which is separated only by the highway from the present

¹ Lewis, *Top. Dict.*

parish church. We have not been able to find any reference to it in our Annals, nor can we infer from the existing masonry that it can claim a very remote antiquity. It is not improbable, however, that it occupies the site of a much older church, that perhaps of St. Fechin. The Irish name is Cill Fechin, corruptly Kilfeconta. Colgan expressly tells us that St. Fechin had visited the Lough Cutra district and performed miracles there. And, considering Irish usage in those ages of faith, we might expect a monument there to perpetuate his name and the memory of his sanctity.

PARISH AND CHURCH OF KILTHOMAS.

The parish of Kiltomas, which adjoins Kilbecanty on the north, lies partly in the barony of Kiltartan and partly in that of Loughrea. It extends far across the mountain ranges of Echtge to the boundaries of Clonfert and Killaloe.

In Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary* its population is given as 3066 inhabitants. In our time its population does not number more than about 240 families, or 1200 inhabitants.

From the mountain districts, now practically depopulated, some splendid views are had of Loughgraney and Lough Cutra, and of the great plain of Aidhne, stretching far to the ocean. Even the lofty "Pins" of Connemara are seen like shadowy sentinels against the horizon.

Fewer memorials of the remote past are found within its limits than in any other parish of the diocese. The Castle of Rahealy stands on its western boundary. And, as we have seen, the Castle of Dunally has been entirely destroyed. The old church of Kiltomas is an oblong structure, much ruined. Its dimensions are given by O'Donovan as about 75 by 25 feet. Neither its features nor masonry denote a great antiquity.

O'Donovan states that on parts of the south wall, towards the western gable, there were traces of fire noticeable when the ruins were visited by him. The church, according to the current local tradition, was burnt in Cromwell's time.

Early in the eighteenth century a small chapel was erected in the adjoining village of St. Peter's Well. If not erected by Dean Cahill, who had charge of Kiltomas at that period, it was at least extended by him. A portion of this old chapel still remains, but the parish school occupies the chief portion of its site.

The Rev. John Duffy was parish priest of Kiltomas in 1798. He was a native of Kiltomas, as we have seen. Having made his preparatory classical studies under his

father's tuition at Gort-na-gown, he went to Paris, and made his ecclesiastical studies at the Irish College. Soon after entering on his missionary duties in his native diocese, he was appointed parish priest of Kilthomas. He also had charge of the adjoining parish of Kilbecanty for a period. It was no wonder that his health proved unequal to the discharge of the laborious duties of such an extensive and populous district. He was obliged to retire from the mission through failing health. He is buried in the old church of Kilthomas.

The Rev. Michael Gleeson, a native of Kilthomas, succeeded Father Duffy. He too is buried in the old church.

The Rev. Patrick P. B. Quin succeeded. He laid the foundations of the present parish church. He obtained a most eligible site, on an eminence outside the village, from the then landlord, Mr. Blake Foster of Ashfield. The lease was dated on the 31st October 1833. Amongst the contributors towards the expenses of the building, we have found the name of Richard Gregory, Esq., Coole Park, a Protestant. It was a plain church, similar to that of Kilbecanty. The work had made considerable progress when Father Quin was transferred to Ardahan.

The Rev. P. O'Connor, his successor, had the satisfaction of completing the church. Father O'Connor died in the year 1850, and is interred in the church which he completed. A simple slab at the Gospel side of the altar marks the good priest's grave.

The Rev. Thomas Grealy succeeded Father O'Connor. He was a native of Gort, and testified his love for his native town by bequeathing £400 for the Gort church, by which mainly its present chancel was erected. He was master of the Irish language, and his exhortations in that beautiful tongue were ever appropriate and effective. His good parishioners would still speak of the charm of those exhortations. He died in 1872, and is buried in Kilthomas.

The Rev. Francis Ford held charge for a period of three years. On his transfer to the pastoral charge of Ballindereen, the present writer succeeded in April 1875, and retained charge till his transfer to Gort in 1883. Through a bequest of the Rev. T. Grealy to the parish church of Kilthomas, supplemented by the willing assistance of the kind and warm-hearted parishioners, he was enabled to improve the church by the addition of a belfry and bell, etc. His successor, the Rev. P. Geraghty, the present zealous incumbent, has recently erected in the church a pretty altar in marble and Caen stone, the gift of the late Miss Sheahan, of Blackrock. He is a native of

Beagh parish, a student of Maynooth, and a zealous missionary priest.

It is worthy of record that the parish of Kilthomas has given a large number of priests to the diocese of Kilmacduagh. I may mention the following:—

The Rev. John Burke, descended of a branch of the Isser Kelly family, was born at Garden Blake, in the parish of Kilthomas. In 1691 he was exiled to France. On his return to Kilthomas, he was again exiled, and died in America.

The Rev. Thomas Talmon, parish priest of Beagh in 1789, was a native of Kilthomas. He is interred, with his brother, a medical doctor, in Kilthomas church.

Dean Cahill was also a native of the parish. And next in the order of time we find the three Duffys, brothers. They were earnest and zealous men, and, as we have seen, were natives of Kilthomas parish.

The Rev. J. O'Loughlin was also a native of Kilthomas. He was born at Knock, and was parish priest of Gort. He is buried at Kiltartan.

Father Gleeson was also a native of the parish, as were the Rev. L. M'Grath and the Rev. M. M'Grath, nephews of the Duffys.

The Rev. Andrew Fahy and the Rev. John Fahy were also of the parish; as was the Very Rev. John Sheahan, Vicar-General of Kilfenora.

And in our own time we have labouring with us the Rev. P. Keran, parish priest of Carron, the Rev. J. Keely, curate at Galway, and the Rev. M. Kerrins, curate of Clarinbridge, all natives of a parish in which the practices of piety seem to have been the traditional birthright of the people.

THE PARISH AND CHURCHES OF KILCHRIST.

The parish of Kilchrist is situated partly in the barony of Dunkellin, but principally in the barony of Loughrea. It comprises most of the old parish of Iser Kelly, also called "Popul Mac Hubert," with Kilchrist and Kilila.

Under Dr. French the portions of the Ardrahan parish around and eastward of Castle Daly were also added to Kilchrist. In point of area, therefore, the modern parish is very extensive. But since the famine period its population has dwindled down to a small number.

The old ruined church of Kilchrist occupies a striking position on an eminence above the village which is known by its name. Judging from the portions of the ruin which remain,

the church was a commodious one; and, though much covered with ivy, there can be little doubt that it is comparatively modern. O'Donovan¹ thinks it was built by one of the Clannricardes four or five hundred years ago. We have been unable to discover any notice of this church either in the Annals or in any of our ancient records.

On the hillside, some fifty perches eastward, an humble Catholic chapel was erected towards the close of the last century. It occupied the site of the existing parish church. This was the only Catholic church in Kilchrist parish until after the annexation of the Castle Daly district to Kilchrist.

Speaking of this Catholic chapel existing at Kilchrist, Lewis, in his *Topographical Dictionary*, writes: "The Roman Catholic parish . . . has a small chapel, in connection with which is a large school for about four hundred children." The writer no doubt means that the chapel was utilised on week-days as a public school, and that this large number of children were educated there.

There was then a public school, "partly supported by the rector," which was used for proselytising purposes, at least from 1847. Another school of the class was erected subsequently at the village of Illerton, within the parish. Both schools were for a period worked under zealous influences, and were attended with results with which the Irish people are painfully familiar. But they have been closed for several years.

At about the same period there was also an excellent classical school at Kilchrist, at which several priests in Kilmacduagh and Clonfert acquired a good elementary knowledge of classics. The teacher, a Mr. Stafford, was a man of very varied experiences of life. He was at one time an ecclesiastical student. Finding that he had no vocation for the Church, he entered the Army, and had seen some active service on the Continent. He returned to Ireland, retaining nothing better than his splendid knowledge of the literatures of ancient Greece and Rome. Fixing his residence at Kilchrist, he soon attracted boys of promise, even from remote districts. Amongst his pupils were the Rev. Thomas Burke, afterwards Vicar-General of Clonfert, and the Most Rev. P. Fallen, Bishop of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora—men who retained an affectionate recollection of their eccentric but gifted teacher.

The Rev. James Duffy was parish priest of Kilchrist in 1789. He was transferred to Craughwell on the death of the Rev. Terence Hynes. The Rev. Father Regan succeeded him.

¹ O'Donovan's *Letters*.

The Rev. P. Mullins was Father Regan's successor, but was afterwards transferred to Clarinbridge.

The Rev. Michael Burke succeeded Father Mullins. He was a native of Ardrahan, and made his ecclesiastical studies in the Irish College, Paris. In 1841 he founded the present parish church. It is an oblong building, without a chancel, measuring 72 by 25 feet. The undertaking was a difficult one, but, considering the circumstances of the time, it was one of special difficulty. However, Father Burke had the satisfaction of seeing it completed in a comparatively short time.

In the year 1850, the late James Daly, Esq., of Castle Daly, built at his own private expense the pretty chapel of Castle Daly. It is a neat oblong building flanked by a tower. Its altar, which is of Sicilian and Siena marbles, is the gift of the same charitable benefactor. The site and spacious grounds were conferred by lease, dated 15th November 1866, on the bishop of the diocese, as a free gift. They stand an instructive monument of his truly Catholic spirit. This amiable gentleman was eldest son of Peter Daly, Esq., to whom we have referred in a former chapter. He married Miss Dolphin of Touro, the issue of which marriage was two sons, Peter Hubert of the 3rd Dragoon Guards, James Dermot, and five daughters. Peter Hubert having died unmarried, James Dermot became the representative of the family. He married Miss O'Kelly of Gallagh, by which marriage there is issue one son, James Joseph Dermot Daly.

Father Burke became incapacitated for active duty soon after this period, and under the following singular circumstances. After discharging his ordinary Sunday duties, he had just mounted his horse to ride home from the Kilchrist church, when a thunderstorm unexpectedly burst on the church. The man who held his horse was struck dead. The electric fluid struck the western gable also, piercing right through it, but fortunately passing away without effecting further injury. Though the priest escaped untouched, he never recovered from the shock which his nervous system experienced on the occasion.

Meantime the parochial duty was discharged by Administrators, whose term of official connection with the parish was usually of comparatively brief duration. During Father Burke's protracted delicacy, the following clergymen acted as Administrators of his parish: the Rev. Father Coleman, the Rev. A. Hanrahan, the Rev. J. Ford, the Rev. J. Kemmy, the Rev. T. B. Considine, the Rev. P. Geraghty, by whom the present fine pointed roof and belfry were erected, and the Rev. Thomas Burke. Father Burke died in 1884, and is buried in the church.

The Rev. Francis Cassidy is his successor. Under his active but unostentatious zeal, the Kilchrist church has been provided with all the requisites which piety and ecclesiastical taste can suggest. The altar, which is of marble and Caen stone, has been selected with judgment, and harmonises with the neatness of its surroundings. We trust he may be long spared to promote the interests of religion amongst his people.

EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION: THE MOST REV. P. FALLON.

After the united diocese of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora was rendered vacant by the death of the Most Rev. Dr. French, the appointment of the Most Rev. Dr. Fallon as his successor in the See was sanctioned on the 5th of December 1852, and decreed on the 26th of January 1853.

In the decree of his appointment, the right to separate the united diocese was specially reserved. In ecclesiastical circles the question of annexing Kilfenora to Killaloe diocese, and of uniting Kilmacduagh with Galway, was then discussed, with or without authority.

Dr. Fallon was a native of Clonfert. We have seen that he received his early classical training at Kilchrist in Mr. Stafford's school. He made his ecclesiastical studies at Maynooth as an affiliate for Kilmacduagh.

