LIMERICK;
ITS
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITLES,
ECCLESIASTICAL, CIVIL, AND MILITARY,
FROM THE EARLIEST AGES,
WITH COPIOUS HISTORICAL, ARCHEOLOGICAL, TOPOGRAPHICAL, AND GENEALOGICAL NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS; YAPS, PLATES, AND APPENDICES, AND AN ALPHABETICAL INDEX, ETC.

Compiled from the ancient Annals, the most Authentic M.S. and Printed Records, Recent Researches, etc., etc.

"Οψις τε ζωής και γνώμης και ιστορίας τεῖχος λέγουσα ἔτη.—Ἡροδότος, Εὐλογεία, ch. 99.
"I have related what I have seen, what I have thought, and what I have learned by inquiry".—Caet's Translation.

BY
MAURICE LENIHAN, ESQ.

THE MERCIER PRESS
in Association with
Education and History Committee of
LIMERICK TREATY 300
and
ULSTER BANK
1991
DEDICATION.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EDWIN RICHARD WINDHAM WYNDHAM QUIN,
THIRD EARL OF DUNRAVEN AND MOUNT-EARL,
LORD LIEUTENANT AND CUSTOS ROTULORUM OF THE COUNTY OF THE CITY,
AND OF THE COUNTY OF LIMERICK,
Etc., Etc., Etc.

My Lord,

The associations of a History of a locality in which your Lordship must necessarily take a deep interest, from the manifold ties, both ancient and modern, which so intimately connect you with many of the transactions recorded in the following pages, and your Lordship's well-known attainments as a scholar and antiquarian, mould, independently of your large possessions and eminent position in the county, remind me of your Lordship as the most appropriate personage to whom such a book should be dedicated.

I therefore take the liberty of requesting your acceptance of a work of no inconsiderable toil, in which I have endeavoured, faithfully and impartially, to record events, the perusal of which, it is to be hoped, may both interest and instruct.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

MAURICE LEHIAN.

Limerick, February 20, 1866.

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Ulster Bank – major sponsorship
Liam Irwin – new introduction
Ald. Jim Kemmy, TD, Mayor of Limerick – new foreword
Julitta Clancy – new index

Dermot Hurley and John O’Brien – Photography

The History and Education Committee of the 1991 Treaty 300 Programme are very pleased to promote the republication of Lenihan's History of Limerick. Dr. George Quigley, Chairman of Ulster bank, was instrumental in providing financial and psychological support for this project. Also, the Educational Officer of our Committee, Mr. David O'Grady, has done a very effective job in securing the pre-sale of some one hundred copies.

The addition of this publication to the many others produced in this Treaty 300 year is gratifying to all concerned.

Professor Noel Mulcahy
Chairman
Limerick Treaty 300
History & Education Committee

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Foreword to 1991 Edition

After a long lifetime's work as a journalist and editor, Maurice Lenihan died in poverty in Limerick in 1895. His major work of 'no inconsiderable toil', *Limerick; Its History and Antiquities*, was published in 1866 but it was not until after his death that the book began to attract attention. Not all of this attention was uncritical. A writer in *The Irish Book Lover* called the history 'an accumulation of undigested facts', adding that 'materials for a History of Limerick' would have been a more suitable title 'and saved it more from censure'.

One of the attractive features of the work is in searching for an item and the excitement of finding some other unexpected gem. A careful reading of the book will reveal many little known aspects of the history of Limerick, often hidden away in all-embracing footnotes.

The Jesuit historian, Francis Finegan, in his 1946–48 *Studies* articles, has made the most comprehensive study of Maurice Lenihan's life, including his service as a Town Councillor and Mayor of Limerick in 1884. Though he is generous in his praise of Lenihan and his work, he is not uncritical:

It would be rash to deny that Lenihan's *History of Limerick*, taken as a whole, is free from error. Indeed the wonder is that Lenihan did not fall into more errors than he actually did.... Occasionally, in his presentation of some historical episode, Lenihan wanders off to import some personal reminiscence of his own to the reader. Yet, perhaps, this very discursiveness is just one of the qualities that give this book its enduring charm. The outstanding fault of the *History* consists in its attempt to crowd so much matter into so small a space — though the book, strictly speaking, cannot be called a small book.

Francis Finegan is even more critical of Lenihan's judgment in publishing the translation of a lampoon, written by Dr Thomas Arthur, in which Dr John O'Moloney, the seventeenth-century Bishop of Killaloe, is castigated for hoarding a sum of £1,400 in sacks of wool.

A cool fourteen hundred the bishop had hoarded,  
And in fleeces or wool sacks ingeniously stored it ...  
Had the bishop discharged his episcopal duty,  
My lord had no blame and the robber no booty.

Lenihan's book is not enhanced by his ungracious and sometimes inaccurate carping at John Ferrar, the author of the earlier (1787) *History of Limerick*. Historical studies in Limerick owe much to the ecumenical Ferrar and his pioneering work.
FOREWORD

Many readers will have their own stories to relate about their explorations of the book. On one occasion, when researching the building of New Town Pery, I spent days searching through the footnotes of the book only to find the information I impatiently sought in the body of the book. But the search was not in vain, and the author's personal recollection of his 1851 meeting with Captain Creagh vividly links the old and new cities and fixes the scene indelibly in the mine:

The New Town, now the finest portion of the city, and the great centre of its trade, was not built for seventy years afterwards (1760). Meadows and carcasses then occupied the grounds down to the water's edge. Captain Creagh, an old and highly respectable gentleman, who died some years ago in Cashel, informed me in 1851 that he remembered shooting snipe in Patrick-street ... a marsh which the tide covered....

Like its two previous editions, this 1991 reprint of Limerick's best known and most valuable history is certain to become a collector's item. Despite its flaws and shortcomings, the book is, by any standard, a monumental work and will continue to be read and quoted while the Shannon river flows through the author's adopted city.

Jim Kemmy
18 September 1991

Introduction to the 1991 Edition

Maurice Lenihan's Limerick: Its History and Antiquities, first published in 1866 and reprinted in a limited edition in 1967, is the most comprehensive and authoritative work on the history of the city and county. Its wide ranging account of the political, administrative, social and religious developments from earliest times to the 1860s provides an invaluable work of reference. While it may not quite live up to Lenihan's biographer, Francis Finegan's paean of 'containing everything worth knowing about Limerick from Adam to 1866', it was, for its time, an impressive achievement and it has not been superseded in the century and a quarter since its first appearance. While originally intended for the general reader, its extensive incorporation of rare source material and the author's personal observations give it an added importance for modern students and scholars, yet it retains its fundamentally popular appeal.

Maurice Lenihan was born in Waterford in 1811, the eldest child of a woollen draper, James Lenihan, and his wife, Margaret Bourke. Her family had originally come from County Limerick, so that his decision to settle eventually in the city was, in a sense, a return to his roots. The family appears to have been quite prosperous and, despite having fifteen children, his parents were able to send him to Carlow College, where he studied as a boarder for eight years. He chose a career in journalism and in 1831 started work on his cousin's newspaper, the Tipperary Free Press. After a two-year apprenticeship he moved back to his home town and joined the staff of the Waterford Chronicle. He built up a considerable reputation during his eight years there and in 1841 successfully applied for the vacant position of editor of the Limerick Reporter. The Reporter was a liberal newspaper started in 1829 by James Rutherford Brown. It was a staunch supporter of Daniel O'Connell and the Repeal movement, a position ideally suited to Lenihan's political views. He took up his new post on 11 June 1841 but remained less than two years as editor, being lured away in 1843 by the prospect of an enhanced career on the more widely read and influential Cork Examiner. It would appear that his expectations were not fulfilled as he moved again within the year. He then settled in Nenagh where he set up his own newspaper. He had long held this ambition and the new location may have been due to personal factors. In November 1843 he married a local girl, Elizabeth Spain.
Tipperary Vindicator, as he titled his new venture, gave him the editorial freedom to promote his personal and political opinions, particularly repeal of the Union.

In 1849 he returned to Limerick where he was to remain for the rest of his long life. He purchased the paper he had formerly edited and amalgamated it with his existing publication to form the new Limerick Reporter and Tipperary Vindicator. The newspaper was originally produced in Denmark Street but the offices were later moved to 104 George’s (now O’Connell) Street, and eventually Lenihan was forced to move to smaller premises in Catherine Street. The new paper proved very successful. The cumbersome title was rarely used in full: to Limerick people it was The Reporter, while in Tipperary it was The Vindicator. Apart from the necessary staple diet of local news, Lenihan blended national and international events and commentary on intellectual ideas of the time, and he particularly encouraged poetry. Local writers such as John Francis O’Donnell and Michael Hogan, the famous Bard of Thomond, had their verses published by him.

His involvement in politics in his adopted city began in 1853. He represented the Patrick Street/Custom House ward area on the municipal council from then until his retirement from active politics in 1887 at the age of seventy-six. He was an active councillor, taking a prominent part in debates, serving on committees and representing the interests of the citizens. The zenith of his career in local politics was reached in 1883-5 when he was elected Mayor of the city. In the wider political arena of his time he was a moderate constitutional nationalist, though he strongly defended the rights of Fenian prisoners. He was a particular champion of the case for Catholic education and he also favoured the teaching of Irish schools and colleges. In his most formative period he came under the influence of O’Connell and he never deviated from his ideals. On the Waterford Chronicle, he campaigned vigorously against the payment of tithes, a major source of tension in the 1830s. He was a firm advocate of the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, which was achieved in 1869. During elections he supported Liberal Party candidates and in the 1880s espoused the twin aims of land reform and parliamentary independence.

Lenihan had an impressive range of friends among the notable Irish politicians and patriots of his time. Apart from his close involvement with O’Connell, he knew Thomas Francis Meagher, Richard Lalor Sheil, Michael Doheny, Honest Tom Steele and Terence Bellew Mac Manus. It is of interest that his friendship with the Young Irelanders did not end after their split with O’Connell in 1846. His scholarly contacts were equally impressive, numbering George Petrie, Eugene O’Curry, J.P. Prendergast and C.P. Meehan among his regular correspondents. Many well-known priests also became his friends. They ranged from the intellectuals, Fr O’Hanlon of Dublin and Fr Matt Horgan of Cork, to the Apostle of Temperance, Fr Mathew. Among the hierarchy, Dr Power of Killaloe and Archbishop Leamy of Cashel were particularly close to him. Not all the clergy saw him in a favourable light however, and he incurred the public displeasure of such a notable figure as Fr John Kenyon, the Limerick city born Young Ireland priest. Among the newspaper fraternity his closest confidant was the influential owner and editor of the Freeman’s Journal, Sir John Gray. Another lifelong friend was the pioneer of the Irish road car service, Charles Bianconi.

Maurice and Elizabeth Lenihan had nine children — two boys and seven girls. In later years the family was dogged by ill health and steadily declining fortunes. This latter situation was caused partly by the financial loss suffered in the publication of the History of Limerick. While the book received good reviews, critical acclaim and wide publicity, sales remained small. His last years were spent in poverty living over the newspaper offices which had been moved to Catherine Street. He was forced to sell his beloved books and manuscripts, and five of his children predeceased him. He died on Christmas Day 1895 and is buried in Mount St Lawrence cemetery.

The genesis of Lenihan’s History lay in a series of articles on the 1690-91 sieges which he published in the Limerick Reporter. With the encouragement and guidance of O’Curry he began research for a full history of his adopted city, a painstaking task that took five years. He amassed, through purchase and borrowing, an impressive collection of manuscript materials which were supplemented with transcripts from virtually all the principal sources then extant in Britain and Ireland. To this documentary evidence he added his own knowledge, observation and valuable oral testimony, particularly from elderly local residents. His network of scholarly friends was particularly useful for the acquisition of these notes from diverse public and private collections. Regrettable the publication of the Calendars of State papers for Ireland which began in 1860 was not sufficiently advanced to allow him to utilise this important material. It is clear that he was still acquiring documentation after the main text had been drafted. This is the reason for the haphazard arrangement of the book and the apparent inability to integrate the valuable information in the appendices into the overall narrative. He refers, in the preface, to the problem he faced in organising his notes and in avoiding a work which would be more correctly titled Historical Collections for a
History of Limerick. The book, in fact, does come perilously close to being just that. In addition to the nine appendices, there are the voluminous footnotes which often take up virtually the entire page with a mere three or four lines of text. They not only quote sources and supplement the narrative but frequently provide a parallel chronicle of events. The central structure of the book is the basically chronological account of the city from its foundation to Lenihan's own day, which takes up about two thirds of the space.

Inevitably in a work written in the mid-nineteenth century, some sections are now outdated. The first chapter, in particular, has been almost completely overtaken by later research. Virtually every statement, both in regard to political and ecclesiastical affairs, needs to be treated with extreme caution. A similar circumspection should be applied to many of the statements on the career of Brian Boru. The treatment of the 1690-91 sieges is factually inaccurate in places and generally embellished for dramatic effect. The strategically important crossing of the Shannon at Athlunkard by Ginkel in September 1691 is confused with William's fording at Annaghbeg, more than a mile further upstream in the previous summer. Sarsfield is given a purely fictional central role in the defence of the city in August 1690, including the extraordinary claim that he had 'artistically' laid mines which blew up the Brandenburg Regiment at the Black Battery. This decimation of Williamite soldiers was the result of an accidental gunpowder explosion, and it would appear that Sarsfield was not even in the city during these events.

The women of Limerick are likened to the matrons of Sparta and their role is grossly exaggerated, being credited with playing the decisive role in the repulse of the attackers. His claim that all Williamite historians attest to this is quite unwarranted. The detailed itinerary of Sarsfield's ride to Ballyneety is based merely on tradition, a fact clearly stated by Lenihan but often omitted by those who copy from him. A footnote to the Siege Train section tells us, presumably with unintended incongruity, that Oola is the nearest railway station to Ballyneety. He firmly and courageously dismisses the story that the Articles of Limerick were signed on the Treaty Stone. Grattan's parliament is given the excessive and undeserved praise common to all nineteenth-century nationalist writers and his prose again becomes tinged with more than a little purple.