In college, and during his career as a missionary priest, he was remarkable for his simple and unostentatious piety. He was parish priest of Lisdoonvarna at the time of his appointment as bishop. Soon after his appointment he began to suffer from an infirmity which continued for several years. He was consequently obliged in 1866 to postulate for a coadjutor.

The Most Rev. Dr. Mac Evilly, then Bishop of Galway, was soon after appointed as Apostolic Administrator.

THE MOST REV. JOHN MAC EVILLY.

The Most Rev. Dr. Mac Evilly was then for some years Bishop of Galway. He was appointed to the additional charge of the united diocese of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora on the recommendation of the bishops of the province, a flattering tribute indeed from their lordships to the distinguished young prelate. His appointment was sanctioned on the 30th of July 1866, and decreed on the 26th of September of that year. We have seen that his appointment was not that of Coadjutor Bishop. It was that of Apostolic Administrator of Kilmac-

duagh and Kilfenora, an office which he was to retain "*durante beneplacito sanctæ sedis*," while also remaining Bishop of Galway. Soon after, Dr. Fallon resigned, on which occasion a most generous provision for his maintenance was made by Dr. Mac Evilly. He retired to Mount Argus, and there led a retired and holy life with the Passionist Fathers till his death on the 13th of May 1879.

Though comparatively young at the time of his appointment to the charge of the united diocese of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora, Dr. Mac Evilly had considerable experience as a bishop. His lordship was even then well and widely known, not merely for his zeal and administrative capacity, but also for his learned and lucid commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul.

In the wider field connected with his new appointment, he had new opportunities for the exercise of his rare energies and ever active zeal. He held his visitations in the various parishes at regularly fixed intervals of three years, and on those important occasions he devoted an entire day to the examination of the children in the Christian doctrine. By the interest which he thus manifested in their proficiency, he raised the standard of religious knowledge to a height rarely reached, in rural districts at least. His lordship strongly encouraged the children admitted to confirmation to pledge themselves against the use of intoxicants until they reached the mature age of twenty-one. This pledge he himself always solemnly administered. This salutary practice has been fruitful of the best results, and is continued to the present day by his zealous successors. Indeed, we have heard parents fervently bless his lordship for the happy consequences resulting from this admirable practice.

The attendance of the faithful in the various parishes on the occasion of visitation and confirmation was usually very large, and all availed themselves of the opportunity to approach the sacraments fervently. Dr. Mac Evilly would on those occasions labour at the confessional with the same assiduity as the youngest priest, and yet administer confirmation and address the people with his habitual energy and clearness.

It was under his lordship's care and supervision that the convents at Ennistymon and Kinvara were established.

At Ennistymon the matter was a work of considerable difficulty, as the local landlord was hostile to the undertaking. But the difficulties were overcome much through the valuable assistance of the venerated parish priest, the Very Rev. T. Newell, V. F., aided by the people and helped on by his lordship's munificent donations to the undertaking.

At Kinvara the good work was more easily accomplished, through the splendid generosity of William Murray, Esq., Northampton House, to which we have already referred. The gift of the beautiful site and extensive grounds by the landlord, Captain Blake Foster of Galway, was made to the bishop as a mark of the generous donor's esteem and regard.

A thorough reformation in the Gort workhouse, which his lordship succeeded in effecting, has proved a lasting gain to the cause of morality and a blessing to the poor. From being a source of humiliation to every right-thinking ratepayer in the district, it has become a blessing to the poor and a help to their physical and moral well-being. For many years past the hospital there has been in charge of the Sisters of Mercy of Gort, who have in their praiseworthy labours there the willing co-operation of a master whose capacity and humane feeling would reflect credit on any public institution.

In 1869, Dr. Mac Evilly assisted at the Vatican Council, and it is now a matter of history that in that venerable and august assembly he distinguished himself as an eloquent advocate of Papal Infallibility.

His Grace was reputed strict in his estimate of duty. But his strictness in that respect was always recommended to his priests by his own example, and by a paternal interest in their well-being. It may, we think, be added, in justice to all concerned, that those advanced by him to positions of responsibility and trust have proved by zeal and capacity the wisdom and justice of his selections.

It was astonishing that, while charged with such constant labours, he found time to continue his Scripture studies. But in his commentaries on the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke the English-speaking world have long before them the fruit of his extensive and laborious studies during this period of arduous labour. After the death of Dr. Mac Hale, Dr. Mac Evilly's connection with Kilmacduagh ceased on the 26th of September 1883, but the union of the three dioceses of Galway, Kilmacduagh, and Kilfenora, initiated under him, was to be perpetual. The Bull of His Holiness Leo XIII., making the union perpetual, issued on the occasion of the appointment of his successor, is dated 5th June 1883, and will be found in full in the appendix to this work.

THE MOST REV. DR. CARR.

The new bishop of the united diocese was the Most Rev. Dr. Carr. He was widely known for his culture, high attainments,

and amiability. He had published a learned exposition of the Bull *Apostolica Sedis*, and held the important position of Vice-President of Maynooth College at the time of his appointment. He was consecrated in the Pro-Cathedral, Galway, by the Archbishop, the Most Rev. Dr. Mac Evilly, on the 26th of September 1883. The occasion was one which brought together a large number of the episcopate and clergy from even the most remote diocese in the country; and the laity cordially shared in the manifestation of respect for the new bishop.

Those most affected by the union gave his lordship a most cordial reception at Gort, on the occasion of his first visit a short time after. An address was presented to his lordship by the priests of Kilmacduagh and Kilfenora, from which the following passage may be quoted:—

“And in order to show not merely our willing adhesion to, but our joyous acceptance of, the arrangements made for us by the Holy Father, we thought it may not be inappropriate to lay at your feet the symbols of the former ecclesiastical independence of the ancient sees of St. Colman and St. Fachnan. We therefore trust that you may deem the accompanying mitre and crosier, which we have the honour of presenting to you, not unworthy of your acceptance; and we shall pray that a union so inaugurated may prove a source of blessing to the faithful, and of strength to the Church.”

In accepting the address and presentation, his lordship was pleased to say, among other things, in reply—

“I appreciate them chiefly for what they are intended to represent.

“First of all, in your own gratifying words, they are intended to signify not merely your willing adhesion to, but your joyous acceptance of, the arrangements regarding the appointment of chief pastor made for this diocese by the Holy See.”

The crozier presented to Dr. Carr under the circumstances indicated was interesting, whether we consider its intrinsic value or its artistic and historical interest. It was a reproduction on a large scale of St. Colman Mac Duagh's crozier, described in a former page, with its elaborate Celtic bands, gems, and bright enamels. The material was silver gilt, and it had as many as ninety-five amethysts of various sizes.

But Dr. Carr's tenure of the united sees was brief. In the beginning of 1887 he was translated to the see of Melbourne, where his Grace's administration is fruitful of the happiest results for the interests of the Church.

THE MOST REVEREND FRANCIS JOSEPH MAC CORMACK.

Dr. Carr's immediate successor is our present esteemed and venerated bishop, the Most Rev. Dr. Mac Cormack. He was translated from Achonry by virtue of Apostolic Letters, dated 26th April 1887. On the 31st of May following he was installed in the Pro-Cathedral, Galway, as Bishop of Galway and Kilmacduagh, and Apostolic Administrator of Kilfenora.

Long before, he was favourably known to the priests of Ireland for his prudence, learning, and administrative capacity.

His lordship made his preparatory studies for the ecclesiastical state at St. Iarlath's, Tuam. From Tuam he entered Maynooth, to complete his ecclesiastical studies there. On the completion of the ordinary college course, he was promoted to the Dunboyne, where he read with marked success the additional course of three years. The high estimate formed of his abilities by the college superiors may be inferred from the fact that, on the death of the lamented and learned Professor Jennings,—the gifted teacher of logic and metaphysics in the college,—Dr. Mac Cormack received charge of that important chair, pending the appointment of a successor.

On Pentecost Tuesday, 1862, Dr. Mac Cormack was ordained priest. On the 1st of November following he was called to engage in missionary duty in his native diocese, and appointed a curate in the parish of Islandeady, which appointment he retained till 2nd February 1867. In that year he was transferred to Westport, where he laboured as curate till the 1st of January 1872. But his fitness for a higher sphere and more important duties was already recognised. On the 21st of November 1871 his appointment as Coadjutor to the aged Bishop of Achonry was sanctioned—"cum jure successionis." On the 4th of February following, the ceremony of his consecration took place in the Cathedral of Killala, on which occasion the late Most Rev. Dr. Conway was also consecrated.

The consecrating prelate was the Most Rev. Dr. Mac Evilly. The Bishops of Ardagh and Elphin were assistants, and the consecration sermon was preached by the Bishop of Clonfert.

On the 1st of May 1875 he succeeded to the see of Achonry.

In 1887 he was translated to Galway. By virtue of Letters Apostolic, dated 26th April 1887, he was appointed Bishop of Galway and Kilmacduagh, and Apostolic Administrator of Kilfenora.

On the 31st of May of that year he was formally installed in the Pro-Cathedral, Galway, amidst the warm congratulations of

the clergy and laity alike, whose confidence and affection he justly shares.

The extension of religious sodalities in the several parishes of his diocese has received much of his lordship's attention. He has already the consolation of seeing the association of the Sacred Heart flourishing in every parish under his jurisdiction. And, like all who truly love our country and its people, he would save them from the effects of excessive drink. He continues the good work of safeguarding the children. In their very tender years they are asked to take a total abstinence pledge, to be again renewed at confirmation. The children of to-day are to be the men and women of the future. There is hope and encouragement in seeing that they at least can be saved from the reach of an evil which is little short of a national misfortune.

Dr. Mac Cormack's thoughts on this important subject found forcible and eloquent expression in a Pastoral Address by his lordship in 1890 to the laity and clergy. We feel the following extract will be read here with the deepest interest:—

“DEARLY BELOVED IN CHRIST,—

“The Lenten season approaches with its solemn obligations for pastors and people, its messages and warnings, its graces and opportunities. And if we cast about for a subject of pastoral instruction, we think it ready at hand ; for sin unhappily ever abounds to trouble the pastor's heart, and endanger the salvation of many of his flock. Any one that studies the conditions that govern the domestic, social, and religious life of our people, must be painfully impressed with the fact that two glaring defects prevail in their methods of family life,—two flaws that are the prolific sources of sin and scandal, and which may be set down under the two following heads: (a) Neglect in the proper discharge of parental duty; and (b) the excessive use of strong drink.”

After referring at some length to the first of those evils, his lordship continues:—

“2. Another fruitful source of evil is the excessive use of intoxicating drink, which is a crying evil of our day and of our country, which involves an enormous waste of money and a tremendous havoc of souls. The returns for 1886 show that Ireland has paid during the year over ten millions sterling for spirits and beer. The exact sum is £10,488,300. So much money paid for a noxious luxury by this poor little island is a wanton and scandalous waste of the slender resources of the

country. At the lowest calculation, our own share of this voluntary impost for these dioceses would amount to £100,000, a burden that most assuredly our flock is not able to bear, and an improvident tax, that is at least twenty-five shillings per head, for every man, woman, and child in Galway, Kilmacduagh, and Kilfenora.

"We can reckon the loss in money, but who can estimate the loss in souls, made to God's image, and destined for heaven?

"We shall not presume to enter into the secret judgments of God, by attempting any forecast as to the loss of souls entailed by drunkenness. But there is one sad feature of this subject which should strike terror into every Christian heart—the appalling suddenness with which death comes upon the unhappy victims of intemperance. The heart of the drunkard becomes unduly taxed by an excessive use of alcohol; its functions are disturbed, and it gives way, very often without notice, but with alarming suddenness. And of this our blessed Lord would seem to have forewarned us in the following solemn words: 'Take heed to yourselves, lest your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness . . . and that day (judgment) may come upon you suddenly' (St. Luke xxi. 34).

"We know that the rich glutton in the parable 'was buried in hell.' It is almost certain he was a drunkard, for he 'feasted every day sumptuously' (Luke xvi. 19), and it is very probable that his death was sudden as well as unholy.

"St. Augustine describes the drunkard in these emphatic terms: 'A man that disturbs his natural faculties, robs himself of grace, forfeits eternal glory, and finds eternal damnation.' And there is this special aggravation in drunkenness, that it becomes the source or parent of a multitude of other sins. The passions are aroused, and the reason is disturbed, if not entirely dethroned. Hence St. John Chrysostom's words are no exaggeration when he calls drunkenness

'the parent of ten thousand evils.'

Yes, if the demon once succeeds in enslaving the soul in this brutalising habit, he can get the best man or best woman in the community to commit the most shameful of crimes. Well did St. Peter see the necessity of inculcating that most salutary advice—'Be sober and watch;'—for without sobriety there can be no proper vigilance kept by the soul against the deadly assaults of its subtle enemies. The drunkard in his cups is like a 'pilot fast asleep, who has let go the rudder, and

whose lot is to drift upon the rocks of destruction' (Prov. xxiii. 34).

"The evil fruits of this upas tree are forcibly and pithily enunciated in the following description: 'The sin of drunkenness expels reason, drowns memory, diminishes strength, distempers the body, defaces beauty, corrupts the blood, inflames the liver, weakens the brain, is a witch to the senses, a thief to the pocket, and a devil to the soul; it is the beggar's companion, the wife's woe, and the children's sorrow; it makes man become a beast and self-murderer, who drinks to the good health of others, and robs himself of his own.' When we weigh well that accumulation of evils, that hideous cup of sin and shame and sorrow, we are forced to the conclusion that the vice of drunkenness is the most accursed. Take away that baneful cause, and you avert more than half the crime and poverty of the country; whilst you should reduce by 50 per cent. the number of inmates in our jails, workhouses, and lunatic asylums.

"Here, then, is a cause to enlist the sympathies and services of every good Christian, but which imperatively demands the earnest efforts of every pastor of souls. Let us unite, with God's blessing and in God's holy name, in a common crusade against the destructive inroads of the demon of drink, and try by combined and persevering action to check the widespread evil of intemperance. If we really love our people, we shall not fail to make a generous and zealous effort to redeem them from the curse and thralldom of a vice so fatal to material and spiritual interests alike. This year a specially favourable opportunity is presented to us for the promotion of the cause of temperance. It is the centenary of Father Mathew, the great apostle of temperance, who did marvellous work in his short career of apostleship, but whose work was not destined to endure, not from any fault of his, but from lack of apostles to sustain and perpetuate his mission.

"To you, then, reverend fathers, we entrust the holy cause, and we do so with confidence. We call upon you to organise a temperance movement in your respective parishes, and to inaugurate the good work on next Passion Sunday. A programme of details shall be laid before you at your first Lenten Conference, and we shall be glad to have the benefit of your opinions and suggestions.

"Meantime we entreat you to lose no time in preparing the field, that the soil may be in good order for the casting in of the seed. It will be a great source of joy to us, on the occasion of parochial visitation, to find in each parish of these dioceses a

flourishing branch of the temperance society. And we trust and pray that we may not be disappointed in a single parish."

These were eloquent words, and as forcible as they were eloquent. The results to which they have led must be a consolation to his lordship, as they have proved a source of blessing to his faithful flock, who with their priests earnestly pray that he may be long spared in the exercise of his vigilant episcopal care over the spiritual children of St. Colman, St. Fachnan, and St. Nicholas.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

Officia Propria SS. Hiberniæ.

Ab omnibus ubriusque sexu, qui ad horas Canonicas tenentur tam in memorato regno quam in conventibus et collegiis extranationalibus.

Sub ritu Duplici Majori
recitanda
in vim duplicis decreti sacre congregationis.

Procurante
A R P Thoma de Burgo Dubliniensis
Ordinis Prædicatorum S. Theo Magistro
Et Protonotario Apostolico Postea
E. O.

Dubliniensi
Secundis curiis impressum
1767.

Die 29 Octobris
In Festo S. Colmani Duaci
Primi Episcopi Duacensis
(In agro Galviensi Conaciæ) et Confessoris
ejusdem Diocesis Patroni

Duplex Majus
omnia de Communi Confes. Pontificis quia officium
proprium nulibi inveniri poterat
subnectuntur tamen oratio propria
et lectiones propriæ Secundi Nocturni
Oratio.

Deus qui beatum Confessorem tuum Colmanum Duacum, ad Pontificalem dignitatem sublimasti qui illum humilitati postponere docuisti: concede propitius ut ejus exemplo caduca Mundi despiciere et ad præmissa humilibus præmia pervenire feliciter mercamur per Dominum, etc.

In primo nocturno Lectiones "fidelis Sermo" ut in Communi Confessoris Pontificis.

In 2 Nocturno.

Ex variis Menologiis apud Colganum in Actis Sanctorum Hiberniæ, aliisque invictæ fidei Monumentis.

Lectio 4^{ta}.

Colmanus Duaci filius ideoque Patris Agnomini Duacus passim nuncupatus, ex nobilissimo regioque Hy Fyachrorum genere in Conacia olim præpotente et claro, utpote in quo duo universæ Hiberniæ Monarchæ, haud pauci Conaciæ Reges, permultique viri sanctitatis laude conspicui prodire. Hos inter singularis prærogativæ titulo primas tenet Sanctus hic mirificus qui ab ineunte actate Christi Castra Secutus, Clericali vitæ nomen dedit. Deinde vero perfectionis cupidus in solitudinem secessit ubi ardentissimo mentis affectu supernarum virtutum quibus illum Spiritus Sancti ditaverat gratia exercitationibus cæpit se totum consecrare. Carnem jejuniis vigiliis aliisque afflictationum generibus, macerabat: Mentem Divinis contemplationibus nutriebat; nihilque nisi cælum; vel quæ ad cælum viam parant, cogitare videbatur. Cor ejus, velute ardentissimus fornax divini amoris flammis continuo exuberabat Labia non diebus neque noctibus a colloquiis divinis, et oratione vacabant, nisi quando mens ejus, Deo plena extra se rapta tota forebatur in Cœlestia Aliquando autem mirabili divinæ sapientiæ dispositione supernis deliciis quibus alias a Deo abundantissimi cumulabatur destitutus, propterea tristior effectus, ab amico suo spirituali Sancto Columbo in insula Hyensi Scotiæ Abbate sanctimonia tunc tempore saluberimo, solamen per literas tanto viro dignas, recipere memit.

Lectio 5^{ta}.

Harum viri virtutum fama, in dies magis magisque crescente, tandem ad publicam rapitur curam animarum, et Episcopus invitus creatur Quo munere licet magno cum labore, summo cum zelo sanctissimi functus atque omnium judicio dignissimus si quis alius fuerit, ipse nihilominus præ Christiana mentis demissione se indignum, prorsus existimabat Animusque abstractionis vitæ, ac cœlestium contemplationum studiis affectus, non potuit Pontificatis regiminis sollicitudines aut humanarum laudum, quæ virtutum sunt comites diu perferre Abdicato igitur Episcopali onere pariter et honore priscae vitæ rationem repetens ad solitudinem, denuo se confere, locumque ab omni humano consortio mundique strepitu remotum petere statuit Accessit propterea ad quandam vastam præruptam densissimamque in Australis Conaciæ finibus sylvam, in qua haud procul a Saxoso asperoque monte (cui nomen Boirean) domicilium eremiticum fixit ubi in cœlestis plane vitæ continuis exercitationibus integrum transegit septenium, meminem interea hominum ad consortium suum vel colloquia admittens præter amicum Clericum discipulum, cujus cum in divinis officiis celebrandis tum in sylves-

tribus oleribus herbisque—quibus duntaxat viscebatur aqua ætiam contentus—præparandis ministerio utebatur.

Lectio 6^{ta}.

Ipsius autem sanctitatis odore ex hisce latebris mirum in modum circumquaque se diffundente plurisque ad solitudinem illam ætiam ex aula regia alliciente, cum pius et benignus Conaciæ Rex Guarius viderat a viro sancto, sibi et sanguine, et postea consuetudine religiosa conjunctissimo, ingentia et insueta patrari miracula, amplissima ei munera obtulit, et quæcunque vellet prædia.

Verum mundi contemptor eximius, mirificusque paupertatis evangelicæ cultor & custos quodcunque ex liberaliter oblati acceptare constantissime renuit, præter divinitus sibi designatum locum extruendo oratorio ad laudem et honorem divini nominis idoneum ab eremo non valde distantem, ubi per Christi famulum Ecclesia cum ascetorio extructa est Denique vir Dei meritis plenus et miraculorum fama illustris totusque amore Christi, et æternæ gloriæ desiderio liquescens, ad eam quam tantopere sitiebat beatitudinem feliciter transivit coram amum Christi sexcentessimum trigessimum Honorio primo summo pontifice.

Post ejus obitum præfata ecclesia cum ascetorio regiis impensis erecta est in Episcopatum sedem, quæ ipsius agnomine Duacensis nuncupatur quæque eo dignitatis et celebritatis excrevit ut commune tutissimumque patriæ Assylum haberetur et esset Universa ætiam Diocesis Duacensis ac regiones eidem conterminæ singulari lætantur Colmani Duaci protectione atque innumeris a Deo beneficiis ejus patricinio indies augentur.

In tertio noct.

“Homo peregrini proficiscens,” ut in Commune Conf. Pontificis
Missa “Statuit” ut in Eodem Communi
Credo in Diocesi Duacensi.

The author refers to a note under p. 47 in connection with the office of St. Celsus, 7th April, and, like the preceding, not hitherto sanctioned by Rome.

“Liceat nihilominus typis italicis hic subnectere orationem et lectiones proprias Secundi Nocturni, tum ut hoc in supplemento, continente ordine reperiantur, si forte in tempore opportuno a S. Sede Apostolico approbentur tum ut interea Concionatoribus deserviant, aliisque quo brevem hujus Sancti Historiam scire aveant.”

We have seen that the author is the celebrated Thomas de Burgo, whose *Hibernia Dominicana* is recognised by all as a memorial of varied and extensive learning.

“Ad humilimas preces nomine Cleri Regni Hiberniæ per suam in Romana Curia agentem SS. Domino Nostro Benedicto Papæ XIV. porrectas et a sanctitate sua in sacrum Rituum Congregationem remissas, pro concessione et extensione officiorum propriorum et

missarum infrascriptorum Sanctorum Nationalium, sub ritu Duplici Majori ad Universum illius regnum . . . nempe."¹

Die 16 Jan.	St. Fursei,	Abb. Latineacensis.
„ 17 Feb.	St. Fintani,	Presb. et Conf.
„ 8 Martii.	St. Cataldi,	
„ 20 Martii.	St. Cuthberti,	Episcopi.
„ 27 Martii.	St. Ruperti,	Episc. et Conf.
„ 7 Aprilis.	St. Celsi,	Episcopi.
„ 10 Mayii.	St. Congalli,	Abb.
„ 8 Julii.	Epis. Herpepolen et Mart.	
„ 30 Aug.	St. Fiacrii,	
„ 25 Sep.	St. Firmini,	Episc. et Mart.
„ 10 Oct.	St. Canicii,	Abb. Achavoensis.
„ 22 Oct.	St. Donati,	Episc. et Conf.
„ 29 Oct.	St. Colmani Duaci,	Episc. Duacensis in Hibernia et Confessoris.
„ 12 Nov.	St. Livini.	

Sacra eadem congregatio audito prius in voce Rev^{mo} Patre Domino Fidei Promotore, etc. etc. etc. benigne indulisit atque concessit Hac Die Julii 1^{ma} 1747.