His treatment of the penal law era is admirably balanced and he consistently displays tolerance and understanding when dealing with sectarian problems. Perhaps the most extraordinary feature of the book is the virtual dismissal of the Great Famine. It is alluded to, almost incidentally, in a few lines. He writes that 1847 was remarkable for events of the most thrilling importance. These are listed, in order, as the death of O'Connell, a general election and the continuing famine.

Despite these deficiencies for the modern reader, there is much in the book which retains its value not alone for local but also for national history. The succinct and invaluable account of the role and functions of the Lord President of Munster, for example, could not be surpassed. In the area of social history he anticipates many of the ideas adopted by academic historians only in the relatively recent past. The journalist's eye for detail and a good story stand him in good stead in this regard.

It can be argued that some of the weaknesses in the book, particularly the idiosyncratic footnotes, actually give it a peculiar charm and fascination. The real nuggets have to be mined there. With only the most cursory chronological framework to guide one, the most productive, as well as the most enjoyable way to read the work is simply to open it at random and set out on what invariably will be both a fruitful and enchanting journey into Limerick's past. Such wayward charms must, nevertheless, have some limits, so the original faulty and inadequate index has been improved for this edition. It is not, however, exhaustive and in this we can claim to be true to the spirit of Lenihan who argued that the comprehensive table of contents compensated for this. And, of course, we have not tampered with the ultimate mystery of Lenihan's History, the hidden secret of chapter sixty-two.

Liam Irwin
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I HAVE already stated, in the prospectus of this book, that historical truth, local and general interest, fulness of details, and the publication of new and authentic matter, derived from original sources, were the main objects which I proposed to myself in undertaking the laborious and difficult task of writing a History of Ancient and Modern Limerick. Originally appearing at intervals in the ephemeral shape of a contribution to the newspaper of which I am the proprietor, the plan of the work, as at first contemplated, included only the history of the last sieges; but the resources developed in the course of the studies which I found indispensable for a competent discharge of the duties that I had undertaken, accumulated so much interesting matter, and attracted so much attention and encouragement from some of our most eminent scholars and patriots, that I was induced to think of giving these occasional contributions to local history a fuller and, I hope, a more permanent form. My own enthusiastic love of the subject, no doubt, as well as these friendly criticisms, made me underrate the labour and care, to say nothing of the other high qualifications and responsibilities involved in such an undertaking; and, in fact, as my materials increased by the addition of family muniments, pedigrees, and official documents, I found that the publication of my notes and memoranda alone would extend to thirty or four volumes. Of course, so weighty a work was beyond my private means, upon which exclusively I have had to rely for the publication of my book, and which have been the more heavily taxed because I resolved to publish it at so extremely low a price, compared with other works of the kind. I had, therefore, to choose a medium between a historical epitome, and a publication which would have been more fitly called Historical Collections for a History of Limerick, than by its present title.

In such circumstances, fine writing, ambitious narrative, studied graces of style, and philosophical reflections, have often to be sacrificed to the stern requirements of facts and figures. In a work too which alternates between sublimity and commonplace, sustained elevation, or even equality of style, is not to be always expected. All that could reasonably be looked for was truth, lucidity and interest of narrative, and accuracy of information, and whether I have realized these objects or not, public opinion will find no difficulty in deciding. My chapter on the county history, topography, and antiquities, alone contains condensed information which might easily be expanded into a goodly volume, for which, in fact, I still have copious materials in MS. I hope, however, my endeavours to render the book a readable as well as an instructive one, will not be entirely fruitless. As another contribution: collected from the best sources, to our local histories, which are so very few when compared with those of other countries, the work possesses an additional interest.
Should it attain the success I hope for, I shall be induced to try the history of Tipperary, and perhaps of Clare, for which also I have ample materials.

As for the spirit in which any reflections I have made in the course of the work may have been conceived, I think it unnecessary to offer any apology. Whatever my opinions may be on political, social, or religious subjects, I have kept them to myself, and have not allowed them to interfere with strict impartiality as a scholar. Had I, or could I, have written without making any reflections at all, I might as well have published a dry list of chronological events, instead of a history, and I could, in such a case, neither have felt nor imparted that degree of interest to the work which would insure its success or even its perusal. Such as it is, its publication in book form has originated in a suggestion of my venerable friend the Most Rev. Dr. Leahy, the learned and gifted Archbishop of Cashel and Emly.

That scarcely any diversity of opinion exists as to whether another History of Limerick was required at the present day, is, I believe, a settled point. A century has now passed away since John Ferrar compiled his small history and directory; and more than eighty years have elapsed since the second and larger edition appeared. Ferrar drew all his materials from the Rev. James White's MSS., omitting much that, did not suit the times and his patrons, and from Dr. Smith's MSS. in the Royal Irish Academy. Of the grand and salient features of the history he gave but little: he suppressed many annals; whilst the sieges and battles of Limerick, the heroism of its defenders, their triumphs and their sufferings, are passed over in a very short space: he left untouched many of the principal incidents, even in the sources from which he professed to draw, and other more important fountains of knowledge were to him sealed altogether. The immense mass of matter which has been brought to light in reference to Ireland since he wrote, through the labours of our archaeologists and historians, through the Royal Irish Academy, the Gaelic Society, the Archaeological and Celtic Societies, etc., through the extraordinary labours of my late lamented friend Professor Eugene O'Curry, the late Dr. O'Donovan, the late Dr. Petrie, Dr. Todd, etc., attests his deficiency in resources which are now abundant. Of the larger history of Fitzgerald and MacGregor, although possessing a certain amount of merit, which I am far from undervaluing, it will not, I trust, be deemed rash or invidious to say, that it is quite as much a history of Ireland as of Limerick: that its copious details, even if desirable in a local history, are often put forward upon the authority of some persons who were either imperfectly acquainted with the subject, or partially disqualified from offering their statements and opinions by personal and political prejudices and prepossessions; and that a very considerable quantity of the matter which fills the two bulky volumes, can have little interest to readers who sit down with the wish to be informed of the facts of the particular history which the title page professes to give. Thanks to the labours of recent archaeologists, to the wide spread of education, and to the more intimate intercourse between men of all opinions which exists in these days of frequent and rapid locomotion, many of the prejudices against nationality, so common even in the days of the last historians of Limerick, have already passed or are rapidly passing away, and have been succeeded by a spirit of honest inquiry, candid admission, and a love of historical truth, which have been greatly fostered by the eminent men and by the publications to which we have already referred. I do not write by way of depreciating those who have trod the anxious path of local historical research before the present work was projected and undertaken; but I desire to show that a History of Limerick was an absolute desideratum which ought to be supplied. I have been engaged for some years, not only in collecting and preparing materials for this work, from rare and valuable published authorities, but I have supplied myself with manuscript materials of unquestionable authority—chiefly amongst them the MSS. of Dr. Thomas Arthur, a native of Limerick, the friend of Sir James Ware, the physician of nearly all the eminent Irishmen of his time, and a relative of the illustrious Archbishop Creagh; to which MSS. there appears to have been little or no access before these invaluable materials for the history of Limerick came into my possession, though constituting some of the most ancient written records of many of the most important of local events—some of the most curious and interesting of which have never hitherto been seen the light, but all of which I have given. The White Manuscripts, from which Ferrar professed to draw, but much of which, I repeat, he left untouched, I have in my possession at present; and I have also had access to the interesting chartulary and annals of Edmond Sexten, preserved in the British Museum.

I should add that some years ago I purchased the valuable Limerick MSS. of John D'Alton, Esq., M.R.I.A., from which I have derived most important matter. Most of the other authorities I give below. As an instance of the fuller and more accurate details, to which I flatter myself this history will owe some of its advantages over former ones, I may refer to the period of the sieges, a portion of the history to which Limerick is indebted for its chief celebrity, and visited by the lovers of national independence and military heroism. In treating of this and other parts of the work, I can safely aver P have spared no laborious exertions to acquaint myself both by reading, inquiring, and personal investigation, with all the narratives and traditions which bear upon the subject. On the history of its religious houses, and on the ecclesiastical history generally of Limerick, I have also taken particularly great care, and expended considerable time and labour, constantly referring to original documents, such as the Black Book of Limerick, for the more ancient details, and to original sources of information for the more modern, and setting down nothing for which I had not sufficient authority, although I am not of course so vain as to think I have escaped an occasional error.

In the list of authorities the reader will find, I hope, a sufficient guarantee of my industry as a student, and fidelity as a historian; but it would be ungrateful to omit my acknowledgment for many obligations conferred by kind friends who have consulted the public libraries for me, and lent me their family papers and other useful materials, besides other literary assistance. In the history of the Catholic Bishops after the Reformation, I have to express my thanks for the valuable assistance of the learned antiquarian, Mr. Hanna of Ballykilen, county Down.

The present Lord Gort has most obligingly furnished me with many interesting notes, and valuable information from the Carew MSS., now in the Lambeth Library; and his brother, the Hon. John P. Vereker, late Lord Mayor of Dublin, has supplied me with much available matter from his own interesting collections of papers. For the deeply interesting notes on the
Jesuit Fathers, I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Father Hogan, S.J., a laborious and patient searcher after historical truth in this respect. L. Waller, Esq., D.L., the late M.P. for the county Tipperary, and afforded me information as to the existence of materials in the British Museum, etc., whilst De Lacy Pierce, Esq., and his nephews, of the Adelphi Chambers, London, have most obligingly contributed various illustrative documents derived from the same source, and from their own historical collections and papers. I have got some notes, too, of much interest, from the Mon. Robert O'Donnell, Tracey, Esq., A.B., ex-Schol. T.C.D., who was conveniently near me.

The reader will find in the Index the fullest references to almost everything in the book besides what is contained in the table of contents, the latter, in general, giving only the chief heads of the subjects in the text.

List of principal authorities used in this work:

Annals of Four Masters.
Annals of Munster.
Annals of Ulster.
Aphoritical Discovery, etc., MS., T.C.D.
Archdall's Monasticon.
Archer MSS.
Anderson's Ireland.
Atkinson's View, etc., Billings' Fragmentum Historicum.
Black Book of Limerick.
Book of Friars' Preachers of Limerick in British Museum.
Boyle's Natural History.
Borlase's Genera.
Boucher's Historia Triplicis Ireland.
Burgo's Family of Bruce.
Caermarthen Library MSS. (Brussels).
Book of Rights.
Campbell's Chronicles.
Buchanan's History of Scotland.
Campbell's Britamis.
Candlen's History of Elizabeth.
Campbell's Philosophical Survey?
Campbell's Political Survey.
Cran's and Dowling's Annals.
Campbell's History of Ireland.
Carte's Life of O'Connell.
Castlehaven's Memoirs.
Clarendon's History of Rebellion.
Cornerford's History of Ireland.
Colgan's Acta Sanctorum.
Corr's Correspondence MSS.
Cox's Hibernica Anglicana.
Crosley's Peerage of Ireland.
Curry's Civil Wars of Ireland.
Curry's Itinerary.
Dalton's MSS.
De Burgo's Hibernia Dominicana.
De Burgo's Extracts from the Protestant Historians.
Dawson's Memoirs.
De Waren's Peerage of Ireland.
Dunraven's Earl of Memorials of Adare.
Dunraven's History of Limerick.
Fitzgerald and Fitzgibon's Hist. of Limerick.
Froude's Handbook of Ireland.
French's Bishop of Connaught.
Fitzgibon and Bleeding Ethnographia.
Fitzgibbon's Chronicles.
Gordon's Ireland and Rebellion.
Hamilton's Calendar of State Papers.
Hardiman's History of Galway.
Harleian MSS. in Brit. Mus.
Harris's Hibernica.
Harris's History of Down.
Helyon's History.
Holmgren's Chronicles.
Hodgson's History.
Keating's History of Ireland.
Kelly's Archaeological Society's Journal.
Keogh's Botanologia and Zoologia.
King's State of the Irish Protestants.
King James's Irish Army List.
Lewis's Topographical Dictionary.
Lingan's Ecclesiastical History.
Liber Hymnorum.
Local Traditions.
Ledwich's Antiquities.
Leinster's History of Ireland.
Leiden's Agonia et Euthymia.
Le Treut's Dictionary.
Maurice's Bible.
Massingham's Vindication, etc.
Maurice's Antiquities, Sacramentals, Reports of the Fisheries.
Men's Churlishry in British Museum.
Smith's Histories of Waterford, Cork, and Kerry.
Southwell MSS.
Spencer's View of Ireland.
Stradford's Memoirs.
Sir John Davies's Historical Tracts.
Stradford's Letters.
Stanburn's De Rebus Hibernicis, etc.
Story's Civil Wars in Ireland.
Stuart's History of Armagh.
Barbauld's Topographical Survey.
Smith's MSS. in the R.I.A.
State Paper Office Records.
State Papers of Henry VII.
Tourists in Ireland (by several authors).
Vallancey's Irish Collections.
Watson's Siege de Louis XIV., etc.
Wakefield's Ireland.
Walsh's Remonstrance and Letters.
Ware's Antiquities, Bishops, History, etc., White's Misc.
White's Apology.
Wynn's History of Ireland.
Wood's Ancient Ireland.
Wright's Ireland, etc.
Walker's Irish Bards.
Walker's Dress and Armour of the Ancient Irish.
Warner's History of Irish Rebellion.
Watters's Irish Bird's.
Young's Tour.

These, and a great number of others, are the authorities, to which reference has been made, and from which matter has been collated by me. In the Appendices I have added a considerable quantity of matter which was not available until the latest moment; and I contemplate, in the next Edition, to supply such additional facts and historical matter as may be developed by the State Papers, etc., in the course of publication. To unavoidable errors, which I have endeavoured, as far as possible to correct, the reader will, I hope, extend a generous forbearance.

Maurice Lenihan.

February 20th, 1860.
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HISTORY OF LIMERICK,
ANCIENT AND MODERN.

CHAPTER I.