D. FORTUNATUS CARD. SANIB.



Extract from the Rescript of Pope Pius VI. regarding our re-trenched holidays:¹—

“Adeo, excreverunt calamitates et angustiae propter praesentium temporum infortunia, ut miseri illius habitatores incolesque praesertum ii qui in sudore vultus sui panem comedunt, persaepe coguntur quamvis invito animo Dies Festos negligere operibusque necessariis sese adicere pro pane lucrando. Et in eo facilius contigit ob exercitium dierum festorum numerum ac propterea nobis humiliter supplicatum fuit ut in praemissis opportune providere, et ut infra indulgere de benignitate apostolica dignaremur.”

The decrees referred to are dated 8th July 1741 and 1st July 1747. It is in the decree of 1st July 1747 that the Mass and Office of St. Colman Mac Duagh, Ep. Duacensis et Confess., 29th October, is made a major double for the entire kingdom.

SUPERNATURAL MANIFESTATIONS OF DIVINE DISPLEASURE AT THE VIOLATION OF THE FAST ON THE VIGIL OF THE FESTIVAL OF ST. COLMAN (FROM COLGAN).

William O'Shaughnessy, one of St. Colman's kindred in the diocese of Kilmacduagh, was a gentleman of considerable military

¹ *Hib. Dominicana*, p. 23.

² *Ibid.* p. 24.

fame. He was an intimate friend of the Earl of Kildare, and received and accepted from the earl an invitation to dine on a certain day, which happened to be the vigil of his patron, St. Colman. As he sat at table, quite oblivious of the fast and the coming feast, he was surprised to find that the meat with which he was served became suddenly covered with blood, so that he could not touch it. So strange an occurrence attracted the general attention of the guests and host alike. The earl had the dish removed, and had him again supplied with meat suitably cooked ; but this too, as soon as touched by O'Shaughnessy, to the amazement of all, had to be removed also, just as the former.

The embarrassment naturally occasioned to O'Shaughnessy by so singular an occurrence caused him to think of his holy patron. The recollection at once made him conscious that he was violating the fast of his vigil. He therefore received the striking admonition with thankful humility.

Another instance somewhat similar is related by the same writer as having occurred within the diocese, and nearer to his own time.

There were certain workmen engaged in threshing corn for the O'Shaughnessy family on the vigil of St. Colman's feast. The ordinary fasting fare was supplied ; they refused to accept it ; and demanded white meats, then regarded as prohibited on such occasions. Lady O'Shaughnessy, who was made aware of the matter, considering perhaps the justification which the severity of the men's labour afforded, yielded to their request, and gave directions that milk should be plentifully supplied. The milk, however, when produced, became as blood. The men, unable to taste it, and thinking themselves made the subjects of a cruel jest, grew angry, and began to indulge in invectives and abuse, which, when reported to the good lady, led to a careful examination of all the circumstances. Having found that the milk-pails contained only pure milk, she had the supposed blood poured back into the pails from which it was said to be taken, and then carefully set by to be examined on the following day. When examined, however, every trace of blood had disappeared, and the milk was found pure and stainless.

It is needless to add that the discontented labourers were deeply moved by what they then recognised as a striking manifestation of the divine displeasure at their conduct ; and they were ever after more careful for the devout celebration of their patron's festival.

The following well-authenticated tradition also forcibly illustrates the horror in which the people of the diocese held any gross departure from the time-honoured custom of duly honouring their holy patron's festival. Having occurred towards the close of the last century, the occurrence was well and widely known in the last generation ; nor is it yet entirely forgotten in the district.

A Protestant farmer named Faircloth, residing in the parish of Ardahan, would have some wheat sown on St. Colman's Festival. The planting of wheat so early in the season was not unusual then.

His labourers were unwilling, and stated forcibly the motives and causes of their religious scruples. This, however, only caused the man to be more fixed in his purpose, and to cast ridicule on their convictions. Another might be deterred at least by an unusually heavy rainfall, which occurred on that particular festival; but he would not be stayed even by the elements in trampling upon the religious convictions so dear to the people of the district. Having put the seed down, he publicly blasphemed the saint. Those who heard him prophesied that heaven would mark its displeasure at such impiety. In due course the corn sprang up luxuriantly, and promised to yield an abundant return. When, however, it was seemingly fit for the sickle, it was found, to the owner's astonishment, that the ears contained no grain.

Robbers fail to violate the Sanctuary at Kilmacduagh.¹

Under shelter of the darkness, two robbers repaired to Kilmacduagh in search of plunder. Some farmers of the surrounding district had driven their flocks close to the cemetery, convinced that the sanctuary could not be violated by even the most lawless. The robbers were, however, quite regardless of the privileges accorded to the place from time immemorial, and proceeded at once to drive away the cattle. They found, however, they could not do so, as when they themselves were within the cemetery, they thought the cattle were outside. When, however, they went outside, they fancied the cattle stood within the enclosure. Wearied by their efforts, which proved so strikingly ineffectual, they at length recognised this event as an interposition of Providence to vindicate the privileges of the holy place. This tradition, given at length by Colgan, is still preserved among the traditions of the locality.

COLGAN'S STORY REGARDING THE MIRACULOUS EFFECTS OF THE
CUAILE MHIC DUAGH.

"Auxit autem loci reverentiam plantata a sancto viro haud procul ab ipsa ecclesia quædam arbor vulgo.

"'Cuaile Mhic Duagh,' i.e. palus Mac Duagh appellata, cujus ramata, ut fragmentum aliquod qui conjecta in sanctum fiducia devote gestat, aut penes se habet præstantissima quæque mortis indiscrimina mirabiliter evadet ut continua traditio habet."

With such faith in the protection of St. Colman, a certain man about being executed (unjustly, we must think) placed in his mouth a certain portion of this miraculous wood which he carried with him; and so trusted that he would be protected by his patron's intervention.

¹ "Mane prædicta fures pervenerunt et præsentem opportunamque prædam quam nemo custodiebat intuitu cimiterium ut armentum in toto vel ex parte subigerent secumque adducerent intravissent, divina virtute ita sensibus illorum est impositum ut quamdiu ipsi intra sepulcreti septa hærerent, boves extra apparerent," etc.

After being handed over to the executioner, the requirements of the law were carefully carried out in his case. But though his body was permitted to remain suspended as if dead, and for the usual time, it was discovered when cut down that he still lived. This having been discovered, he was subjected once more to the same process of execution, and with the same result. A third time the victim was subjected to the same horrible ordeal, and with the same result. Then the unrelenting executioner subjected his victim to a close search, and, having deprived him of the miraculous wood, he once more compelled his victim to ascend the scaffold, when the drop proved immediately fatal. Colgan states that he had motives for concealing the name¹ of the cruel and heartless functionary who, in the face of occurrences so striking and so manifestly supernatural, was unmoved to mercy. He, however, is said by Colgan to have lived as late as the year A.D. 1629. Possibly the mention of his name when Father Colgan wrote might have excited public odium against his family and friends.

And here it is right to add that, in recording those singular events, he seems to have carefully sought out credible witnesses of the facts which he narrates. They were not accepted by him from vague traditions, nor on the authority of men likely to indulge in falsehood or intentional exaggeration. He expressly tells us that his informants were men of honour, who were even bound by oath to attest truth, and who did not hesitate to authenticate their representations by their signatures. "*Prout ea a viris nobilibus et spectatæ fidei, jurejurando ad veritatem edicendam adstrictis, eorundem chyrographis subsignati accepimus.*"²

APPENDIX B.

SOME SAINTS OF ST. COLMAN'S KINDRED.³

The holy sons of Fearamhla, who, like the mother of St. Colman Mac Duagh, was of the royal race of Dathy, deserve some notice here. Fearamhla was fifth in descent from Eochaid Breac, son of Dathy.

Three of her sons, Fídhmuine, Fídhairle, and Fídhgusa, are also known as the three O'Suanaghs, and were, we are assured by O'Donovan, three Saints of some celebrity in Irish history.⁴

St. Fídhmuine is venerated at Rathane; and his death is recorded A.D. 750.⁵

¹ "*Vixit autem memoratus Præfectus anno 1629 cujus nomen tametsi proferre possumus ex industria subticemus.*"—*Ad S.* p. 247.

² Colgan.

³ From the *Book of Hy Fiachrach*. Father Colgan states there were seventy of St. Colman's kindred recognised Saints.

⁴ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 36.

⁵ Four Masters.

St. Fidhairle is venerated at Kinsale; and St. Fidhgusa is venerated at Glascarrick, near Gorey, where no traditions are now preserved regarding him.

St. Eodhan of Cluain Eochaille, in Corran, County Sligo, and St. Diclethe, surnamed O' Triallaigh, and St. Colman of Templeshambo, were also her sons.¹ The meaning of O'Triallaigh's name is given as follows in the *Book of Hy Fiachrach* :—

“He was called Diclethe from the *cleth* or concealment which he made of himself in escaping from his brothers, and in the house of the fisherman; and he was called Triallach from the *triall* or voyage which he made on the sea in despite of his brothers.”

The nature of this voyage is at once so extraordinary and interesting, that we feel it may be given here :—

“One time, as he attempted to go away from the sons of his mother on an expedition to seek for God, they took him and fettered him, placing a lock of iron between his head and feet; and the key of the lock was cast into the sea, and a salmon took it in its mouth and swallowed it. Triallach soon after stole away on his expedition, and put to sea in a currach which was not covered with leather, and went round Ireland westwards, with the fetter between his feet, until he arrived on the coast of Ciarraighe Luachra, whither the salmon which had swallowed the key accompanied him, and by the assistance of God he landed there at Disert Ui Triallaigh, on the bank of the river Cassan Ciarraighe, so that neither his brothers nor tribe knew in what direction he had gone.

“O'Suanaigh and Aodhan afterwards went in search of their mother's son, and they knew not his fate or destiny until they found him at Disert, with his lock on between his head and feet, and he hiding from those clerics who were in search of him. They were not long there when they saw a fisherman coming towards them, the man to whom the habitation belonged, who bade the clerics welcome, and made obeisance to them, for he perceived that they were of the people of God, *i.e.* ecclesiastics, and that they had set out on their journey to seek for the Saint who was bound by the fetter. Triallach ordered that the clerics should be well entertained, ‘that strangers were entitled to attention.’ The fisherman then went to set his net for them, and O'Suanaigh said to him, ‘Thou wilt take the full of thy net, that is, a salmon in each mesh, but do not bring with thee more than a sufficiency for us, that is, a salmon for each man.’ The fisherman did accordingly; and he presented a salmon to each cleric; and the key was found in the belly of the salmon given to Triallach, and the lock was opened with it. That fetter is now a miraculous relic, known by the name of Glasano Triallaigh, *i.e.* Triallach's little lock or fetter.”

A story rather similar to the preceding is told by Father Morris in his *Life of St. Patrick*, regarding the penitent robber chieftain Mac Kyle. He had his feet bound and locked together. Having flung

¹ *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 37.

the key into the sea, he committed himself in a little boat, "made of a single skin," to the mercy of the waves. He was cast on the shores of the Isle of Man, and subsequently became its bishop.

The holy sons of Fearamhla were contemporaries of their holy kinsman, St. Colman Mac Duagh.

APPENDIX C.

TAXATION OF IRISH SEES BY POPE NICHOLAS, A.D. 1291,¹
FROM RECORD OFFICES, LONDON.