The City of Limerick, the principal part of which is built on an island on the South side of the Shannon, is situated in 52° 40' north latitude, and 8° 55' west longitude, at the interior extremity of the estuary of the river Shannon, between the counties of Limerick and Clare, and 129 miles W.S.W. from Dublin. It is a maritime county of a city, occupying an area of 60 square miles, or 38,863 acres, and contained a population of 53,448 in 1851, and of 44,476 in 1861. It is connected by railway with Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Ennis, Nenagh, Roscrea, and all the intermediate towns, and a line of steamers, the property of the Limerick and London Steam Shipping Company, plies between it and London and Glasgow, &c. At spring tides vessels of 600 tons burden can moor at its quays; whilst large docks, which were opened in 1853 by Lord St. Germans, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, add to the accommodation for vessels of heavy burden; and from the advantage and beauty of its situation, and the extent of navigation which it commands, it must have been regarded from the earliest times as a port of great importance, although situated so high up the river, and although its navigation is still partially obstructed. The site may have been selected as the first part of the Shannon fordable above its mouth; considering its many advantages, it is not surprising that in distant ages it attracted the attention of those adventurous strangers, who, coming from the rugged coasts and islands of the Baltic, found here what they never met in their various wanderings, a good climate, a rich soil, and peculiar facilities for carrying on their commercial enterprises. Though known to the annalists, as we shall presently have occasion to remark, long before the Danish invasion of Ireland, the building of the city is generally referred to the same time and as the foundation of Dublin and Waterford, the time being after the second coming of the Scandinavians, who on this latter occasion chose the best part of the island, which they fortified in such a way as the exigencies of the times and the circumstances of the local...
ties required, and made them the centres and bases of their commercial and military enterprises. Whilst Dublin and Waterford could boast of superior advantages from their closer proximity to the sea, Limerick possessed an admitted superiority in other respects. It commanded a noble river, crowded with fish, which bore the ships of the strangers in safety into the interior of a wealthy country, which with many other recommendations, made a strong impression in after times on King John of England, and caused the city of Limerick long to retain its pride of place as the fairest of all the cities in Munster. 

Limerick has been the capital of North Munster (Tuath Luimhneach), and has been the capital of North Munster (Tuath Luimhneach), and Aughty, on the frontiers of the counties of Clare and Galway) to Shebh Eblinne (now Sleibhte Fheidhlinmidh, in the county of Tipperary). The place of which his numerous cavalry eat up the grass in the space of twenty-four hours. From which circumstance he says the place was called "Loun-me-aneugh," that is to say, made bare, or eaten up by horses. Rut in a very ancient legend, which is preserved in the Books of Leinster and Book of Rights, it is given to the origin by the late lamented Professor O'Curry, a dialogue takes place in which, in reply to the question, "Luimneach, why so called?" the answer is given:—There was an appointed meeting held here of the men of Munster and the men of Connaught, to which the respective kings of both parties brought their gladiators. These were the two sons of Snugoll, the son of Buidhe, and their names were Binn and Teabhar (that is, Spear and Sword). Of these champions, one put himself under the protection of Boshulh Dearg (Bone the Red), the great Tuath Dedhamn Chief of Mag Fe- men in Tipperary; and the other had taken the protection of Deall, chief of the O'Cathain, in Roscommon. These champions, having met in the assembly, exhibited specimens of their gladiatorial accomplishments, after which, they descended to the strand to compete in single combat for the championship of the two Provinces. The hosts, on both sides, were clad in gray-green "Luimneac" (cloaks), and when the combat commenced, and the assembled crowds pressed down to see and enjoy it, the heat became so great, that they threw off their "Luimneac," in heaps on the strand; and so intensely was their attention engaged by the combatants, that they did not perceive the flowing of the tide until it had swept them away, upon which some of the spectators cried out:—"Is Luimneachola in l-inbhearn anossa, i.e. cloak or cloakful of the river roe, hence the name Luimneach. From this legend it would appear," says Mr. O'Curry in his letter to the author, "that Luimneach-Liathanglas, (and not Leithanglass) or Luimneach of the Gray Green, was the proper old name of Limerick." It is thus it is written in Hearn's Extensive poem on the Sea, composed for the Danes of Dublin before A.D. 742, in which year Ramann died. 

An early record of the name of Limerick is contained in the Annals of the Four Masters, where in the 15th year of King Cormac (A.D. 221) a battle, we are told, was fought here. A battle, at the same time was fought at a place which is supposed to be the Hill of Grian, on Pallagrence, in the barony of Coonagh, Co. Limerick. In a century afterwards, viz. in the year 334, the Great Graithamn, one of the most remarkable of the ancient kings of Ireland, a descendant from Ollall Olumm of the line of Neber, died in Limerick. This king succeeded Eochaidh Moighmeidein upon the throne, reigned seventeen years, carried his name into 252/270 in the reign of Valen-tinan, which was he aided by the Peats, who were then his tributaries, thence sailing to Armorica, now Bretagne, in France, he plundered that country, and returned with great booty and hostages to Ireland. He is also mentioned by others of our early annalists and historians, and the occasion of his death is related as having been caused by the wickedness of his sister, who attempted to him a dose of poison. 

Lovely and attractive for the charms with which even in far distant times it was surrounded, Limerick, soon after the arrival in Ireland of the Apostle St. Patrick, received the inestimable blessing of Christianity. We are told that in the year 343, the first district which St. Patrick visited, after his departure from Cashel, was the extensive flat portion of country between Cashel and Limerick called Munsigh Dreogain. The apostle founded several...
churches in the district, and left some of his teachers at one of them, viz. Kil-
feacte. Thence he went to the territory called Arva-Cloch in the adjoin-
ted counties of Thomond and Limerick, in part of which Hy-Cloch (now the
Barony of Coonagh) he was at first instantly opposed by the dynast Oldil.
But a miracle having been performed by the Saint, Oldil and his family were
converted and baptised; while at Ara-chloch, Colgan states that Patrick
foretold many occurrences, among others the foundation of a monastery at
Kill-ratha, and of a church at Kill-teidhill, in the county of Limerick. We
find the Saint next in the tract of country east of Limerick, where he was hos-
pitably entertained by a chieftain named Locan, and met with young Nessan,
whom at the same time he placed over the monastery of Munegret, which he
had founded. The inhabitants of Thomond, hearing of the advent of St.
Patrick, crossed the Shannon, for the purpose of seeing him, and when they
were instructed, were baptised by him in the field of Tir Glas (Terry Glass, in
Ormond). He was waited on by prince Carthgen, son of Blod, who is said to
have been converted and baptised at Sanigal, now Singland, near Limerick.
Colgan remarks that this family was the same as that of the O'Briens of
Thomond, and that Carthgen was the chieftain of North Munster.

St. Patrick, on his way to Connaught, passed the Shannon at Limerick; and
it was in the vicinity of the city, in Singland (Solais) the Saint is said to
have seen the vision of the angel. The holy well and stony bed and altar of
St. Patrick are to this day existing in Singland. Tradition speaks of his having
preached here. He appointed first Bishop of Limerick Saint Manchín, "a
religious man, having a complete knowledge of the Scriptures, and placed him
over the subjects of Amainailgaid, king of Connaught, then lately converted
to the Christian faith. The mountain of Knock Patrick, in the western barony
of Connoole, county of Limerick, the base of which is washed by the Shannon,
whose course for sixty miles may be traced from its summit, is the place from
which tradition relates our Apostle to have blessed Connaught. We thus
catch a glimpse, through the dimness and obscurity of distant time, of the halo
which encircled the name and character of Limerick. We thus perceive the
close acquaintance which its inhabitants made with Christianity, when Europe
for the greater part was shrouded in the darkness of Pagan superstition.

Were we in search of further evidence of the early Christian devotion of the
people of the district, it is supplied by abundant facts. In the fifth century
St. Sinan founded the monastery of Canons Regular of St. Augustine at the
island of Inniscathy, on the Shannon. In the sixth century St. Ita, an illustrious
nun of the county, whose festival is celebrated on the 14th of January, founded
at Cloncreehan (Killeedy), a nunnery of Canonsesses Regular of St.
Augustine. St. Eden founded Clun Claidech in the same century, and St.
Mochelloc, Kilmallock, in the seventh century—these two last mentioned
were Canons Regular of St. Augustine.

1 A beautiful sonnet from the pen of the late Sir Aubrey de Vere, Bart. of Curragh Chase, embodies the
tradition in language of fire and beauty—Lamentation of Ireland and other Poems, published in 1784,
gives the order of St. Augustine as the first place that any of these orders had been subsequently divided
into three others; secondly, it is certain that the particular rules which prevailed in this country in the
6th, 7th, and 8th centuries, consisted of religious men who were regular canons, or something
so like them, that at the time in which those rules were obliged to be incorporated into the rule of St.
Benedict, or into that of the Regular Canons of St. Augustine, they all made choice of the
latter, as being much more agreeable to them than that of St. Benedect. In short, so numerous

Doubt has existed as to the date of the foundation by St. Manchín of the
Cathedral of Limerick, and as to the time the Saint lived, but this arises from
the similarity of the name with that of Mancheus, whom the Annals of Ulster
call Abbot of Menedrochit, and say that he died in 651 or 652. The com-
memoration of the death of Mancheus is pointed out under the name of Mancheus, the "Wise Irishman," in the books de Mirabilia Scripturae, by
some erroneously ascribed to St. Augustine. The name too, not only is not
unlike, but the times occur exactly, the festival of St. Manchín being celebrated
in January. St. Manchín lived two centuries at least before the period
assigned to St. Mancheus by the martyrologies. The Annals of Innisfallen,
A.D. 656, state there was a great battle fought here in that year. It was
here that Saint Cumin Fodha, son of Fiacna, Bishop of Clannartha Breainn,
now Clogh na Conaile, died, on the 12th of November, A.D. 661, and on this occasion
Colman-na-Claighaich, the tutor of Cumin, composed these suggestive and
touching verses which show that the Shannon then was called by the name of
Lummeach:

1 The Luminneach did not hear on its bosom of the race of Leathcluin,
Corse in a boat so precious as he, as Cunna son of Fiacna:
If any one went across the sea to sojourn at the seat of Gregory, (Rome.)
If from Ireland, he rejoiced in none more than the name of Cumin Fodha,
I sorrow after Cunna from the day his shrine was covered.
My eye-lids have been dropping tears; I have not laughed, but mourned
Since the lamentation of his barque."

These verses establish the fact of the constant intercourse of Ireland with
Rome, the uninterrupted devotion of the Irish Bishops to "the mother and
mistress of all Churches."

Records of the barbarous and unrelenting cruelties of the Danes, of sacri-
legious attacks made by them on those sacred edifices and holy men which
were now becoming numerous, are found in the Annals long before Yorus
surrounded the city with a wall, and erected the fortress which enabled his
countrymen to hold their position for some ages after against the combined
strength and opposition of the native Irish. In 843 Fornan, Primate of
Armagh, was taken prisoner at Chun-Comhaire, a (place unidentified by
the commentators) with his relics and people, and brought by the pirates to
their ships at Limerick. The statement is corroborated by the Annals of
Clonnaeoise, which designate Forannan Abbot of Armagh, and allege
that the crime was perpetrated by the Danes at Cloneowady, adding that his
family, attendants, &c., relics and books, were led from thence to the ships
in Limerick.

Our annals, during those dark and dismal ages, present but little, on
which to dwell with satisfaction. The Danes, to retain their hold of marine-
places, were busy and aggressive. The Irish in turn revenged the injuries
and injustices of their cruel oppressors; but in the midst of every difficulty
and danger, religion was speeded its bright way. The succession of bishops,
in several of the Irish sees, had continued with regularity since the preaching
of St. Patrick.4 Up to this period, "Luminneach" was the original name of the
were the monasteries of the Regular Canons of St. Augustine, not only in the early ages of the
Irish Church, but in the suppression of the monastic institutions by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth,
that the number of nuns then are said to have had, far and away, exceeded the number of the
other orders.—De Burgo's Historical Collections, &c.

1 Ware.
2 Annals of the Four Masters.
3 Ware.
4 Ware.
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Lower Shannon, as appears from the life of St Carbrach of Lismore; but in the year 861, it ceased to be the name of the river and was usually applied to the Danish fortress already referred to, and the city now became known by the designation which before had been exclusively given to that portion of the river between it and the sea, and by which it is called to this day. The Danish occupation was ever a source of intense dissatisfaction and commotion. Perpetual war was its result; the invaders, who were everywhere regarded with horror, were no where more detested than in the neighbourhood of the Shannon, of which they endeavoured to monopolise to their exclusive possession. In 854 the Connaught men attacked and destroyed numbers of Danes. But the day was approaching in which the sacrilegious tyrants were destined to meet a decisive check—in which the Irish by their strong arms were to win for a season protection and tranquillity. Cashel had long before embraced the Christian faith, had two of its bishops—viz. Olchobor who died in 851, and Cenfelad, who died in 872, kings as well as bishops; and their jurisdiction extended to Emly; and they were the predecessors of the learned and warlike Cormac, son of Cullenan, who derived from Engusa Nafrach the first son of the king of Cashel who was baptised by St. Patrick. The aggressions of the Danes of Limerick had everywhere become so intolerable that Cormac resolved to curb their insolence. To reduce the people to order, to quell their intestine dissensions, to show the results of those insane divisions which even in the time of which we treat, had rendered them feeble when opposed by a united enemy, was the grand aim of Cormac Mac Cullenan, who during the heat of conflicts and troubles ascended the throne of Cashel, in 901, and wore the mitre of the united sees of Cashel and Emly. His example and influence were all-powerful in the achievement of the grand object on which he had set his princely heart.

"Such," says Keating, "was the state of the kingdom when Cormac wore the crown of Munster, that the contests and animosities between the petty princes were happily concluded, insomuch, that the Danes, fearing the effects of this reconciliation, desisted from their usualhostilities. Though the desire of plunder remained and nothing of their savage disposition abated, yet they apprehended their lives were in certain danger from the natives, who, by their common union and friendship, were able to drive them out of the kingdom; and therefore a great number of these foreigners retired to their ships of their own accord and bade adieu to the island." We here perceive what one able and wise ruler was enabled to effect for his country.

1 Book of Lismore. 2 Ware. 3 Annals of the Four Masters. — In the Psalter of Cashel, written by his own hand, Cormac thus proclaims the glories of his Dalcassian troops, who always fought for the Kings of Cashel:

"May heaven protect the most illustrious tribe Of Dalgaus, and convey its choicest blessings On their posterity. Thir renowned clan, Though meek and merciful as are the saints, Yet are of courage not to be subdued. Long may they live in glory and renown, And raise a block of heroes to the world."—Kings's History of Ireland, Vol. II.

And O'Dugao, in his poem, says of them:

"The Dalgussian troops, with glory fired, Fought for the honour of the Kings of Cashel, And carried into other provinces The terror of their arms."
islands; we should remark, that when Cormac quelled the Danes in Munster, Edward, King of England, conquered them in that country. But in Ireland, their power was growing stronger every year, until the coming of other events which we are quickly approaching, and in which another King of Cashel arose to bring them to subjection. Not content with ravaging the districts bordering on the Shannon, they in 928 encamped in the celebrated plain of Ossory; but those who remained on Loch Otrsehen felt the vengeance of the Connaught men, who, in 930, committed a great slaughter on the Danes. We find, however, that the latter retaliated sorely.

In the fifteenth year of Domnachadi, the Danes of Limerick plundered Connaught in 932, as far as the plains of Boyle, in the County of Roscommon; in a few years afterwards, Aralt, or Harold, grandson of Imhar, i.e. son of Sitric, lord of the Danes of Limerick, was killed in Connaught by the Caemright of Athlone in 939.

From the time of their invasion of Ireland in the year 807, to the years we have reached, the Danes always ravaged the country with fire and sword. They bore a mortal hatred to Christianity and its professors, and their chief glory was in the massacre of the Saints who occupied the monasteries and cells of the country.

Through these times the page of history is red with details of these atrocities. Victories followed each other on the part of the invaders, until they had the surrounding country under a terror and subjection, which the natives could not remove. It was not, however, without earnest and constant efforts and exertions on the part of the Irish princes, to suppress their atrocities, that they were able to persevere. At length in 943, Callachan, King of South Munster, taking a lesson out of the book of his predecessor, Cormac, called his chiefs together, exhorted them against the Danes, and as no part of Ireland suffered more from their plunders, murders, &c., than Limerick, and the borders of the Shannon, Callachan selected the city of Limerick as the field of battle. In the second page of the Wars of Callachan, it appears from O'Donovan's Ogygia (pp. 178-9) that an A.M. 2834, this Lake was called after Orluesian, the son of Alleluia, who had transacted great commercial affairs between Ireland and Britain. These are the words of the Ogygia:

"Orluesianus (Elias Alladi: A.M. 2834) mercator erat negociationibus inter Hiberniam et Brittaniam tradactis insignissim. Mannan Mac Lir vulgo dictus: Mannan ob commercium suum Mannia insula, et Mac Lir, i.e. manatus ob nundinarii, aitque urbs sacra portant; quod postea armis praeclarae, propter quod appellatur; ac sermo seu vocavis vestigibus una tempus politae pacificavit. Suecubulius vero in praecipe spad Mouflon in margine spatiose latus Orluesian, qui Galviare floruit in insula Galviscuensem exornaretur ab Ullino Nuadh regia Hiberniae per Thalamh unum tempore confossus. Pugnam loco Ulimum laco Orluesian nomen indidit; de his sta Fannus a Monasterio-O'Flaherty's Ogygia pp. 179-8.

Annals of Clonmacnois, quoted in O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters.

A Sept seated in the Barony of Killarney, county of Galway. This fact is mentioned in another way, but to the same effect: 'Rashall, or Hegan, King of the Danes of Limerick, was killed in Connaught at Clonmore. - Annals of the Four Masters.

A Grammaticus says that Tadhg Frohcs, and Daoine Danes, invaded Ireland many years before this time; and Turgessus, it is certain, not only subdued the greater part of Ulster, but expelled Finian, Archbishop of Armagh, together with all the religious and students. Those who remain robbers were sent into many parts of the country, and in no where, that we are aware of, in such great numbers as in the Parish of Killimney, county of Clare, and one of which of great extent and beauty is on the estate of Charles Bianco, Esq D.L., Longfield, Co. Tipperary, at Ardmay, near its residence, are said to have been raised by Turgessus and his followers, as fortifications, and in some instances, as sepulchres for their great men and captains. Wormius states that this was the customary way of burying the chiefs among the Danes. - Wormius D. Civiti Monumenta. P. 57.

Callachan, King of South Munster, assembling his chiefs, exhorted them to arm everywhere against the Danes, whereupon Limerick was selected for their first attack. A thousand of
Danes were killed on the spot, with their principal commanders, who were Teitel, a person of great strength, and Governor of Waterford; Ranap, Governor of Cork; Muris, Governor of Limerick; Bernard and Toroll. The remains of the Danish army retreated to Limerick, where the Irish soldiers pursued them, and entering the city with them, made a terrible slaughter. "The victors pursued the flying enemy into the city of Limerick, and chased them through the streets and into the houses, where they were slain without mercy or quarter. The privilege of the city was bestowed upon the soldiers by Mahon, where they found an immense booty of gold, jewels, furniture, and silver to an immense value. After they had filled the houses they set them on fire, they burned the fortifications, demolished the walls, and perfectly dismantled the city and made it incapable of defence." This was one of the greatest battles in the ancient annals of Ireland.

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF BRIANBOROIMHE.

We now come to a most important and eventful period of our history, in which one of the greatest of Ireland's Kings and warriors makes his appearance. In A.D. 969, says the Annalist, "The Foreigners of Limerick were driven from Inis-Sihb, now the King's Island, by the son of Cennedigh adds in a separate paragraph that in this year "two sons of equal size were seen at high noon." Undoubtedly this was one of those optical illusions or mirages, which science now clearly explains. Some years subsequently, according to the Four Masters, (Keating makes the event ten years earlier), O'Brien, the son of Kennedy, King of Munster, besieged Limerick, which continued to be inhabited by the Danes; his troops were victorious; he set fire to the city. He also engaged the Danes of Inis-Caithle, whom he defeated with the loss of eight hundred killed, and Imhoair (Humphrey), and Dubhgeann, their principal commanders, were taken prisoners. In this latter year an army, which was led by Domhall, son of Dubhdaebhoreann, to Limerick, the two sons of Brian, namely, Donchda and Fadgh, met them, and a battle was fought, wherein the people of the south of Ireland were defeated, and Domhall fell and numbers along with him. The Danes, during a portion of this time, were reduced to the greatest extremities, but at intervals they recruited their strength and retaliated severely on the Irish. There was no Prince in the Island who opposed their insults more than Brian Boromhe.

"The Glories of Brian the Brave," must be ever heard throughout the island with thrilling sensations of delight and satisfaction. This glorious monarch, whose wisdom and energy are famed in history, and whose career is so closely identified not only with Limerick, but with the kingdom generally, was of the Dalcassian race; the succession of the kingship of Munster was alternately between the Eugenians and the Dalcassians, "but the former," (says Eugene O'Curry in his manuscript notices of Irish History, p. 213) "being the most powerful in numbers and in extent of territory, monopolised the provincial rule as far as they were able. The line of the Dalcassians were, however, always kings of Thomond in succession, and kings of the province as often as they had strength to assert their alternate right, and it is a fact beyond dispute that the kings of the late Marquis of Thomond (viz. the present Lord Inechquin, his brothers and family) hold lands at the present day which have descended to them through an unbroken ancestry for 1600 years." Cormac Cass, the founder of the Dalcassian line, was King of Munster about A.D. 260; Aengus Treach, about A.D. 290; Connall of the swift steeds in 366; Cathair in Pin in 439; Aeth Canim from 571 to his death in 601; Lorcain, in 910; Cennedigh, or Kennedy, the father of Brian Boromhe, in 954; and Brian himself from 975 to the year 1002, when he became monarch of all Erin, and as such reigned till his death at the battle of Clontarf in 1014. He fought 49 battles against the Danes and their allies, and in every one of them was victorious. The deeds of this magnificent hero can never be effaced from the memory of the Irish people.

During the greater part of three centuries, namely, from the reign of Eochada, or Donough, who had lived for twenty-seven years in perfect tranquillity, until their final expulsion by Brian Boromhe, the Danes, who in Donough's reign had invaded Ireland, held their ground. Glancing back for a moment, we are shown the state of the island generally, of religion, of education, of arts, amidst the troubles with which the invaders afflicted the land. It was three hundred and seventy years from the time of the introduction of Christianity by St. Patrick, to their ill-starred arrival on our shores; and three hundred years had elapsed before they were finally expelled by the victorious monarch of Ireland at Clontarf. Darkened though those ages were with the disastrous influences of the invaders, some of the brightest names that adorn the pages of our history, flourished and shone out with a splendor which has lost none of its radiance in the lapse of centuries. Following St. Patrick was the learned Bishop of Sletty, the illustrious St. Finb, who handed down in a poem of fire and beauty, the actions and praises of the great Apostle of our nation. Next we have the celebrated Cathall, or Cathall. Scholars, too, the poet, the orator, the divine, who, educated from his infancy by Hidhirg, the Archbishop, was accomplished in all branches of literature and science, and travelled through Italy and France for his further improvement. He visited the East, and returning though Rome, was distinguished for his wonderful erudition in the Eternal City. He was the author of many Latin books, in prose, a Paschal song in metre, consisting of four books, fourteen books on St. Paul's Epistle in prose, a Hymn on Christ's miracles, two books of the same in prose, and several others, of which the titles have been lost. His name is enshrined among the writers of Ireland; and Ware does not forget to award him the honorable place which his merits won. Following in succession, came Saint Colm-Cille, one of the leading spirits of the age in which he lived,—the Apostle of the Hebrides, the founder of one of the world-renowned Abbey of Iona, celebrated also Huy-a-Columkille, of which monastery he was the first Abbot: eminent in his life for every virtue, his erudition is acknowledged all over the world. His
monasteries for many years supplied the Churches of England, and some of those in Ireland, with Bishops. And while the lives of the saints and sages were brightening up, and dispelling the gloom which had so long hung over the destinies of our country, distant lands were enlightened by the reflection of their holiness and learning, and Armagh, all the while, gave its uninterrupted successions to Saint Patrick in the Episcopacy, first in the person of Senamus, afterwards of St. Benignus, Jerlath, Comac, &c. During these times it has been stated, an English Prince had been at Lismore, where he imbibed those principles of order and government which made his reign illustrious, and, notwithstanding the barbarous aggressions of the invaders, the Irish proved their progress in arts, arms and religion.

Nearly at the same time that Malachy the Great was engaged in conquering the Danes of Dublin and the Islands, Brian Boru was successfully engaged in reducing the Danes of Limerick. He had avenged the murder by Ivor, King of the Limerick Danes, of his brother Mahon, eldest son of Kennedy, and on the defeat of Molloy, slain at the battle of Ballagh Leachta, he succeeded to the throne of Munster. Though the Danes at this time were nominal Christians, they refused to preach to the Saxons in England, which-discreditable circumstance occasioned the dispatch of missions from Iona, the monastic settlement of St. Columkille. The Danes were so hateful to the Irish, and reciprocated the feeling so thoroughly, that they avoided all religious intercourse with the Irish Church, and connected themselves with the See of Canterbury in England.

What Alfred, Edmond, and Athelstone had done less effectually for England, was now being performed for Ireland by Malachy and Brian; but it was not until the latter became monarch of all Ireland that those fierce northerners, whose ravages made even Charlemagne weep, who took Ruten, besieged Paris, wrested Normandy from Charles the Bald, and founded a dynasty in England, were compelled, after terrible havoc, to vacate the country, or to settle down as tributaries, and to engage in the peaceful pursuits of commerce. To detail the barbarous ravages, insults, and even mutilations which these northern savages inflicted upon the people of Ireland up to the time of Turgessi and King Malachy is unnecessary. The general history of Ireland is full of them. The transfer of the sceptre of Ireland from Malachy the Great, the representative of Heraun, the elder son of Milisios, to the heroic Brian Boru, the descendant of the younger brother Herber, took place according to the Annals of the Four Masters in the 76th year of Brian's age, his reign as Ard-rich or supreme monarch of Ireland, lasting twelve years, to his death at Clontarf, A.D. 1014. We are inclined, however, to believe, that the Ulster Annals which give the birth of Brian sixteen years later, that is, in 941, is the more correct account of the two.

This transfer took place at Athlone in 1003, where Brian, joined by the men of Leinster and the Danes, defeated Southern Hy-Niall and the Connachta; and when the original motive of Brian's opposition was asserted by Tigernach, who was almost a contemporary writer, or the exigencies of the time, the consequences were the terminating of the frequent and fatal quarrels between the inferior princes and chiefs, and final subjugation of the Danes. On the abdication of Malachy, who still retained the title of King of Meath, and afterwards served under the supreme King, Brian became sovereign in chief, and having received the homage of Cahall O'Connor, King of Connachta, and other Kings of that province, he set out for Ulster at the head of an army of twenty thousand men.

Brian's progress to enforce the submission of the Northern Princes appears to have been unopposed until he reached the locality known as Ballysadare, where the determined attitude of the enemy compelled him to retreat. But in his next expedition he was more successful. Accompanied on this occasion, as before, by the dynasts of Leath Mogh, he traversed Meath, and was honorably received at Armagh by Madlunrrefy, the Archbishop, and left a gold collar weighing twenty ounces, as an offering on the high altar of the Cathedral.

After this munificent oblation, the value of which may be estimated as about £800, he proceeded to the royal seat of the Dalriadaus in Antrim, called Bathmore-Muige-Line, where he received hostages from the Princes of that territory as well as from the other chiefs of Leth-Cuinn.

Brian made various expeditions of this character, and frequently brought away such chieftains as resisted him to his fortress at Kinora among others, the Lord of Kinel Connell upon his refusing to give him hostages, which Brian at last exerted by force of the King Eoghan, thus completing the subjugation of the illustrious house of the northern Hy-Nials. This event took place about six years after Brian's offering at Armagh, which occurred in 1004, on which occasion he signed a confirmation of the usual grant to the Clergy of Armagh, under the style of "Imperator Scotorum," an appellation still extant in the Book of Armagh.