Cashel, Archbishop's spiritualities and temporalities, .	£146	1	0
Cashel, Benefices imperfect,	146	1	0
Emly, Bishop's revenue,	102	0	0
Emly, its Benefices,	146	0	0
Waterford, Bishop's revenue,	22	13	4
Waterford, Benefices,	23	6	0
Cork, Bishop's revenue,	40	0	0
Cloyne, Bishop's revenue,	123	5	0
Cloyne, its Benefices,	142	13	0
Ross, Bishop's revenue,	19	0	0
Limerick, Bishop's revenue,	163	0	0
Limerick, Benefices,	201	0	0
Dublin, Bishop's revenue,	170	19	3
Dublin, Benefices,	327	4	0
Kildare, Bishop's revenue,	72	9	0
Kildare, Its Benefices,	121	16	4
Ossory, Bishop's revenue,	153	4	3
Ossory, Benefices,	103	6	6
Loughlin, Bishop's revenue,	58	18	11
Meath, Bishop's revenue,	207	13	4
Clonmacnoise, Bishop's revenue,	4	19	0
Clonmacnoise, Benefices,	5	10	0
Connor, Bishop's revenue,	50	0	0
Derry, Bishop's revenue,	20	0	0
Ardagh, Bishop's revenue,	13	0	0
Raphoe, Bishop's revenue,	18	0	0
Clonfert, Bishop's revenue,	66	13	0
Clonfert, Benefices,	16	7	0
Tuam, Bishop's revenue,	115	6	11
Kilmacduagh, Bishop's revenue,	33	7	9
Kilmacduagh (only a few of the Benefices given),	33	7	9
Achonry, Bishop's revenue,	14	0	0

¹ Cotton, *Fasti*.

Enaghdone, Bishop's revenue,	£18	0	0
Killaloe, Bishop's revenue,	36	15	0
Ardfert, Bishop's revenue,	49	13	4
Ardfert, Benefices,	46	4	0

Dr. S. Malone¹ writes on this interesting subject : "The revenues of the twenty-four Sees as given in the valuation of Pope Nicholas IV. would amount to £1710." There were, however, eleven other Sees, which should have been given, but were not. But money may have been thirty-five or forty times more valuable then than now.

APPENDIX D.

A Graunte unto Hugh Boy O'Heine of One (Owen) O'Heyne of Ledigan in the Coy of Gallway within the province of Conaght, upon his surrender bearing date the 22 of July in the 30 yeare of his Ma^{ties} raigne of 33^s 4^d sterlinge yerely chief rent going out of three qrs of lande in Crannaghe, of one q^r of lande in Clonchil, of one q^r of land in Cahern, one q^r of land in Cahercarne, one q^r of land in Crossye, and two qrs of land in Rahassane; and also 33^s 4^d sterling chiefe rent yerely goinge out of one qr of land in Sisselleidigan, one q^r of land in Tuelgon, one q^r of lande in Corveighe, one q^r of lande in Kintierleveigh, and one qr of lande in Dungoire in the afforesaide Countie; also 33^s 4^d chiefe rent yerely going out of one qr of lande in Caherniadovishe, one qr of lande in Powlenveigh, and one q^r of land in Rahalben in the afforesaid Countie; also 33^s 4^d ster. chief rent yerely going out of one q^r of land in Ballibuige, one qr of land in Lawghcoure, one qr of land in Kiltwyne, and one qr of lande in Caherscarlie in the afforesaid Countie; also forty-one shillings fourpence ster. chief rent yearlie going out of one qr of lande in Ballevanegrane, one qr of land in Monescrib, one qr of lande in le Mey, one qr of lande in Fouchenbeg, one qr of land in Keapaghmore, and one qr of land in Clogher in the afforesaid Countie; also 35^s 8^d ster. chiefe rent yerely going out of one qr of land in Knocklegan, one qr of lande in Gortevallaile, one qr of lande in Dromyn, one qr of lande in Trelik, one qr of lande in Foushenmore, one qr of lande in Rewe, one qr of lande in Dowrea, one qr of land in Townaght, one qr of lande in Aggard, one qr of land in Ballyglara, one qr of land in Killily, and one qr of lande in Cloneste in the afforesaid Countie. Summa total Xⁱⁱ Ster. to the Said Hugh O'Heyne and his heires and assignes for ever per servitium Militare vis per servitium XX^{mo} partis unius feodi militaris solvo jure cujuslibet deliberat in Canc. Hiberniæ XXIII. Julii An. E R. Eliz. XXX^o tempore Wil. Fitzwilliam.

¹ *Church History*, p. 257.

APPENDIX E.

FATHER HUGH BOURKE'S CREDENTIALS TO FERDINAND III.,
EMPEROR OF GERMANY.¹

"AUGUSTISSIME CÆSAR,

"Multa sunt quæ nos, gravissimi Belli mole laborantes, ad te, ex domo Austriaca, Cæsarem, recurrere hortantur,—sive majestatis tuæ proprios in nostram gentem et hæreditarios affectus, sive suscepti a nobis Belli justissimam causam spectemus. Nostratibus sub Romana aquila merentibus omnis ad honores divitiasque patet aditus. Neque certe nostra ex gente militum in Austriacam domum spectata fide quidquam certius, nec majestatis tuæ et augustissimi parentis tui in illos premiis quidquam munificentius esse potuit. Ad arma nos adegit vesania Puritanorum, qui uno impetu gentem et religionem nostram obterere decreverunt; auxit illorum in nos sænitiam quo Regiam majestatem et indubitata Principis jura prosequimur ardor et fidelitas. Te, igitur, quem ad Sacri Imperii fastigium innata virtus et majorum in Deum pietas evexit, obtestamur, ut genti Hibernorum, in arduis probatæ et tot beneficiis domui Austriacæ devinctæ, pro religione Catholica, pro Regum majestate et juribus, pro patriæ libertate pugnanti, opportunus accedas, adjutor et patronus, et quoniam et bellorum injurias sacræ majestati tuæ aliter nos nequimus sistere, procuratores et actores nostros hac in parte constituimus Illustrissimum Dominum Gulielmum Gall, Sacri Imperii Comitem, et Admodum Reverendam Patrem Hugonem de Burgo, Ordinis Francisci de Observantia, Religiosum, illisque negotiorum et rerum nostrarum statum majestati tuæ exponendum commisimus, quibus ut indubitata fides adhibeatur rogamus."

(28 Novembris 1642.)

FATHER HUGH BOURKE'S CREDENTIALS TO
(THE PRINCE OF) LIEGE.²

SERENISSIME DOMINE,—Non dubitamus nostri Belli famam ad Celsitudinis vestræ aures jamdudum pervenisse, licet non expresse ut decuit nuncio.

Ita se res nostra habet. Hactenus, per plura annorum lustra, sub perfidæ Puritanorum pravitatis gravi gementes jugo opprimebamur. Nunc tandem colla subtrahere, et nos nostramque patriam in eam, quæ filiorum Dei, est libertatem, asserere conati sumus, et adspirante

¹ Gilbert's *History of Confederation and War in Ireland, 1641-1643*, vol. ii. p. 102.

² *Ibid.* p. 107.

ac propitio, cujus causam agimus, Deo, ex servitutis plusquam Aegyptiacæ, quo diu detinebamur barathro surreximus et erecti sumus.

Gloriosum duximus unanimiter certamen hoc pro Deo ejusque Ecclesiæ jure; gloriosius sanguinem fundere, gloriosissimum animas profundere; ad quæ omnia parati sumus. Spectaculum hoc, uti confidimus, Deo angelis et hominibus gratum, tanquam primitias nostræ Ecclesiæ et Puritanicis tenebris emergentis, Celsitudini vestræ considerandum offerimus ut dum, spectante orbe, rem Catholicam contra Crucis Christi hostes propugnemus, pio Celsitudinis vestræ favore ac innata ad Dei opus promovendum benevolentia fruamur.

Rerum nostrarum negotiorumque statum Celsitudini vestræ exponendum commissimus Admodum Reverendo Patri Hugoni de Burgo, Ordinis Sancti Francisci, de Observantia, Religioso, et Reverendo Domino, Domino Nicholao Shee, sacerdoti quos uti et quemlibet illorum actores et procuratores nostros hac in parte constituimus, et ut illis indubitata fides adhibeatur rogamus.

FATHER HUGH BURKE'S CREDENTIALS TO THE NUNCIO
IN FLANDERS.¹

REVERENDISSIME DOMINE,—Scimus rerum nostrarum statum, Bellique quod gerimus justitiam et æquitatem Christiano orbi cognitam esse et perspectam. Sustineremus, quod hactenus fecimus, bonorum jacturam, vincula, carceres, exilia, si, his contenti, Puritani, hostes de Ecclesia Catholica penitus inter nos excidenda et abolenda non statuissent. Sed Catholoci, universis ipsorumque Religioni pereundem esse decreverunt Puritani. Aliud decrevit Deus, et inde Ecclesiæ suæ libertatem, uti speramus, excogitavit, unde Puritani illius ruinam sunt machinati. Adest suæ nostræque causæ potenter Deus, et occasionibus plurimis se adesse gloriose monstravit, quod per bellorum tumultus et injurias hactenus non licuit. Nos quibus Hiberniæ cura comissa sunt rerum nostrarum negotiorumque statum Reverendissimæ Dominationi vestræ communicandum commissimus Admodum Reverendo Patri Hugoni de Burgo, Ordinis S. Francisci de Observantia Religioso, et Reverendo Domino Nicolao Shee, Sacerdoti, quos uti et quemlibet illorum actores et procuratores nostros hac in parte constituimus et ut illis indubitata fides adhibeatur rogamus.

COMMISSION TO TREAT WITH THE STATES OF HOLLAND.²

Per supremum Concilium Confederatorum Catholicorum in Hibernia. Perillustri viro, Domino Hugoni de Burgo, salutem: Suas quod nos, de integritate, zelo et prudentia tua plurimum confidentes

¹ Gilbert's *Hist. Confed.* vol. ii. p. 111.

² *Ibid.* p. 337.

nominamus et per præsentēs constituimus et actorem et procuratorem negotiorum nostrorum apud Potentissimos Status Confederatarum Provinciarum Belgii auctoritate nobis commissā ab omnibus regni Hiberniæ ordinibus, quicquid in illis peragendis feceris ratum habituri.

Datum WEXFORDIÆ, 7 Augusti anno Domini 1643.

INSTRUCCIONS FOR FATHER HUGH BOURKE, our Commissioner and Agent to the Highty and Mighty Lords, the States of Holland, etc., for good intelligence and free trade betweene them and us.¹

1. *Imprimis.* Upon receipt of your commission and letters of credence, you upon the place will best learne whether you may goe and come safely, you are without delay to repaire to the States; and if you find otherwise, you are to sollicit with the State where Mr. Jeffery Barron and his associate is, and, by all the meanes there or in the partes wherein you are, to obtaine the safe-conduct.

2. *Item.* Upon your going thither you are to present your letters of credence; and your authority, if demaunded, you are to shewe.

3. *Item.* As you find your oportunity you are in apt manner to putt them in minde of the ancient friendship and free commerce betweene us and our ancestors and that nacion, and that wee never gave them or any of theirs any manner of offence, and since these troubles wee did their men right and courtesies, the particulers you have by our letters, and wee are still ready to doe more.

4. *Item.* Although they knowe it as well as may be, you are to putt them in minde of the benefitt they may receave by a free commerce with us, and, if you see cause, that it seemes unusuall unto us, and not according to the practice among nations, they should doe us or our servants or ministers prejudice without provocation, as by name they did to Captayn Frauncis Ollivers, his men, shipp, and goods, who was absolutely indenized with us and imployed in our actuall service at the tyme of his being taken prisoner. In that busines, as a matter of great waight unto us, you are to negotiate with all your power and industry.

5. *Item.* If they insist that they have receaved notice from England that wee are against the Kinge, you are to declare unto them, that wee have beene subjects oppressed by our adversaries, and have taken armes, and are resolved to continue in armes, untill wee doe vindicate and settle our owne just liberties, and if they offer you to send to the Kinge or Parlyament about this busines, you are to make knownen unto them that you have already addressed our Remonstrance of Grievances to his Majesty, whereof as hee is the judge in pointe of redresse, soe he is the judge as to the debate, and none other, and that by our applicacion to him; and, as you see cause, you are to shew them the Remonstrance, or as much of it as you thinke fitt, and to declare that you are authorized for free trade, commerce, and friendship and for reparacion, onely.

¹ Gilbert's *Hist. Confed.* vol. ii. p. 337.

6. You are principally to take care that you be not delayed for any unnecessary tyme, and to pray and with modesty urge an expresse and possitive answere, and declare, if you may safely, how farr wee are prejudiced, without cause or notice given us, etc.

7. You upon the place will best discerne and know to whom to make your applicacion either in Flaunders, Holland, or elsewhere for the advauncement of this negotiation; you may assure them of all fayer usage, with courteous dealing here.

8. You knowe how farr you may urge that such as fought actually against his Majesty in Scotland and elsewhere, had free trade there, and why not wee, who fight for our lybertyes and never against our Kinge.

WEXFORD, 7th August 1643.

INSTRUCCIONS FOR FR. HUGH DE BURGOE, concerning his Excellency Don Francisco Melos, Governor and Captayn-Generall of Flaunders for his Catholick Majesty (Philip IV.): 1—

1. *Imprimis.* After delivery of our letters to Don Francisco, you are to declare unto him in that manner you thinke best how much the placarr or edict against any of those partes that should serve us in this our warr undertaken for the Catholick religion, our King, and just liberties, did astonish us, the number wee have being soe little, not exceeding a dozen.

2. His Excellency cannott be ignorant of the affection and services of the Catholickes of Ireland at all tymes expressed or performed to the Howse of Austria, and more particularly for these sixty yeares past. In Spaine, Flaunders, Germany, Indyas, Italy, and elsewhere, our men were lost by regiments, and how it was that now an inconsiderable number is denied, wee cannott understand. Neither can wee forgett the obligations putt from tyme to tyme upon our nacion by that Howse.

3. You are to declare unto his Excellency that for these sixty yeares past and upwards, since the warr betweene Queene Elizabeth and the Crowne of Spaine, that God and men are witnesses that the jealousy conceived of us for our affection to that State did prejudice us in our lives, estates, and fortunes, more than all other misfortunes whatever. What brought Queene Elizabeth her forces, by way of diversion,² from Flaunders, you best know, as also the advantage thereby gained in Flaunders.

[4] You shall declare, if you thinke it necessary, unto his Excellency, that some months past wee have determynd to send one thousand men in shippes of our owne to the service of his Catholick Majesty, and, after meeting not with this conveniency, we have in the beginninge of the last moneth written by an expresse of our owne to his Catholick Majesty that wee would give way that two thousand men

¹ Gilbert's *Hist. Confed.* vol. ii. p. 339.

² This refers to the wars carried on by the Irish against Elizabeth, which necessitated the removal of English forces from Flanders to Ireland.

should goe for this service, and that ships wee expect for them very soone in the porte (of Galway) lately secured in the West, you know it, whether his Excellency had notice of this wee know not.

The copy of the letter we writt to the Secretary of State there wee send you herewith, which you are to shewe as you see needfull.

5. You are to sollicit with all earnestness for an express license for Captayne Antonio Vanderhipp, and the few others here who do serve us heere for religion and nacion's sake, and who are ready to performe here better service for his Catholick Majesty than anything they may doe there. If the addicion concerning us to the placare may not be revoked, or at least connyved at, wee will send now by another conveyance our grievances herein to Spaine; wee doubt not of an express from thence, if our desires be refused there, which we expect not.

6. As, wee thanke God, the state of our affaires is much better than there is perhaps knowen, and like very soone to be in farr better, the praise be to God, soe you are to communicate, as you see cause, to our friends for our advantage, and, as you see it convenient, you may demaunde the question of his Excellency whether the sending of great numbers of men by the Parlymentaries into Fraunce, Portugall, Holland and Cattallonia, will or doth prejudice them in Flaunders, and how all others will judge of this new unheard-of prejudice putt upon us, particularly the premises and many other passages considered.

WEXFORD, 7th August 1643.

APPOINTMENT OF FR. HUGH BOURKE AS DELEGATE TO SPAIN FROM
THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

FR. BOURKE his Commissions.¹

Nos, Confederatorum in Hibernia Catholicorum Supremum Concilium, Venerabili viro, Patri Hugoni de Burgo, Ordinis Sancti Francisci de Observantia, salutem :

De tuo zelo, prudentia et integritate plurimum confidentes, te, tenore presentium nominamus constituimus et creamus actorem et procuratorem nostrorum apud potentissimum Hispaniarum Regem Catholicum negotiorum peragendorum; exnunc revocantes quoscunque hactenus eo fine nominatos aut constitutos aliosque procuratores, et nominatim Fratres Franciscum Mageniz, ordinis Sancti Francisci, et Jacobum Talbotum, ordinis Sancti Augustini, nostramque ipsis datam Commissionem, instituentes et repontes te in locum omnium et singulorum. Quidquid in præmissis egeris, ratum habituri et gratum.—Datum Kilkeniae, 12 die Decembris, anno Domini 1644.

Apud Illustrissimos et Reverendissimos Dominos, Dominos Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, aliosque quoscunque in dignitate ecclesiastica constitutos, in regnis Hispaniarum.

¹ *History of Confederation and War in Ireland, 1644-1645*, vol. iv. p. 90.

Apud Eminentissimum et Reverendissimum Dominum, Dominum Archiepiscopum Toletanum, S. R. E. Fr. Cardinalem de Borgias.¹

Apud Capitulum metropolis Toletanæ et reliquarum Ecclesiarum Cathedralium Regni Hispaniæ Synodos.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE REVEREND FATHER FR. HUGH BOURKE, uppon his employment from the said Councill to his Catholick Majestie of Spaine.

By the Supreme Councill of the Confederat Catholicks of Ireland.

1. *Imprimis.* When you have enformed yourselfe, by those experienced in the place, what ceremonyes are necessary to be performed, and demeanour to be used, then you are to make applicacions to the swayinge partie in the Courte of Spaine, and to proceed therein, as uppon the place you will find to be most advantageous for the employment wherewith you are entrusted.

2. You are to present unto his Catholick Majestie how much oppression and persecucion this nacion hath suffered for many yeeres past, and that howbeit sundry paenall lawes were made against the professors of the Catholick religion in this kingdome, disabling the Catholick natives from any advancement in Church or Commonwealth, yet have they universally, or to a very few, continued constant in that faith professed by them and their ancestors notwithstanding any enforcements used to withdrawe them from the same.

3. You are to express that the desire of this nation was soe much and soe fervent for the settleinge of the Catholick Church in its splendor heere, that they did undergoe this present warr, howbeit they wanted most things necessary for the support thereof, whereof the Protestant partye in this kingdome (Ireland) and in England, takinge advantage before wee were provided of armes and ammunicion, did destroy many thousands of people unarmed, and exercised barbarous cruelties against man, woman, and child, spareing none that did come within their power, and intending to extirpat the whole nacion, and possessed themselves of all the goods of the inhabitants of the most plentifull and richest partes of the kingdome.

4. You are to enforme his Catholick Majestie that by the blessinge of God, wee, haveing some of the portes of the kingdome in our hands, haveing some armes and amunicion comminge to us from forraigne partes, the Catholickes thereuppon did become victorious in most partes of the kingdome, and have there settled the Catholick religion in its full splendor, other than in some particular places and partes of the kingdome yet possessed by the Protestant partie.

5. You are to express that howbeit that by divers proclamacions they have beene invited to lay downe armes, and that, by the treatyes for settleinge of a Peace, they have found that many advantageous overtures have beene made to them, which might bringe securitye and quietness in their estates, and many advantages in other temporall

¹ Caspar de Borja y Velasco, Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo. See p. 99.

affaires, yet they have forborne to accept of any condicions unless they might obtaine the settlinge of the Catholick religion in its full splendour.

6. That, by meanes of the destruccion and devastacion committed by the Protestant partie before the Catholicks had some armes, and by reason of these three yeeres' warrs, the kingdome is reduced to that povertie that they finde themselves unable to goe through with that great worke against such potent adversaries, unless they may receive considerable aydes. And to insinuate specially, and with the greatest efficacye that may be, that it is the sence of the whole kingdome, that if they understand by you when you shall returne that they may have from his Catholick Majestie such furtherance as may be powerfull to supporte the warr, they will expose their estates and lives to continue these warrs untill they may obtaine the restitution of the Catholick Church to its full splendour in the kingdome; but if otherwise they be not soe ayded, they cannot but accept of such other condicions of peace as are offered to them.

7. If it should be objected wherefore wee made the Cessacion, or parted with moneys uppon the conclusion thereof, you may let them knowe that wee held it advantagious, when wee had two parties in the kingdome that were enemyes, viz. the Scotts and the English, to make a Cessacion with one, that wee might the better bend our strenth against the other, that withall we knew his Majestie was weake in England, and that if, through his want of men or meanes, the distraccions in England were at an end, all the joynt forces of England and Scotland would fall uppon us, and therefore we thought fitt to make the Cessacion, uppon assurances that his Majestie should thereuppon withdraw from hence the army he had heere, to make use of them in England, and wantinge meanes to shipp them away, the said ayde was given for those reasons, and accordinglye twelve thousand armed men that fought against us heere were drawne out of this kingdome, and are, for the most parte, since that tyme killed there in the King's service, besides that many were killed by them that were our enemyes. These you may urdge, and such further reasons for the Cessacion and the continuance thereof, as you may thinke of; and omit not to make a principall reason that it was to gain tyme for obtaineinge his Catholick Majestie's ayde.

8. If it be objected that in our Propositions¹ the freedom of religion only is desired, you may inculcate the reason (which God knowes to be true) it was to win tyme, and our constructione shall be freedom in splendor, if holpen with possibilitye of subsistence.

9. In your owne judgment and of your knowledge, you will declare how farr from impossibilitye it is to establish the Catholicks of the three kingdomes in securitye of conscience and subsistence, if wee be but moderately succored. And if we be trodden, noe man of judgment and righteousness will denye that heresye will not only prevaile but alsoe extinguish the orthodox faith (in) all the North

¹ For these Propositions, see vol. iii. p. 128.

partes of the world. The Hugonetts of France, and Germany, and Holland, and their correspondents, are not to be forgotten; and to the greefe of all good men be it spoken, the disunion of Catholick princes is too well knowne. A few privat men in Holland in a few months bestowed on the Scotch rebbellis of Ulster one hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling, to nourish rebellion and extinguishe loyalty. Lett God beare witness what wee had for restitution of Catholick religion in Ireland, which is more exalted in three yeeres' tyme, after six skore yeares' depression of it, than president or example can warrant, with soe little power as we had, our religion being our principall end; the restitution of our oppressed Kinge to his due rights, and restauration of our countrey's libertyes is the second end.

10. *Item.* Besides those matters propounded for preservacion of the Catholick religion, which may move much with his Catholick Majestie in his zeale thereunto, you may (as you shall finde cause uppon the place) offer divers reasons of state very considerable, and which may prevaile greatly. First, that our preservacion may gaine his navye safetie in their passadge to the Lowe Countreys, may finde good harbors where to rest and be refreshed, when cause is, may have free libertie to transporte from hence great store of corne, flesh, fish, and all other necessaries for sustenance of an army, and to obtaine in this kingdome many companyes of men to serve him as soldiers in his warres (there being none more faithful to him), which hitherto was not graunted but partly at the will and pleasure of the enemyes of Spaine.

11. *Item.* That it must be of great advantadge to his Majestie of Spaine to support our warr against the Parliament of England, least by their prosperity the Hollanders should also take strenth, betwixt them and the Parliament of England there is much union and affection, the encrease and prosperitie of the one beinge the advancement of the other, and by this our warr alsoe beinge upheld, and not suffered to be destroyed (which necessarily wee must be, if not ayded from abroad), the Scots and the English will be busied, and not able to doe anythinge to the prejudice of the House of Austria, as they were and are still resolved when tyme and their strenth shall serve.