After this victorious progress through Ulster, Brian proceeded to Tara, where he was solemnly crowned. He had now subjugated all his enemies, and had time to turn his thoughts to the improvement of his kingdom, to which he contributed in an extraordinary degree by the enactment of salutary laws, by the re-establishment of churches and educational establishments, and by the construction and repair of bridges, causeways and various public works, restoring to their old possessors the property taken from them by the Danes, raising fortresses and palaces, and putting an end to the existing confusion in genealogies by ordaining that all the branches of the Irish races should in future have surnames.

Brian's authority as supreme King was now fully established, and after the peaceful interval, which he had employed to such good purpose, the advantage of even an enforced alliance between the several inferior Kings was lost by new projects on the part of his antagonistic foes. The deposed monarch Malachy having been defeated by Maolmordna, King of Leinster and his Danish allies, had presented himself at Kinora to solicit the assistance of Brian, but had been unsuccessful; in the summer of the same year Brim found the movements of the Danes so menacing that he

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1 Annals of Tigernach.
was compelled once more to take the field; and having devastated the territory of Osseary in his march, pitched his camp in the locality at present known as Kilmainham. Having returned, however, to Kincora with his spoils, the Danes, encouraged by his absence, and recovered, from the severe defeats which they had sustained from his son Morrough, had summoned their allies from Scotland, from the Orkneys, from the Hebrides, from the Shetland Islands, from the Islands of the Baltic, and even from Denmark, Norway and other parts of Scandinavia, inviting the northern pirates to make a common effort for the complete subjugation of Ireland. The summons was obeyed with alacrity.

On Palm Sunday, the 18th April, 1014, a powerful fleet, containing the contingents furnished from all parts of the world where the Danes resided, including some Norman, French, Belgians, and Britons from Wales and Cornwall, arrived in the bay of Dublin, under the command of Brodar, the Danish admiral. — The entire of these combined forces amounted to 12,000 men, and their Irish allies, the Lagenians, numbering 9,000, in all 21,000 men—the Lagenians being furnished by the counties of Wexford, Carlow, Wicklow, and Kildare, with part of the Queen's and King's County, the Princes of which were in alliance with the Danes, and related by blood to Sitric, King of Dublin, whose mother, Gormlath or Kormnloida, the repudiated wife of Brian Boru, is said to have invited the noted pirates, Brodar and Upeans, or Upscus, to join the confederacy against her royal consort. About 20,000 men composed the amount of Brian's army, of whom the Dalcassians or troops of Thomond collected from Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary, were commanded by himself in person, by his eldest son Murrogh, aided by his five other sons, Teige, Donal, Donal, and Coy, and Plan, and by Turlough, the son of Murrogh, and fifteen other nephews and relatives of Brian. These constituted the first of the three lines into which Brian's army, as well as that of the Danes, was formed in this famous Battle. The second body composed of the Conacians (Comnaught men) under King Teige O'Connor and other chiefs. The third was formed by Desmonians and Desians, under Kian and other chiefs of Desmond. Malachy, King of Meath, who did signal services in this battle, and who subsequently succeeded Brian, was appointed to assist the Dalcassians in the first division, while the Ulmonians co-operated with the Desmonians in the third division, as did also Donald and the Scotch Stewards of Lemenos, and Marr. The annals of Innisfallen speak of one of the Maguires of Fermanagh being amongst the Ulmonians; but it does not appear from the Annals of the Four Masters or the Annals of Ulster that the north sent any forces.

The left of Brian's army, which, like that of the Danes, was divided into three bodies, was commanded by Malachy, King of Meath, who, according to Keating, retired with his troops in the beginning of the action, and refused to take part in it, to be avenged of Brian for his lost crown. This statement is accepted by M'Geoghegan and others; but if it were true, it is not at all likely that Malachy would have been universally recognized as the worthy successor of Brian, or rather the recovery of his lost right. 1

1 Hist. 2,520.

O'Rorke, however, has likewise ascribed this act of treachery to Malachy, and he adds that it occurred at the very moment that the Dalgaia with the whole right wing marched to attack the sword in hand, the Danes commanded by Brodar and Aisgiodal, whereupon Morrough, with great presence of mind, cried out to his brave Dalgaia, "that this was the time to distinguish themselves, as they alone would have the unrivalled glory of cutting off that formidable body of the enemy."—Hist. 244. Ibid. 3, 282.

In the meantime, the left, under the King of Connaught, attacked the Leinster Danes and their insular allies, while the troops of South Munster fell upon the Lagenians and their traitor King, Maolmodhrach.

In the Annals of the Four Masters 2 we find distinctly stated, that Malachy drove the foreigners and the Leinster men "by dint of battle, by bravery and striking," from the river Tolka (Zuleana) to Dublin (Athcllaith), and in all probability the Dalcassian writers have invented this slander against Malachy in order to elevate the character of his competitor, Brian, whose command of the army devolved upon Malachy after the death of the Monarch. Ware, Vallency and Laniagn have also fallen into the general error concerning Malachy's treason.

Having made his arrangements for battle, Brian harangued his troops, reminding them that the foes with whom they had to contend were the perpetual oppressors and murderers of their kings, dynasts and clergy — had never shown any mercy to age or sex — had spoiled and burned their churches, and had trampled under foot the most sacred relics of their saints, calling upon his troops to take full revenge for their treacherous acts, and for their profanation of so many churches on that Friday in Holy Week (on which the battle was fought) upon which Christ had died for their redemption, who would undoubtedly be present with them, as a just avenger of their holy religion and laws. Here the annalist repeats the charge against Malachy, and describes the prodigies of valour as well as military skill exhibited by the heroic Brian, who, as appears from other accounts, had been induced to retire to his tent, where he was attacked while in the act of prayer by Broder, the Danish chief, and slain with a blow of his battleaxe, but not until he had received a fatal sword thrust from the hand of the monarch.

Then follows an account of the marvellous achievements of Morrough, Brian's eldest son, who, though aged 63 years, 2 slew several Danish officers of distinction, cutting down amongst the rest two standard bearers of the Danish army, as the Danish historians also record, and dispatched two others who had assailed him simultaneously. The heroic Morrough, who had occasionally retired with some of the chiefs to drink and cool their hands at the river, which was at last stopped by the Danes, at last encountered Prince Anrud, of Norway, just at the time when Morrough was unable to employ his sword from the swollen state of his hands. He therefore grasped the Norwegian with his left hand, shook him out of his armour, cast him to the earth, and pierced him through with his sword. But the Norwegian even in dying was not avenged, for while Morrough stooped over him he snatched his knife or dagger and plunged it into his breast. The wound in a short time proved fatal, and Morrough assumed the command.

The death of Brian took place about this period of the conflict, and the Irish were so exasperated by the death of their king, that a total rout of their enemies resulted after the command was taken by Malachy, who again reigned eight years, four months and ten days, until the year 1022, when he died, aged 73 years. 3

An. 1018. 2 O'Toole's Oryca p. 429.

3 Ibid. p. 336. — The passage in the Dublin edition of the Annals of Ulster, which describes the Danish loss at 15,000, and that of the Leinstermen at 3,000, is evidently erroneous, if not unauthentic. The Ulster Annalists, who say nothing of O'Carroll of O'Call, or Maguire of Desmond assisting Brian in this battle, state that the loss of the Danes did not exceed 7,000. The Annals of Boyle agree with the Four Masters that besides the 1000 Danes in armour, 3000 others were killed, who, if added to the 3000 Leinster troops, would bear out the estimate of the Annals of Ulster.
The body of young Turloeh O'Brien was found in the waters of Tolka with his hands entangled in the hair of a Dane. Of the other distinguished families of Ireland almost every one lost a member. On the day after the battle the wounded were conveyed to the camp at Kilmainham, and on the next day the monks of St. Columba at Swords came to bury the body of Brian in order to bury it in the Cathedral of Armagh, where it was deposited at the north side of the Cathedral, and those of Murrough and his relatives at the South. For twelve successive nights, according to the Annals, the clergy of St. Patrick kept watch over the dead, chaunted hymns, and offered up prayers for the souls of the heroes.

It appears from an account taken from the archives of Denmark by Torfeus, historiographer to Christian V, that equally with the Irish, Danes were engaged at opposite sides in the battle of Clontarf. This historian describes Brian as "a Prince justly celebrated for clemency, lenity and many other virtues."

Among the inferior notabilia of the battle of Clontarf, which lasted one, not three days, as the Latin writers quoted by Lanigan has it, we may mention that tradition says that Brian sailed under the shadow of the towers and steeples of the monasteries and churches of the Holy Island (Innis Calithra) on Lough Dergh, as he proceeded up the Lake from Kincoo, and that in the Norse, Broder, the slayer of Brian, is stated to have called all present to witness that it was he who killed him.4

1 Some, however, say that they were buried at Kilmainham, in the old church known as "Bally's Acre," with the bodies of Thaddeus O'Kelly, and other lords; while some assert they brought it to Cashel. Dr. O'Donovan remarks (Annals of the Four Masters, 1013, note b.) that Moore has adopted in his interesting account of this battle the falsifications made in the Dublin copy of the Annals of Inmisfallen by Dr. O'Brien, who was assisted by John Conroy—such as the presence of Talhghard O'Connor, son of the King of Connought, and of Maguire, in the battle at which it seems they were not present. The Annals of Ceidefaecite state that all the Leinster chiefs, except O'Moore and O'Solan, took part with the Danes, and that the O'Neals forsook King Brian in this battle, as did all Connought except Hugh, the son of Ferial O'Rorks, and Teigian O'Kely.

2 History of the Orkneys, 10 c. 33.

3 The presence of the fort of Kinvara at this day indicates clearly that it was fortified, as its Danish name (War waste, guarding the Danish Slaves) Kinsooborg would also show. Indeed, given a pretty lengthened list of places of strength erected or improved by Brian, besides Kinvara, within a few miles of which he repaired the round tower of Tormsegna, and built a church at Tinnakill, and erected another at Killhu, amongst other places we find Cahal, Cashel, Roscrea in Tipperary, and in the county of Limerick, Lough Gur, Bruree, Dunamagall, and Knockaney.

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5. Drumgoole.
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**CHAPTER III.**

**BRIAN AND HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS; AND THE KINGS OF THOMOND.**

Although the battle of Clontarf may be said to have decisively crushed the power of the Danes, they still continued for some time to possess considerable wealth and influence in the principal cities and towns of Ireland, especially the seaports, where for the encouragement of commerce, to which they appear to have been as much addicted as to fighting and plundering, even Brian Boru had been willing they should remain. From their first invasion in A.D. 794 to the taking of Dublin by the Anglo-Norman invaders, and the death of Ascalph Mac Thorkill in A.D. 1171, about a century and a half after the battle of Clontarf, we find this valiant and politic, but barbarously cruel and sacrilegious people engaged in contests with the natives for 377 years; and not till after the invasion of the Normans, a kindred people, as were indeed the Anglo-Saxons also, shall we lose sight of the Danes as a distinct community. At the present day we have many respectable families who are said to be of Danish blood, such as Harold, Godfrey, Stack, and Trant, in Limerick and Kerry; and Plunket, Gould, Gilbert, Galway, Palmer, Sweetman, Dowdall, Everard, Drumgoole, Blacker, Betach, Cruize, Skiddy, Terry, Revel, and some say Fagan, (or Feltrim), in other parts of Ireland.

In Limerick in particular we find the Danes giving the following Bishops, the see being confined to the city as elsewhere, and these Bishops going for consecration to Canterbury, to whose Archbishops they promised canonical obedience, while the Irish Bishops were under Armagh, and were consecrated either in Ireland or in Rome. The Danish Bishops of Limerick were Gilla or Gilbert, Apostolic Delegate of Ireland, Bishop from 1110 to 1140, a most remarkable and learned Prelate. Patrick Harold, who died in 1151; Torgesius, and Bricius, who attended the Council of Lateran in 1179. Of the lives of these Bishops, a great part was taken by them in the ecclesiastical affairs of the diocese and kingdom generally, as far as appears in the authorities accessible to us, we shall treat, when giving the lives of the Bishops of Limerick. In reference to the early Bishops of the See, we shall follow, for the most part, the learned Sir James Ware.

Brian's eminent qualities and powerful resources had compelled an acquiescence in his claims to the chief monarchy while he lived, the legitimist claim met a prompt recognition after his decease. In conformity with the view taken of his usurpation by some of the annalists, who call it "rebellion with treachery," the Annals of Inmisfallen as well as those of Ulster count the years of Brian's reign amongst those of the deposed Prince who preceded and succeeded him. The example thus set by Brian, who, with the exception of Betuim, was the only chief Monarch not chosen from the Hy-Niall race for upwards of 500 years, was one cause of the troubles which we have now to record, and which owing partly to the laws of succession, are unfortunately
but too often met with in the events of Irish history. Even in the year 1016, when the unusual entry in the Annals of Ulster, of “Sith in Erinnid” “Peace in Ireland,” which like the shutting of the Temple of Janus in Rome was looked on as a quite remarkable occurrence, even in this very year King Malachy, now once more supreme King, was obliged to enforce his supremacy by invading Ulster. Having obtained hostages he again defeated the Danes, subsequently the northern O'Neill's, assisted by the Eoghanain or people of South Munster, and soon after accompanied by Donogh, son of Brian Boru, invaded Connaught, and forced the princes to give hostages. After defeating the Northern's at the Yellow Ford, now called Athlone, he retired A.D. 1022, to a small island in Lake Annin, in Meath, where this excellent prince devoted his last hours to works of penitence and devotion, providing amongst other deeds of mercy for the support of 300 orphan children. We now return to the Prince of Thomond.

The unnatural feud between Teige and Donogh, the sons of Brian, is the principal event in the history of Limerick from the battle of Clontarf to the murder of the elder of these princes. This latter treacherous act which took place in 1013, is ascribed by the Four Masters* to the Eilt, and is expressly said to have been perpetrated at the instigation of Donogh, who had recently sustained a defeat at the hands of his brother in the part of Thomond on the eastern side of the Shannon. She previous year 1022 had witnessed the death of the illustrious Malachy, successor of Brian in the monarchy, which may have probably suggested the idea of the fratricide as a means of removing the principal obstacle between Donogh and the throne of Tara.