12. *Item.* You are to enforme his Catholick Majestie of the great affection of this nacion to his service to be such as more demonstration should be made thereof at present, but that they feare it might drawe the envye of others on them, and perhaps be a meane to their destruction. In this particular you are to be very wary in the manner of expression thereof.

13. *Item.* You are to be circumspect, and not to dishonour the nation in any thinge that may reflect thereon, by the way of craveinge or begginge.

14. *Item.* To satisfie many that are curious, both in the Assembly and elsewhere, to be informed of the actions and proceedings of the supreme Councell and the agents abroad, so also for the better satisfaction of the provinces and countreys who imagin that great

thresures and aydes are received by the said agents, and vast sommes come to the Councell's hands, and spent betwixt them and the agents, and the countrie at home much exhausted by applotments and levyes, and no wayes eased by those summonses as they ought, [you are] to send a cathalogue for their better satisfaction, settinge forth the names of all and everye such persons as have contributed any thinge to this publick cause, and what and how much they have contributed, and who, being moved therein, refused to contribute, or who have given any promise or hopes to contribute, or from whom any ayde may be expected.

15. *Item.* If you thinke it may prevaile, or that in your discretion you will finde it proper, by such observations as you can make upon the place, you may propound the gettinge of a considerable good summe by way of loane, and engadge the publick faith of this kingdome for repayment.

16. *Item.* You are to enforme how easely the worke here might be effected, if there were meanes for one yeere's warr, and how many advantadges might for ever redound thereby to his Catholick Majestie. For Ireland might from thenceforth be a great bulwarke against all the hereticks of the Northerne partes of Europe; for the soldiours heere, beinge victorious, would not rest satisfyed, but try their valors elsewhere for religion, as longe as any hereticks did remaine in the neighbouring provinces.

17. *Item.* You are to peruse the letters, beinge for the most parte open, and by them you may finde out our purpose and the way wee take in our proceedings with those to whom the letters are directed, and soe dispose of matters that your discourses may be agreeable and in nothinge contrarie to what is written; and you are to endeavour as much as is possible that wee may have positive answers by the last of May to our expectacion, for thereon our welfare doth depend, for without ayd wee are in danger to faile of our ends.—Given at Kilkenny, the 12th of December 1644.

DESPATCHES TO SPAIN FROM SUPREME COUNCIL—*December 1644.*

To Philip IV., King of Spain.¹

POTENTISSIME REX,—

Natio Hibernorum, familiæ Austriacæ semper fidelissima, et fides Catholica, cujus tutelam ubique terrarum vestra Catholica majestas jure sibi vindicat, bello, quod cum Puritanis Anglis et Scotis, eisque adhærentibus, supra triennium gerimus, eo devenit periculi, ut, nulla spe pacis relicta, debeat ut plene vincere, aut penitus in hoc regno extingui.

Statum nostrum majestate vestræ aperiet fusius Frater Hugo de Burgo, ordinis Sancti Francisci religiosus, cui ut fidem adhibere dignetur sua majestas obnix imploramus, Majestatis vestræ humillimi servi.—Kilkeniæ, 12 Decembris 1644.

Ad Regem Hispaniarum.

¹ Gilbert's *Hist. Confed.* vol. iv. p. 96.

To the Confessor of the King of Spain.¹

REVERENDISSIME PATER,—Quartum impendimus annum periculosissimo, quod pro fide Catholica suscepimus, bello adversus Puritanos Anglos et Scotos eisque adherentes, infestissimos nominis Catholici hostes, Innotavores illi ex Anglia, Scotia, Hollandia, Gallia, Germania, et undequaque a suæ sectæ cultoribus magna contraxerunt subsidia, et indies accipiunt. Ad extremas nos redigunt angustias. In quibus ad suam majestatem Catholicam, ut præcipuam fidei Catholicæ tundæ columnam recurrimus. Vestræ Paternitatis Reverendissimæ benignos favores et zelosam assistentiam nobis adfuturos et summe profuturos credimus. Frater Hugo de Burgo, etc., originem, causas et progressum prædicti nostri belli, ac nostrum impræsentiarum statum, vestræ Reverendissimæ Paternitati fuse aperiet. Ut fidem ei, etc.—Kilkenia, 12 Decembris 1644.

Ad Confessarium Regis Hispaniarum.

To the Secretary of State in Spain.²

ILLUSTRISSIME DOMINE,—Centum prope annis pro fidei Catholicæ conservatione pugnavit Hibernorum natio, perferendo quidquid Lutheri et Calvinii in hæresi successores aut excogitare aut præscribere voluerunt persecutionum. Tandem Puritanorum innovatio, veluti ab inferno submissa, aliis signioribus et quasi defatigatis hæreseos sectis in subsidium, ad promovendas nequitias, extinguere proposuit Hibernos universos, qui religionis Catholicæ in Puritanicæ seductionis observationem, exhibito juramento, non abdicarent professionem. Parum erat Puritanis, Anglis et Scotis, omnia officia, omnia beneficia et proventus ecclesiasticos, totius de in regni gubernium, exclusis indigenis, possidere; ex Hibernia incredibiles auri et argenti summas, terras, et dominia comparasse, Indicas quodammodo fodinas eruisse, Insulam hanc Sanctorum propriis filiis novercam et servitutis forum, ipsorum vero quisquiliis matrem factam et emporium, unde in nobiles, barones, tetrachas et comites evaderent. Non sufficeret nationem confiscationibus et bonorum spoliis quotidianis depauperari, nec seligere multos, et morti destinare. Nihil ipsorum inauditam satiare nonnullum securam redderet tyrannidem, nisi imo impetu universæ nationis Hibernicæ labefactatam viderent constantiam, rescissa conscientiarum fundamenta et religionis Catholicæ sublata vestigia.

Vi igitur præventuri vim, licet ob interdictum, quo toti nostræ, genti armorum usus inhihebatur, ut plurimum inermes, contra Puritanos Anglos et Scotos bellum fuimus adorti.

Quartum in eo nunc transigimus annum, cæcidimus et vicimus, cæsi et victi sumus; incendia, prædas, et vastationes intulimus et sustinuimus, adeo ut si quis utriusque patris damna inspiciat compendio illius temporis miretur illata interque victores et victos discernere rari ingenii opus existemet. Ad vero ad Puritanorum

¹ Gilbert's *Hist. Confed.* vol. iv.

conatus promovendos ex Hollandia, Gallia, Germania, et undequaque ab illius hæresis cultoribus concurritur magnis subsidiis, et tanto zelo et diligentia ut nos ad extrema redigamur, eousque ut nisi tempestive nobis succuratur, religioni Catholicæ apud nos et toti genti Hibernorum evidens immineat exitium.

Frater Hugo de Burgo, noster in Hispaniis agens, aperiet fusius Illustrissimæ Dominationi vestræ addictissimi. — Kilkenia, 12 Decembris 1644.

Ad Secretarium Status in Hispaniis.

To the Nuncio in Spain.¹

ILLUSTRISSE ET REVERENDISSE DOMINE,—Triennio amplius involvitur atrocissimo contra Puritanos Anglos et Scotos, pro fidei Catholicæ conservatione, alioquin jam tum extirpandæ, suscepto bello, quod tanto periculosius est quanto vehementius ad illud promovendum ex Hollandia, Gallia, Germania et undequaque ab illius sectæ cultoribus magnis concurritur subsidiis ad nationemque Hibernorum penitus destruendam conspiratur, Certe aliter non existimant innovatores illi vel se vel infernalem suam doctrinam prædominuros in Aquilonis regnis et provinciis, quas jam omnes infecerant, vel aperturos ad Austrum et alias Christiani orbis partes viam, et quia experientia sciunt nationem nostram non posse a religione Catholica abduci, delere eam omnino intendunt. Atqui in tanto fidei Catholicæ et honoris Catholicorum omnium discrimine recurrentum duximus ad præcipuos nominis Catholici professores, et vero scimus summopere assistentiam et favores Illustrissimæ Dominationis vestræ posse rei nostræ conducere, et conducturos non dubitamus. Frater Hugo de Burgo, ordinis Sancti Francisci religiosus originem, causas, etc. Ei ut fidem, etc.—Datum Kilkenia, 12 Decembris 1644.

Ad Nuncium in Hispaniis.

To the Clergy of Spain.²

ILLUSTRISSE ET REVERENDISSE DOMINE,—Per centum prope annos constanter, fidei Catholicæ causa, sustulimus quidquid prædominans in hoc regno hæresis evomere persecutionum potuit, donec tandem ante quatuor annos Puritani innovatores, hæreticorum omnium infensissimi nominis Catholici hostes, Catholicam fidem extinguere, ejusque professores universos e medio tollere decrevissent.

Inde nos, arreptis quibus potuimus armis, bellum fuimus adorti, in quo triennio amplius ea animorum dimicatur contentione, ut siquis utriusque partis damna inspicat unius sæculi ruinam existimet. Innovatores illi gentilium immanitatem et barbarorum quorumcumque et atheorum supergressi tyrannidem, sacris quam profanis infestiores, armatos et inermes ex æquo trucidant; omni ætati, omni sexui, ferrum applicant et ignem. En Hollandia, Gallia, Germania et undequaque a suæ sectæ professoribus suppetias ad-

¹ Gilbert's *Hist. Confed.* vol. iv.

² *Ibid.*

sciverunt. Pacis nullius superest spes. Aut religionis Catholicæ cultorumque in Hibernia conservatio, aut Puritanissimi ejusque lanionum propagatio hujus belli præmium sit necesse est.

Eapropter, Illustrissime Domine, in tanto discrimine honoris Catholicorum omnium, fidei detrimento, et periculo extinctionis nationis Hibernorum, quæ genti Hispanorum devotissima semper extitit, reddendas duximus Illustrissimas Dominationes vestras certiores. Nostrum impræsentiarum statum pluribus exponet Frater Hugo de Burgo, etc.

Ad Clerum Hispaniarum.

APPENDIX F.

ABSTRACT OF SIR DERMOT O'SHAUGHNESSY OF GORTINSIGORY'S WILL.¹

I order my bodie to be buried in the Cathedral Church of Kill M'Duagh in the tomb where my ancestors were buried. I doe order that my son and heir shall cause five hundred and fower skore Masses to be said or celebrated for my soule immediately after my death; and I bequeath £29 to be given to those who shall without delay celebrate those Masses, allowing 1s. for every Mass af^d, and that each of the abbeyes and convents ment^d hereafter do say the office of the dead for my soul, and fifteen Masses besides. I order 100 of my Ewes for my son Charles O'Shaughnessy, and bequeath to my eldest son and heir, Roger O'Shaughnessy, all my plate and household stuff, and I doe charge my said sonnes to live during their lives in brotherly affection amongst themselves, without animosity or contention.

I bequeath to my son Charles the £20 mortgage I have from J. Prendergast of the 60 acres he had in Ballinakelly provided he shall cause 200 Masses to be said for my soule. I order and leave my stuffe suite with gold buttons and my rapier to my son Charles. I leave the piece of grey freize to Edmond O'Heyne. I leave the piece of grey broadcloth to Father John Mulloony, he sayinge as many Masses for my soule as the said cloth is worth. I leave one of my shirts to John Butler, one more to Edmond Heyne, one more to my servant Laurence Donevane, and another to Edmond M'Hugh. I leave one of my best halfe shirts and my scarlett wastecoate to Dermot Clorane. I order the gold diamond ring I have in from James Devinisse for himself, he saying one hundred rosaries for my soule. I leave my white gowne to Laurence Donevan, and the rest of all my clothes to my son and heir Roger. I leave my white horse to my daughter-in-law, Hellena Shaughnessy. I leave three young coves, and three great coves, with four garrons, to my daughter Gyles

¹ From *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 382.

Salean, and my hatt to John Butler. I order my son Roger to pay eight pieces of eight towards James Dowley his ransome. I leave two coves and a mare to my niece, Nell Donevan.—In witness of all which I have hereunto subscribed my hand and fixed my seal, the 29th Jan. 1671.
DER. O'SHAUGHNESSY.

The Legacies I leave for my soule to some of the clergy : To the Vicar-General, ffa. Mich. Lynch, 20/. To ffa. Teigue O'Meere, 20/. To ffa. John Mulloonee, 30/. To ffa. Donough Nelly, 10/. To ffa. Thos. Kenny, 10/. To ffa. John Nelly, 10/. To ffa. Teigue M'Rory, 10/. To ffa. Dan. Connegan, 10/. To ffa. Thos. Grady, 10/. To ffa. Breen Donnellan, 10/. To ffa. Donough Fahy, 10/. To ffa. Dan. Broder, 10/, etc.

APPENDIX G.

From an Inquisition held at Galway on the 5th of September, in the eighth year of William III.'s reign, under Morley Saunders, we find the following relative to the confiscation of Sir Roger O'Shaughnessy's property. We give only a portion of the document, which is written in quaint abridged Latin :¹—

“Rogerius O'Shaughnessy nuper de Civit. Dub. Am. Sup., 4 Maii, A. R. W. & M. 3, apud civit. Dublin, attinct fuit p. alt p. dicone B. ffet. . . . attinctus scil. fuit ut de feod. de vil. & qr. terr. de Gortinsigory, cont. 75 acr. de 75 ac. terr. in 2 qur. . . . et mondin et mercat de Tobberindone . . . de un qr. terr. de Ballybane, cont. 85 acr. Ballyhuc, cont. 293 acr., de terr. de vill. de Ballymore et Hugotowne, cont. 266 acr.

De vill. & terr. Ballysada, con. 199 acr.

De 2½ qur. terr. Crantesy et Seigneure Ballylene, cont. 183 acr.

De vill. & terr. Ballymornane, cont. 270 acr.

De vill. et terr. de Drumlin, cont. 252 acr.

De 20 acr. in qr. terr. de Cronebesseda.

De 44 acr. de eadem qr. vill. & terr. qu. sunt de Kiltartan in Com. Galway.”

In the same document we find the following enumeration of the acreage of his confiscated lands :—

“209 acres in Carowmactin.

236 acres of the 4 qrs. Ardymycrane.

147 acres of Drumshane.

113 acres of Carig Carney.

251 acres of Cregg.

139 acres of Ramvaladown.

¹ From the Rolls Office, Dublin.

246 acres in connection with the house and lands of Derryhallon.
 200 acres of Killaghy.
 116 acres of Gortcarnane.
 38 acres in connection with the house and lands of Cloneyne.
 30 acres of Lisseen.
 10 do. in Cregg, 17 do. in Carnine, and all in Kiltartan (Barony)."

The mortgages and mortgagees are then mentioned.

APPENDIX H.

PETITION OF PATRICK FFAHY TO THE HON^{BLE} THE KNIGHTS AND CITIZENS AND BURGHERS IN PARLIAMENT.¹

That y^e pett^r was by ord^r of the hon^{ble} house latelie taken into custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms for breach of privilege committed against Coll. John Eyre, a member of this hon^{ble} house.

That ye pett^r was 1691 servant to Col. Thos. Burke and reciever of his rents, and the said Coll. Burke being then in Dublin ye pett^r did by mistake distraine some cattle belonging to the under tenants of Coll. Eyre on the lands of "Oghill beg" in the Co. of Galway, which the said Coll. Eyre held by lease from said Coll. Burke under yearlie rent.

That the said distrain was taken by mistake and without the least intention of disrespect to the said Coll. Eyre, ye pett^r finding the said lands mentioned in a rent-roll delivered to him by Coll. Burke a year before the distress was taken, and ye pett^r had noe other power or authoritee from the said Coll. Burke for taking said distress; and as soon as the said Coll. Burke had notice thereof he ordered ye pett^r to goe back and restore the said distress, w^h ye pett^r did accordingly, and the said Coll. Burke for this unhappie mistake dismissed ye poor pett^r his service, soe as he hath noe way left to maintaine himself and his distressed familie.

In tender consideration therof ye pett^r most humbly preys the s^d Coll. Eyre's pardon and the mercie of this hon. House to be dealt with as to his libertie fees wth regard to his poore condition as ye Coman will think.

And ye pett^r will pre.

PATRICK FFAHY.

Delivered at the table, 1697.

¹ From the Rolls Office, Dublin.

APPENDIX I.

23 Feb. 1763.

NEWTON BRADFORD AGAINST CHRISTOPHER BURKE,¹

"To the Right Honourable the Chancellor, Treasurer, Lord Chief Barron of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer in Ireland ;

"Humbly complaining, sheweth unto your honours your orator, Newton Bradford, of the city of Dublin, yeoman, his Majesty's debtor and farmer and a Protestant of the Church of Ireland, as by law established—that Christopher Burke of Kilcornan, the Co. of Galway, Esqr., being seized in fee simple of all that and the Castletown and lands of Kilcornan, Garryduff, Mambough, Stradbally, Twiraroe, Tarmon Lavally, Tarmon Cloghlahaw, Gortard, Knockgavaneabane, Terrancarra, Cookland, Corrowhoughboy, and Clarinbridge, lying and being in barony of Dunkellin and the Co. of Galway, upon and previous to his marriage with Honoria Burke, otherwise Chevers, entered into some agreement previous to and in consideration of said their intended marriage, and of a marriage portion whereby he agreed amongst other things to secure portions and maintenance for issue of the said their intended marriage, and to charge his real estate therewith : as by said agreement in the hands of some of the Confederates hereinafter named might at large appear.

"Having issue by the said Christopher four daughters—to wit, Jane, his eldest daughter ; Margaret, his second daughter ; Sarah, his third daughter ; and Marcella, otherwise Margery, his fourth, and no issue male. And that the said Christopher in execution and performance of his said agreement perfected a bond, together with warrant of attorney to enter judgment thereon, bearing date about 13th July 1753, to John Chevers, since deceased, the grandfather of the said Honora, of the penalty of £8000, conditioned for the payment of £4000 on or about the 1st of May 1755, as by the said bond and warrant in the hands of the Confederates may appear, together with the bond antecedently executed by the said Christopher to the said John Chevers in trust for his said daughters."

The several provisions made for those daughters are set forth minutely, and the document then proceeds to show the grounds on which those provisions were illegal. They were *Papists*, and should be in law secured for the benefit of the Protestant discoverer in the case. The document proceeds :—

"Your orator further shows that the said daughters have been Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion, not only at the time of the execution of the said deed of appointment, but at the execution of the said bond and indentures of the 30th of Sep., and that the said sum of £4000, as being a charge on a real estate, and the appointment and distribution thereof and the said two sums

¹ Rolls Office, Dublin.

of £600 and £191, 12s. 6d. being for the use and trust for Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion, were and are void to all intents and purposes, but for the benefit of a Protestant discoverer, as your orator is advised, and therefore exhibits this bill as a Protestant discoverer, to be decreed to whatever right or interest the said surviving daughters of the said Christopher Burke would be entitled to in the said sum charged on his real estate as aforesaid in case they were not Papists, and disqualified by the Acts of Parliament passed in this kingdom against the growth of Popery, etc.

“And your orator further sheweth that being advised he is entitled, as a Protestant discoverer, to sue for the said sum of £600, £190, 12s. 6d., and of £4000, as aforesaid, he applied for the s^d bonds, and for the s^d indenture, of the 30 Sep. 1753.”

After stating his conviction that the said Christopher Redington and his friends would conspire to defraud and defeat the object of the petition, he continues:—

“All which actings and doings of said Confederates are contrary to equity and good conscience and the true intent and meaning of the said Acts of Parliament, and tend to ruin and injure your orator, and to render him less able to pay the debts which he owes his Majesty at the receipt of this hon. Court.”

“The p^r., Newton Bradford, came this day before me, and made oath that he now is, and always was from his nativity, a Protestant of the Church of Ireland by law established, and that he hath not filed the foregoing bill for the use, benefit, or advantage of any Papist or Papists, or person professing the Popish religion.

“Sworn before me this 23 day of Feb. 1763.

“A. DAWSON.”

APPENDIX J.

We subjoin the Constitution of Leo XIII., by which the diocese of Kilmacduagh is perpetually united to that of Galway, and the administration of Kilfenora is perpetually assigned to the Bishop of the united diocese. Such a document must be interesting to the historian as well as to the canonist:¹—

LEO P.P. XIII.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam, Ecclesiae Tuamensis in Hibernia Joanne M'Hale postremo hujus Ecclesiae Antistite viam universæ carnis ingresso, ex jure successionis factus est Archiepiscopus Venerabilis Frater Joannes M'Evilly Episcopus Galviensis, hic enim Gal-

¹ *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 1883, vol. iv. Third Series.

viensem Episcopatum agens idem Joanni M'Hale Archiepiscopo Tuamensi Coadjutor datus fuerat, ac proinde successione hujusmodi secuta Galviensis Ecclesia suo caruit Pastore. Manebat autem inde ab anno 1866 penes Venerabilem Fratrem Joannem M'Eilly antea Episcopum Galviensem ac deinceps Archiepiscopum Tuamensem duarum Diocesium unitarum Duacensis nempe et Fenaborensis administratio, harum Diocesium prima nempe. Duacensis ad Ecclesiasticam provinciam Tuamensem, altera vero Fenaborensis ad Cassiliensem pertinet provinciam. Rebus ita se habentibus, antequam de novo Ecclesiæ Galviensis episcopo ageremus, oportune duximus una cum Venerabilibus Fratribus Nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus negotiis Propagandæ Fidei præpositis ea perpendere quæ non semel idem Venerabilis Frater Joannes M'Eilly ejusque suffraganei hac de re exposuerunt. Quibus diligenter consideratis et expensis, de eorundem Venerabilium Fratrum Nostrorum consilio nonnulla hisce Litteris decernenda censuimus. Itaque Apostolica Auctoritate Nostra harum litterarum vi Venerabilem Fratrem Tuamensem Archiepiscopum onere administrationis dictarum Diocesium Duacensis et Fenaborensis hoc futurisque temporibus omnino solvimus ac liberamus, et, ex suprema, quam in persona Beatissimi Petri gerimus potestate easdem Dioceses invicem sejungimus ac seperamus.

Hisce præterea Litteris Duacensem Diocesim Tuamensi Archiepiscopo suffraganeam, perpetuum in modum Diocesi Galviensi ad Tuamensem pariter provinciam pertinenti unimus: Fenaborensis. Autem Diocesis in Cassiliensi provincia ecclesiastica sitæ administrationem Galviensi et Duacensi Episcopo perpetuo pariter assignamus et concedimus. Decernentes has Litteras Nostras firmas, validas et efficaces existere et fore, suos plenarios et integros effectus sortiri et obtinere, iisque ad quos spectat et in posterum spectabit, in omnibus et per omnia, plenissime suffragari, sicque in præmissis per quoscunque judices ordinarios et delegatos etiam causarum Palatii Apostolici Auditores, ac S. R. E. Cardinales etiam de latere Legatos ac Sedis Apostolicæ Nuncios, et alios quoslibet quacunque præminetia et potestate fungentes et functuros sublata eis et eorum cuilibet quavis aliter judicandi et interpretandi facultate et auctoritate judicari et definiri debere, ac irritum et inane si secus super his a quocunque quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari. Non obstantibus nostra et Cancellariæ Apostolicæ regula de jure quæsito non tollendo, cæterisque omnibus licet speciali et individua mentione et deorogatione dignis in contrarium facientibus quibus cumque. Datum Romæ apud sanctum Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die 5 June 1883. Pontificatus Nostri anno sexto.

TH. CARD. MERTEL.



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