The country of Thomond, which extended from the Shannon to the Slieve Bloom mountains, had been subjected to two invasions, before the assassination of Teige; on the first occasion by the Desmonians under Donald, the father of the Prince of Desmond, who had also been slain by Donogh, and who were defeated by the brave Dalansians the year after the battle of Clontarf; on the second occasion by the army of Connaught, which plundered and destroyed both Kincora and Killaloe. This was also doubtless occasioned by the ambition of the King of Connaught, encouraged by the unnatural quarrel which had so fatal a termination. Donogh prospered so much that he obtained hostages three years after his brother's death from various chiefs of Leinster; he exacted the homage of the Danes of Dublin, was now recognized as monarch of Leath Moga or the southern half of Ireland, when he was defeated by the Ossornans and had a formidable antagonist to his claims in his nephew Turlough, the son of the assassinated Prince Teige, who was supported by Diarmid Macnamha afterwards King of Leinster, at the instigation of Diarmid whose territory of Hy-Kinsella, Donogh had invaded, burning Ferns and committing other devastations in Wexford. Several sacrilegious robberies were perpetrated at this time at Clonmacnoise, &c. It is to the credit of Donogh that he made satisfaction to the clergy of Clonmacnoise for a most revolting sacrilegious robbery, on which occasion the robbers stole a model of Solomon's temple, probably a tabernacle, and a gold plated silver chalice, the former a gift of a Prince of wealth, the latter tastefully engraved by a sister of King Turlough O'Connor. In 1199, some of the Danes of Limerick were executed for despoiling the monastery of Clonmacnoise. In the year 1060 a Synod was held at Killaloe, to provide some remedies against a prevalent distress, occasioned by bad seasons, and to restrain crimes, under Donogh and Celé, "the head of the piety of Ireland," as the annalists call him, upon which occasion, as our authorities inform us they "enacted a law and restraint upon every injustice, great and small; and God gave peace and favourable weather in consequence of this law."

The power of Donogh now began to decline, for he had sustained two serious reverses. During his absence in Desmond, his enemy Diarmid had invaded Munster with an army of Lagenians and Danes, of whom he was now acknowledged Prince, and severely avenged Donogh's, his cousin's, O'Sullivan's, and his brother's wrongs, raiding into Fingal, on which occasion they had made many prisoners in the great stone church of Lusk. The second blow was inflicted on Donogh, in Thomond, where Turlough, the son of Teige, maintained his ground against Donogh's son. Morrough, assisted by his Connaught allies, as he had been by Hugh O'Connor and by the king of Leinster in Middle Munster. In the latter the Lagenians and Danes burned one of the forts strengthened by Brian Born — namely, Duntrylegue; and during another expedition, under Diarmid, which took place in 1056, they destroyed another of these forts — that at Lough Gara, finishing their ravages by the destruction of Nenagh. Donogh's deposition was now a proximate event. Diarmid invaded Munster, once more burned Limerick and Emily, and defeated Donogh in a severe battle in the glen of Aherlow. Hugh O'Connor destroyed Kincora, with the town and Church of Killaloe; and Turlough and the Lagenians once more burned Limerick in the year 1063, and exacted hostages throughout Munster. At last being utterly defeated by Turlough and the King of Leinster, at the foot of the Arragh mountains, he abdicated the crown of Munster, thus transferring his royal honors to his nephew. In the hope of atoning for his sins he afterwards set out on a pilgrimage to Rome, where he died with every appearance of sincere penitence, in the Monastery of St. Stephen, in the year 1064.

Some writers assert that Donogh not only left the crown and regalia of Ireland with the Pope but made him over his kingdom, an empty compliment, if it took place at all, which is not probable, as it is not mentioned by any of the old annalists. It is added by those who tell this story, that the crown was afterwards given to Henry the II. by Pope Adrian the Fourth after the Norman conquest."

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1 Annals of Four Masters.
2 Donogh was connected with the Royal family of England, having married Drislenn, sister of Harold, afterwards King of England. Harold took refuge in Ireland (Chronicle, 1051) during the rebellion of his father against Edward the Confessor, and was absolved by Donogh with a squadron of nine ships, with which he harassed the coast of England. In the time of Donogh the celebration of Athletic games was encouraged, and more taxes were raised and more exactions made than during the period which had elapsed since the coming of St. Patrick.
3 Annals of Four Masters.
4 Annals of Four Masters, an. 1041.
5 Annals of Four Masters.
6 Annals of Four Masters and Four Masters.
Since the death of Malachy, who was himself formally recognised by the states of Meath only, though tacitly accepted by the nation, the ascription of the title of supreme king by our native historians resulted rather from reverence to might than to right — at least the most powerful for the time being of the Royal races of Ireland were recognised as the nominal monarchs, or as the Irish express it, *Righ go Freasathar*, "kings with opposition." As the plan which we have laid down for ourselves will not allow of our introducing more of the general history of Ireland than may serve to illustrate that of Limerick, we can refer but briefly to the exploits of Dermot, King of Leinster, who is by some historians reckoned as nominal monarch after the death of Donogh, whom he obliged to abdicate the crown, in favor of Turlough, the son of Teige, and grandson of Brian Boru. There is a great similarity indeed in the military history of of the enterprising kings of this period, and Dermot's included the crushing of a rebellion raised by Murchad, the son of Donogh; the compelling of the king of Connaught to give hostages; the exacting tribute from the people of Meath and Dublin; and if we can believe the continuation of the Annals of Tigernach, the subjection of the Welsh and Hebrides, or at least to the extent implied by the fact that they were obliged to pay him tribute. At last this vigorous monarch again entered Meath in 1072, and was defeated with great slaughter at the bottle of Odhba, being himself killed, and leaving Turlough, by his death, the most powerful king in Ireland.

Turlough now entered upon the usual course of one determined to be recognised as the Sovereign-in-Chief, no competitor of his own family existing since A.D. 1008, the year of the death of Morogh "of the short shield," who was slain during a foray into Tuffa, a territory now forming a part of Westmeath and Longford; while the King of Connaught, Aedh of the Broken Spear, who had defeated Dermot, Turlough, and their "great army of Leath-mogsna," as the annalists call it, some five years before, had himself fallen in turn, in battle with Art O'Rourke, Prince of Bredagh, who had invaded his territories. Conor, too, the son of Malachy, had fallen in the year 1073, by the hand of an assassin, and Turlough, now admitted to be the most potent of the native kings, prepared himself for an expedition into Ulster, where the indomitable O'Neills maintained their independence.

The Annals of the Four Masters for this year record a curious anecdote of Turlough in reference to his having carried off the head of the murdered King of Meath from the Abbey of Clonmacnois on a Good Friday, immediately before his Northern expedition. It was brought back again from the South with two rings of gold along with it through the miracles of God and Kieran, A great disease seized the King Turlough O'Brien, which caused his hair and beard to fall off through the miracles of God and Kieran, for when the head of Connor was brought into his presence, a mouse issued out of it and went under his garment, which was the cause of his disease. The Annals of Clonmacnois mention the same curious story, and state that Brian "was like to die until he restored the said head with certain gold." It was during an expedition undertaken into Meath, immediately after this, to punish Morrough Melaghlin, the brother and murderer of Connor, that he carried off the head of one of the bitterest of his enemies, as related above.

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2. A. D. 1073.
3. X. V. 1070 (recto 1072).
orders were given by bishops for money. As Lanfranc makes the same complaint about irregular marriages in his letter to Gothic, King of Dublin, Dr. Lanigan supposes these abuses were confined chiefly to the Danes; while as to the second and third objections, Lanfranc was mistaken as to what is required by evangelical and apostolical authority and the canon law. Besides, the Irish still retained the order of chorographia. The charge of simony, Lanigan thinks, may have been partly true; but that crime was not confined to the Irish, nor to the church of any particular time or locality.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF THOMOND, CONTINUED.

King Turlough was succeeded by his second son, Murtagh O'Brien, not undeservedly named More, or the Great, as king of Thomond, and nominal king of Ireland, A.D. 1106. Of his two brothers, the eldest had died at Kincora, and the other, Dermott, having been banished into Connaught, Murtagh became the sole, but by no means the undisputed sovereign. The provincial kings joined Dermott, who was subsequently slain in Meath in his brother's army, A.D. 1108, in a coalition against the king of Thomond, as pretender to the chief sovereignty of Ireland, and another formidable opponent appeared in the person of Donnall M'Loughlin, chief of the Hy-Niels, who, having enforced homage from the king of Connaught, united that prince's forces to his own, and with the combined army invaded Munster. Rory O'Connor's West Connaught men had defeated Murtagh's fleet, when attempting to dislodge them from their position on Inismore (Horned Island) in the Shannon, previously to the junction of the Northern forces with those of Connaught, and Murtagh now found himself unable to retaliate with effect until the most terrible devastations had taken place in his dominions. The invaders burned Limerick, devastated the country as far as Enny, Lough Gur, and Bruree, besieged and demolished Kincora, and carried off the head of O'Brien from the place of its exposure at Squirrel.

Murtagh, determined to strike the first blow at the king of Connaught, dispatched a fleet in the following year, 1089, as far as Loughrea, on the Shannon, and greatly to his discredit plundered the churches on the various islands, and along the shores of the lake, including those of Innisfallen, Innisbofin, and Innis-sean-gin. The Dalcassian troops were, however, intercepted in their retreat by the king of Connaught, who had occupied Inismore and Ruglira; and being obliged to turn back to Athlone were encountered by Donald O'Melaghlin, king of Meath, who gave them a safe conduct to Thomond, on condition of leaving behind their vessels. With these vessels the kings of Yeath and Connaught immediately afterwards descended the Shannon; and once more invaded Thomond.

1 Annals Innisfallen, an. 1074 (recte 1090).
2 Four Masters, 1090.
3 Annals Innisfallen, 1101.
4 Mr. O'Curry adds that these stones (which the soldiers brought in their sacks) Murtagh O'Brien afterwards built a parapet upon the top of his royal palace (which is situate on the site of the present Cathedral of Limerick) as a perpetual memorial of his victory over the most formidable of his enemies in his house." Mr. O'Curry adds, "I may mention that this was not a wanton deed of destruction on the part of O'Brien, but a retaliation for a similar insult which the Norhern bands, two hundred years before that, offered the Dalcassians, when they made a sudden and unexpected rush into that country, and cut down, and carried away by force, from the celebrated woods of Creotacle (Gratloe, I believe) as much prime oak as roofed and adorned the same palace of Aileach." The Graimian of Aileach is situate in the county of Donegal, about a mile from the county of Derry, and on the top of a mountain 802 feet high, to which it has given its name of Graimian. The Ordnance Survey of Londonderry (page 217) gives a graphic description and recount of this very curious and celebrated ancient construction; and we refer the reader to that extremely interesting volume for the fullest particulars on the subject.
Macloughlin, battle.-Cormac Macmorrough, Anglo-Norman

1

Vallmcy. Leath-Cuin, W&T

resultless of the clergy in assumed a living skeleton, and king of Connaught, who plundered the hrurtagb's off spoil and prisoners.


captured. The following years are chiefly occupied with resultless campaigns between Murtagh and Maclooghlin, and the interposition of the clergy in bringing about temporary pacifications. In 1114, say the

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annals, "a great fit of sickness attacked Murtagh O'Brien, so that he became a living skeleton, and resigned his kingdom; and Diarmuid (his brother) assumed the kingdom of Munster after him without emission." During Murtagh's absence in Leinster, Thomond was invaded by Torlogh O'Connor, king of Connaught, who plundered the country as far as Limerick, and carried off spoil and prisoners. On this occasion Donald O'Brien, son of Teige, was slain while defending his country against the invaders. In the second year after also, 1116, Torlogh O'Connor again invaded Thomond, and advancing without resistance, demolished Kincora as well as the fort of Boromha, which had been erected by Brian Born—at an insult which the Dalcaisians vainly attempted to avenge under Dermot, brother of Murtagh O'Brien, who led an army into Connaught, but was repulsed and obliged to make a precipitate retreat. In 1117, Thomond was again invaded by the forces of Connaught, commanded by Brian, son of Morogh O'Flaherty, and the son of Cathal O'Connor, who defeated the Munster troops first at Lecan in West Thomond, and afterwards at Lattengh in Omond, with still greater loss. The death of Dermod O'Brien was followed in a year by that of his brother Murtagh. This event took place in 1119, and this eminent prince, whose character ranked so high in his lifetime that he was often consulted by the king of England, Henry I., was buried in the cathedral of Killaloe, which, from the time of the donation of Cashel to the Church, to the period of the Anglo-Norman invasion, become of Omond, gave hostages of the descendants of the illustrious Murtagh

3

O'Brien, Murtagh three sons, Domnal, appointed Governor of Dublin, who embraced a monastic life in 1118; Mahon, the ancestor of the Mac Mahons of Corkabaskin, and Kennedy, of whom there is no further notice. Murtagh O'Brien, as Malmsbury, a contemporary author, informs us, made alliances with other foreign princes besides Henry I. of England. He gave one of his daughters to Armulp de Montgomery, eldest son of the Earl of Arundel in England, whom he is said to have assisted in his rebellion against Henry I.; and another to Scard, son of Magnus king of Norway. Keating states his belief that Murtagh died at Arnagh. He was the last supreme monarch of his race.

The interpretation of the clergy in bringing about temporary pacifications. In 1114, say the annals, "a great fit of sickness attacked Murtagh O'Brien, so that he became a living skeleton, and resigned his kingdom; and Diarmuid (his brother) assumed the kingdom of Munster after him without emission." During Murtagh's absence in Leinster, Thomond was invaded by Torlogh O'Connor, king of Connaught, who plundered the country as far as Limerick, and carried off spoil and prisoners. On this occasion Donald O'Brien, son of Teige, was slain while defending his country against the invaders. In the second year after also, 1116, Torlogh O'Connor again invaded Thomond, and advancing without resistance, demolished Kincora as well as the fort of Boromha, which had been erected by Brian Born—at an insult which the Dalcaisians vainly attempted to avenge under Dermot, brother of Murtagh O'Brien, who led an army into Connaught, but was repulsed and obliged to make a precipitate retreat. In 1117, Thomond was again invaded by the forces of Connaught, commanded by Brian, son of Morogh O'Flaherty, and the son of Cathal O'Connor, who defeated the Munster troops first at Lecan in West Thomond, and afterwards at Lattengh in Omond, with still greater loss. The death of Dermod O'Brien was followed in a year by that of his brother Murtagh. This event took place in 1119, and this eminent prince, whose character ranked so high in his lifetime that he was often consulted by the king of England, Henry I., was buried in the cathedral of Killaloe, which, from the time of the donation of Cashel to the Church, to the period of the Anglo-Norman invasion, became of Omond, gave hostages of the descendants of the illustrious Murtagh O'Brien, Murtagh three sons, Domnal, appointed Governor of Dublin, who embraced a monastic life in 1118; Mahon, the ancestor of the Mac Mahons of Corkabaskin, and Kennedy, of whom there is no further notice. Murtagh O'Brien, as Malmsbury, a contemporary author, informs us, made alliances with other foreign princes besides Henry I. of England. He gave one of his daughters to Armulp de Montgomery, eldest son of the Earl of Arundel in England, whom he is said to have assisted in his rebellion against Henry I.; and another to Scard, son of Magnus king of Norway. Keating states his belief that Murtagh died at Arnagh. He was the last supreme monarch of his race.

1 Annals of Four Masters.

2 About this time took place the celebrated Synod of Ulanach, in Westmeath, presided over—according to the Abbe MacGeoghegan, by Gilbert, Bishop of Limerick, under circumstances hereafter to be referred to.

3 Annals of Four Masters.

4 Malmsbury Do Reg. Anglo, lib. v.

In the war between Connor O'Brien and Macarthy, O'Brien was supported by Dermot Macmorrough, king of Leinster, who obtained an unfortunate notoriety by bringing the English into Ireland. This happened in 1137; and the new allies, assisted by a fleet of the Danes of Dublin and Wexford, having besieged Waterford, Donogh Macarthy was compelled to submit, and to give hostages of the Desies and the Danes of Dublin, as a return for their support. Godfrey, the new styled Lord of Thomond, gave hostages to the King of Leinster, for defending Desmond for him from the Macarthy; and thus it appears that Turlogh's claim to the monarchy was now admitted.
even by O'Brien himself, though so fiercely appropriated by the O'Briens for more than a hundred years. In the year 1138, the Annals of the Four Masters mention the treacherous assassination at Cashel, of Connor, the king and bishop, the founder of the beautiful church still called Conure's Chapel, the murderer being Turlogh, son of Dermod O'Brien, who afterwards succeeded to the crown of Thomond. Thus the Mac Carthies were expelled, and Connor O'Brien was now left in sole possession of the crown of Munster, to which he added that of the Danes of Dublin, against whom he marched an army in 1142, and forced their submission. In the next year Connor O'Brien died at Killaloa, where he was interred in the Cathedral, and was succeeded by his next brother Turlogh. Connor died possessed of all the rights and powers annexed to the sovereignty of Leath Mogha. He was a prince of great courage, perseverance, and ability; and though he had committed in his various expeditions several acts of spoliation on the Church, he is stated in the records of the Abbey of St. Peter at Ratisbon, to have founded and supported it while he lived, and to have sent munificent presents in aid of the Crusaders to Lothaire, the Roman Emperor. 1—Connor was surnamed na Catheragh, or of the cities, on account of the many he founded and improved, says O'Halloran, which also accounts for his other nickname of ‘spattered robe’—according to others from his having built or strengthened a fort on Lough Ree.

Turlogh, the brother and successor of Connor O'Brien, whose son Murtagh was obliged to content himself with Thomond, began his reign by a war with Turlogh O'Connor and an invasion of Leinster. He was set upon the throne of Limerick by Murtagh O'Neill, grandson of Murtagh More O'Brien, Turlogh O'Brien marched into Connaught, and cut down the Rusath Riththagh (the red birch tree of Hy-Eascha Aadmne, under which the Rusath were quartered), and demolished its stone fort, but returned without effecting any important results, and in 1144 was reconciled to O'Connor at Terryglass in Ormond—though, as we learn from the Four Masters, the truce only lasted a year, the next year having been signalled by many predatory excursions that Ireland was made a trembling soil, to use the expressive language of these annalists. Turlogh founded a monastery for the Cistercian monks in 1148, the great monastery of Nenagh, or Conmore, in the county of Tipperary, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. In the year 1149, the King of Munster once more led an army into Connaught, destroying the Dun or Castle of Galway. In the next year he marched to Dublin, plundering Slane, in Meath, on his way, and exacted hostages from the Danes of Dublin. In the following year (1151), while absent in West Munster, opposing the Macarties, he was deposed by his brother, Teige Gle, whom he had released from prison, assisted by the king

1 Ibid. Ad. Am. 1138.
2 Ibid. Ad. Am. 1134.

In the Chronicles of Einskirch or Ratisbon, in Germany, it is related that Gunzepur, Bishop of Einsirch, and Gregory, three successive Irish Abbots, of the Benedictine Monastery of St. Dunstan's at the west gate of Ratisbon, sent their own Irish messenger on three several times into Ireland, with the Emperor's letters recommending them. To these messengers were delivered so great a sum by the aforesaid Conor O'Brien, otherwise Cola Shapper Salach, King of North Munster, or Limerick, that thereby their cloister was from the very foundation, in a short time, rebuilt so magnificently that it surpassed all in those days, and besides, with said monies, the monks purchased for their maintenance, both within the town of Ratisbon, and in the country, perpetual revenue and estate, and notwithstanding all, a great quantity of said monies was still remaining.—Peter Walsh.

1 Annals of the Four Masters, 1143.
2 Ibid. 1145.
tight line of succession was restored. But Turlough O’Brien being once more restored by Roderick O’Connor, who entered Munster after O’Neill’s departure for the North, cruelly put out the eyes of the lawful king Connor O’Brien, as well as those of his sons—acts of barbarous policy to disqualify them for the throne, the fruits of which he did not long enjoy, being deposed by his son Murtagh and banished into Leinster. This occurred in 1165, but Murtagh was not recognised as king until 1167, in which year his father, Turlough O’Brien, died. He was slain, however, in the next year by Connor O’Brien, grandson of Connor Na Cateragh, but after a short interval, the assassin and his accomplices were themselves put to death by Dermot Fitz John, the brother of his grandfather, aided by O’Toole, prince of the Desies.

In the reign of Torloge O’Brien several interesting events occurred in the history of the Church, amongst others the great Synod on National Council of Kells, at which Cardinal Paparo, Legate of Pope Eugenius III, presided, and distributed the palliums brought by him from Rome to the four Archbishops of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin and Tuam—a concession promised by Innocent II, to St. Malachy, Bishop of Down, who, with a view to obtain this favor, had himself journeyed to Rome in the year 1139. St. Malachy again visited the Continent in the Pontificate of Eugenius III, and died in the Abbey of Clairvaux, then presided over by Saint Bernard, who wrote his biography, and made those strictures on the state of the Irish Church, the severity of which is partly to be ascribed to the austerity of St. Bernard’s character, partly to the want of exact information. Another event referred to this reign which is supposed to have led to the introduction of the English, an important epoch in the history of Ireland, at which we have arrived, was the alleged abduction of Dervoghal, the wife of O’Ruarc, prince of Brefny, by Becket, to obtain the possession of MacMurrough’s county. This produced no small satisfaction for the outrage. But the truth of this story, which has been so long held as an authentic piece of history, has of late years been seriously questioned; and we have heard from the late Professor O’Curry, that he had in his possession some Irish manuscripts which invalidate the claims of this episode of the Irish Helen to be regarded as a portion of our authentic history. The date of the Synod of Kells is 1152. By it tithes were first introduced into Ireland, but they were not enforced until after the English invasion, A.D. 1172, when they were established by the Synod of Cashel.

During the reign of Murtagh Mac Neill, Monarch of Ireland, there was convened a national Synod at Kavanagh or Kells in the county of Meath; the design of this Council was the reformation of discipline and manners, and to institute two or three Archbishops in Ireland, viz., those of Dublin and Tuam. The persons appointed by the Pope to preside in this Council were Giolla Crist O’Cainaire, Bishop of Lismore, and Pope’s Legate, and the Roman Cardinal Johannes Paparo (Paparo); the four palli or copes were then conferred on the four Archbishops. This Council, says Keating, is thus recorded in an old Book of Chainadrach, viz., in the year from the Incarnation, being bisectedly, 1157 (52 for 57 is a mistake) was celebrated in the spring, a noble Council of Canons, in which Synod presided Cardinal John, a Prebendary of the Blessed St. Lawrence, and in the Assembly consisted of twenty-two Bishops, five Bishops elect and so many Abbots and Priors belonging to the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and our apostolic father Eugenius. This Cardinal condemned, and by all proper means extirpated simony and usury, and commanded thence to be paid by apostolical authority. He delivered four copes (palli) to the Archbishops of Ireland; to the Archbishops of Dublin, of Tuam, of Cashel, and Armagh Primates over the rest; and as soon as the Council was ended the said Cardinal passed the seas. Thus that old Book. Amongst the Bishops that assisted at this Council was Turloughus, Bishop of Limerick. The palliums then appointed under the Archbishopric of Cashel, were Limerick, Killaloe, Lismore (which, about the beginning of the twelfth century, was united to Limerick), Killarney, Carlow, Kilnamanagh, Cashel, Ardmore, and Abbeysheagh. Sir James Ware says that this Synod was held in 1152.—Antiq. Hibern., cap. 16.

In 1164, Donald, or Daniel O’Brien, assumed the Great, succeeded his brother Murtagh in the crown of Limerick. Roderick O’Connor, about this time, assumed being monarch of Ireland and held many wars with Donald, who would not acknowledge his sovereignty; at length, in the year 1167, they made peace and concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with each other. This Donald, king of Limerick, was a most virtuous, religious, and warlike man; according to Hugh MacCurtain, he built and endowed eighteen monasteries. But as we find most ancient authors confound his actions with those of his son, Donogh, who succeeded him, before we give an account of the landing of the English in Ireland, we shall give a particular account of all the monasteries founded as well by Donald as by his son Donogh, and shall distinguish between each.

Monasteries founded by Donald, King of Limerick.

Holycross.

1169. This abbey of Holy Cross, in the county of Tipperary, was founded by Donald O’Brien, king of Limerick; it was so called for having a great relic of the holy cross in it: the words of the charter began thus: "Donald, by the grace of God, king of Limerick, to all kings, dukes, earls, barons, knights, and other Christians of whatsoever degree throughout Ireland, perpetual greeting in Christ, &c." The Bishop of Lismore, as Pope’s Legate, the Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishop of Limerick signed this charter as witnesses. King John, when Earl of Mortimer confirmed this foundation. The abbots of this house had title of Earl of Holycross, had a seat in the house of peers in Ireland, and was commonly Vicar-General of the Cistercian Order in Ireland. The house was a daughter of the Cistercian abbey of Nenagh, in the county of Limerick.

Stair or Inislaunag.

1172. Most authors say that this year Donald O’Brien, king of Limerick, founded this abbey for the Cistercian monks in the county of Tipperary, on the banks of the river Suir. Colgan says that this abbey was long before Donald’s time, and that it was who rebuilt and endowed it in 1187.

The Cathedral of Cashel.

1172. About this time, Donald O’Brien, king of Limerick, built a new cathedral in Cashel, from the ground and endowed it; he converted the old cathedral of Cormac into a chapel or chapter-house; he likewise bestowed large revenues on the see of Cashel, to which his son Donogh, surnamed Carraige, gave others in Thomond, and amongst the rest two islands called Sullie and Kismacayl. This donation was confirmed by King John on the 6th September, 1215.

Nunery of Limerick.

1172. The said Donald, king of Limerick, founded a nunery for Augustinian nuns of the Order of Canons Regular, in Limerick, in the English town. This house was dedicated to St. Peter and was called St. Peter’s cell.
Nunnery & Kil-oen.

1194. Donald, king of Limerick, or as others say his son, Donogh, in 1200, founded an abbey for Canons Regular at Kil-money, near Clare, on the River Fergio (Fergus).

Inshenegananagh.
The said Donald either founded or rebuilt for the Canons Regular an abbey in the island called Inshenegananagh, or the island of Canons, in the Shannon, between Limerick and the sea, nearly opposite Purney island.


dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The charter which mentions it to be founded by Donogh Carbrac, son of Donald, in 1200.

1194. The same Donald founded in the county Tipperary, for the Cistercian monks, the abbey of Kilcoul, as appears by the charter relating to this convent and the chapter relating to this convent and the Order of Dominicans in Limerick.]

1 Of Monasteries and Convents, (including some few afterwards founded, and which shall be more fully noticed in the proper place), the following, alone, were in the City and County of Limerick, viz.:—

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<th>Name</th>
<th>Founders</th>
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<td>Kilnloch</td>
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<td>Abbey-ObsequatorialFranciscans</td>
<td>Limerick</td>
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1 Black Book of the Bishops of Limerick.
Irish Saints

To gratify the curious, we here insert certain catalogues with regard to the kingdom of Ireland in general, in order to show in what a flourishing state it was from the first preaching of Christianity until the coming of the English, both in learning, religion, sanctity, hospitality, and force of arms. Extracted out of Colgan's Lives of Irish Saints, and Gratianus Lucius, or John Lynch, Archdeacon of Thom's Cambrensis Evereum.

Kings of Ireland who were deemed Saints:

- St. Cottmacus, Rex Moneiens
- St. Cormacus, Rex Laponis
- St. Affius, Rex Laponis
- St. Palimus, Rex Moneiens
- St. Randus, Rex Cormain
- St. Mochlubius, Rex totius Hibern
- St. Bernen, Bux Cottma
- St. Brien Boru, Rex totius Hibern
- St. Methidueus, Rex Moneiens
- St. Mathatus
- St. Sahna, Regina
- St. Tamara, Regina
- St. Becanus, Hibernus Rex Wallisi

Twelve in all.

Irish Priests who were Saints:

- St. Derumnus
- St. Guineverus, Myr.
- St. Hispadins, Myr.
- St. Timanusa
- St. Commanus
- St. Cormachus
- St. Fachca
- St. Fierga
- St. Sugadius
- St. Maelcoen
- St. Fursaus
- St. Carthusan
- St. Tullanus
- St. Foiomannus
- St. Sermocus
- St. Yapesus
- St. Fungur
- St. Abbanus
- Sa. Pula, Myr.
- Sa. Dymna, Myr.
- Sa. Cumanus
- Sa. Ernata
- Sa. Edna, pa.
- Sa. Fedhlain
- Sa. Eitna, 2a.
- Sa. Scabilla
- Sa. Kandbeira
- Sa. Condubana
- Sa. Budgin
- Sa. Maura
- Sa. Lalra
- Sa. Dubhal, pa.
- Sa. 12 Tillium Angulit Begi
- Sa. 31 Sorrea S. Buds
- Sa. Binaises
- Sa. Panueca
- Sa. Derfiaisca

Sa. Carcha
Sa. Lochuna
Sa. Demina, Myr.
St. 12 Fliti, Bretcan Rerga
S. Nemidus
St. 12 Fili, Stb. Bretcan Rega
S. Nettia
S. Florentius
S. ultanus
S. Romulus

197 in all.

Irish Saints writers of rules:

- S. Patrick
- S. Columb
- S. Alban
- S. Declanus
- S. Connellus
- S. Carthagus
- S. Mola
- S. Mocess
- S. Flincasus
- S. Columbaanus
- S. Klirrusus
- S. Bremadans
- S. Brigida

Thirteen in all.

The number of Monks in some Monasteries in Ireland:

- 300 under St. Facbnus
- 150 under St. Natalis
- 150 under St. Maicducus
- 150 under St. Wytius
- 43o under St. Mochteus
- 879 under St. Coarzhas
- 1600 under St. Godbadus
- 1500 under St. Lasseramus
- 1500 in Munget, Abbey
- 2000 under St. Brondanes
- 3000 under St. Flincasus
- 3003 under St. Conqalas
- 3000 under St. Geraldus
- 150 under St. Monaebisbig, in France
- 300 under St. Columbaanus
- 3000 under St. Caidocus

The number of Monks founded by each Irish writer of rules:

- S. Tadranus, Dr
- S. Mireddus, Dr
- S. Machebben Dr
- S. DommCUS, Dr
- S. Colea, Dr
- S. Donnabnus, Dr
- S. Rurreasus, Dr
- S. Conchebnausus, Dr
- S. Forcherusus
- S. Funamusus
- S. Kirramus, 1st
- S. Columba, 1st
- S. Hranus, 1st
- S. Marius
- S. Flincus
- S. Bearnas
- S. Mocess
- S. Rorrentanus
- S. Sconchebnausus
- S. Oudus
- S. Patricius, Apost.
- S. Fanchanusus, the founder of the Academy of Ron
- S. Arnchellus
- S. Manulssus
- S. Johannes Soctus Regina, founder, with King Alric of the University of Oxon
- S. Petrus ab Hiberna, Master of St. Thomas
- S. Richard Armachanness
- S. Mariones Soctus
- E. Maucesus Gorman
- S. Gallus
- S. Lomanus
- S. Patricius
- S. Bearnas
- S. Rorrentanus
- S. Evinus
- S. Comerceus, in the Academy of Otn
- S. Adamansus
- S. Murus
- S. Canarusus
- S. ultanus
- S. Evinus
- S. Delansus
- S. Herratus
- S. Cathcausus
- S. Hartuus
- S. Wicin
- S. Catherinus
- S. Breabatus, in France
- S. Gildas
- S. Mairius
- S. Herlatus, 20
- S. Calga Sepkes
- S. Conchebnausus
- S. Sylvanus
- S. Tridolinos
- S. Dagonius
- S. Cutchartaus, 21
- The number of Monasteries founded by and for the Irish in foreign countries:

- 2 at Ratisbon
- 1 at Passtim & Plandra
- 1 at Vienna
- 1 at Nureberg
- 1 at Ystalia
- 1 at Wiesbaun
- 19 in Ireland & 90 in Martyrex

Irish Saints who preached the Gospel in other countries:

- S. Claudius at Tarentum
- S. Enmiasus at Pamna
- S. Silanus & S. Frigidiansus at Lusca
- S. Andrews at St. Denitus at Lantenum, Fidoll
- John Althusius, founder of the Academy at Popia or Tiel
- S. Coathus at Bobilm
- S. Gutoyn, Myr. at Milan
- S. Livinus, sen.
- S. Peregrinus of Alpa

In Italy:

- S. Cathalanus at Tarentum
- S. Eumiasus at Pamna
- S. Silanus & S. Frigidiansus at Lusca
- S. Andrews at St. Denius at Lantenum, Fidoll
- John Althusius, founder of the Academy at Popia or Tiel
- S. Coathus at Bobilm
- S. Guitorius, Myr. at Milan
- S. Livinus, sen.
- S. Biamus & S. Meno

In France:

- S. Claudius at Bourbon
- S. Enmiasus at Pamna
- S. Livinus, sen.
- S. Perigenius of Alpa

In England:

- S. Claudius at St. Bertin
- S. Follasus at Tullus
- S. Hewius at Gellon
- S. Celluanus at Lantenum, Fidoll
- S. Althiasus at Perigoed
- S. Ferrius about Lyons
- S. Persius at Persum
- S. Sidonius at Martues
- S. Odoeres at Agen

In Germany:

- St. Monem, Myr. at Lonic
- S. Florenius
- S. Aegnochus at Herimmuse
- S. Autobusus, Landenm

In Spain:

- S. Liamus, Myr. at Leon
- S. Eusobius, Master of St. Mondi
- S. Rubiusus, Latan

In the Netherlands:

- S. Columbaanus
- St. Almus

In Iceland:

- St. Buus Apostol of whom 8

In the Isle of Man:

- St. Germans, 1st Bishop
- St. Conallius
- St. Machabius

IRISH WITNESS:

- T. Hanvey
- St. Moluanus, Ap. of Thurling
- St. Kilian, Ap. of Francia
- S. Hlikas

In Great Britain:

- St. Columba
- St. Althusius, King of Northumberland
- St. Fimnaus St. Coabius
- St. Munchen St. Frenobius
- St. Merebius at Tullus
- St. Celluanus at Lantenum, Fidoll
- St. Althiasus at Persum
- S. Sidonius at Martues
- S. Odoeres at Agen

In Ireland:

- St. Almus, Myr. at Lonic
- St. Calpasus, Master of St. Mondi
- St. Rubiusus, Latan

We supplement many of the names from the Apology of Stephen White, S.J., of Clonmel.
Hospitals for receiving Pilgrims and Strangers:—

900 in Ulster
900 in Connaught
900 in Leinster
1080 in Munster

Irish Saints of the same name:—

10 Gobban
12 Dihbaili
12 Malcoi
13 Odraii
13 Camone
13 D i. i
14 Hrenda
14 Fisianlan
14 Roni
15 Connall
15 Cormaci
15 Dernittli
15 Log Uass
16 Lassara
17 Sarrain

18 Eraniu
18 Foellai
19 Byllani
20 Kyrawi
20 Uitani
22 Killian
23 Aid
24 Columb
24 Crigolai
25 Senani
28 Abdi
30 Gromai
34 Moch Texi
43 Laverali
58 Mochnani
105 Fintun
300 Colman

The number of Irish Saints who preached in other countries:—

10 preached in Italy
78 preached in France
5 preached in Lorrain
13 preached in Burgundy
50 preached in Netherland
11 preached in Fismaland
22 preached in Germany
26 preached in Ireland
106 preached in Scotland
59 preached in England

Conclaves in Ireland:—

At Lione
At Keven
At Meath, 1106
At Chlone, 1162
At Cashell, 1162
At Cashell, 1162
At Cashell, 1162
At Attahlyphiok, 1167
At Fidmac, 1111
At Rathbrazil, 1115
At Ardmach, 1170
At Mallonfent, 1157
At Kells, 1157
At Roscommon, 1158
At Loughane
At Iasia Padrighy, St. Patrick

We know of 2229 Irish Saints, even not counting their companions, of whom 300 preached the gospel in foreign countries, not counting their companions. Of these 529 were holy abbots; 830 were bishops and martyrs, and numberless holy bishops; 31 archbishops of Armagh mere saints; 21 of whom immediately succeeded each other; 990 Irish monks were martyred by the Danes in the monastery of Benchee; 1200 Irish monks were martyred by the Danes together with their abbot Abel; 777 Irishmen martyred in Ireland; and only one, St. Odonon, Proto martyr, was martyred in Ireland by the Irish. 23 English saints received their studies and education in Ireland; 3000 others have studied in Ireland; 100 Cambri or from Britanny have studied in Ireland. Innumerable were the Italians, French, in short from all nations had recourse to Ireland in order to perfect themselves in their studies, and the knowledge of the scriptures; so that it may well be doubted whether Ireland acquired more glory from the great number of saints whom it sent abroad in order to teach and preach the gospel to foreign nation., or from the great number of foreigners who resorted to Ireland in order to be perfected in all manner of literature and knowledge.

Chapter VI.

The Norman Invasion.

It was thus that Ireland was situated with regard to religion and education, at the period of the invasion, which must have been regarded by the Norman conquerors of England as an inevitable and necessary supplement to the conquest of the Anglo-Saxons, though it was not attempted for a full century after the battle of Hastings. But from the time that Henry II. had obtained from the Englishman, Nicholas Breakspeare, who then filled the chair of St. Peter under the name of Adrian IV., the Bull of donation which had been procured under the hypocritical representation that the Irish Church was in a state of deplorable corruption, the attempt at invasion was only a question of time. Unfortunately our countrymen were divided at the time, which made the work of the invaders comparatively easy. The Irish were admittedly more divided then, than they were at any previous period of their history; and if they suspected the lengths to which the ambition of the first invaders would extend, which it does not appear they did, for the Annals of the Four Masters say the Irish thought nothing of these "fleets of the Flemings" as they called the invaders, they were still quite unprepared for the work of treachery which has conferred lasting infamy on the name of Dermot MacMorrough. We regret to have to record that the house of O'Brien, forgot in this crisis of the national fortunes the noble principle of its founder, Brian, who never on any occasion could be induced to avail himself of the assistance of foreigners against the general interest of the nation. Unfortunately, the king of Thomond had not yet forgiven Roderick for the assumption of the chief Sovereignty, nor forgotten the long custom of the supremacy of the dynasty to which he himself belonged. The important events of the invasion commencing in the descent of three or four hundred men, and terminating in the recognition by O'Connor of Henry as Suzerain, together with the formation of the armed colony called the English Pale, belonging to the general history of Ireland, cannot with propriety be given in detail in a local history. Stannhurst and a contemporary, Newcroger, give a very unfavorable notion of the characters, circumstances, and motives of the leaders of this expedition, which is generally supposed to have occurred in the month of May 1169, at a place near Fethard in Wexford, called Bagnan, where traces of the slight fortification mentioned by Maurice Ragan in his Fragment of Irish History still exist.

On the arrival of Strongbow, who had been preceded by that of Raymond le Gros, the invaders made rapid progress. They took Loughgorman (Wexford), and entered Portlawe (Waterford) by storm. Gillemaire (or Reginald), a Dane who commanded the tower, and Ua Feilain (O'Phelan), lord of the Deis, were put to the sword, with seven hundred men. The invaders next enforced the submission of the Danish occupants of Dublin. O'Ruan and O'Carroll were obliged to retire after besieging Dublin for three days; and Asgall, or Asculphus, the Danish ruler, was deposed to make room for King Raymond le Gros was at Dundurn. The name of Bagnan is said to be derived from Fitzgeralds two ships, the Beog and the Banen, which the Anglo-Norman adventurers burned after their landing.
Dermot, who made several destructive forays, in Meath and Brefny, and returned to Dublin laden with spoils. Macarthy, with the troops of Desmond, had gained a victory at Waterford, but this was the only success obtained at the time, and it appears to have been of little value.

It is mortifying to have to record of a scion of the illustrious house of Erian,—whose descendants, as we have stated in an earlier chapter, still occupy territories which have been in the possession of this ancient race for full 1600 years—that Donald O'Brien of Thomond, and his valiant Dalassians, joined the enemies of their country against the Irish monarch, Boderick O'Connor—though we shall find the O'Briens and Dalassians fighting against and defeating the English shortly after. Towards the close of the year 1170, a Connaught fleet, followed by a Connaught army, advanced over the Shannon, plundered Thomond, plundered Ormond, and destroyed the wooden bridge at Killaloe. The next year was rendered remarkable for the death of Dermot Macmorrough.

On the death of Macmorrough, "Diarmuid na Gall," a "Dermot of the Foreigners," as the Irish historians call him, Earl Strongbow got himself proclaimed King of Leinster, to which he had no right whatever according to the Irish laws. In the meantime, while the northern dynasts were employed in quarrelling amongst themselves, the territories of the degenrate king of Thomond were harassed by continual expeditions from Connaught. In the meantime, Henry had determined upon paying a visit to Ireland, and in the month of October, 1172, he landed safely at Waterford, where he established his head quarters.

On the arrival of Henry, who was accompanied in this expedition by a force consisting of four hundred knights and four hundred men at arms, Strongbow presented him with the keys of the city of Waterford, and did homage after the feudal manner for the kingdom of Leinster. Dermot M'Carthy, prince of Desmond, on the next day surrendered the city of Cork, did homage and consented to pay tribute; and King Henry, now an acknowledged sovereign, advanced at the head of his army to Lismore, from which, after a brief sojourn, he proceeded to Cashel, where, in Cormac's Chapel, he received in succession the submission of Donal O'Brien, king of Thomond, who surrendered to him his city of Limerick, promised tribute and swore fealty—an example which was followed by Donchad of Ossory, O'Toole (Phelane) of the Desies, and other chiefs of Munster. We have already mentioned that King Boderick O'Connor had dispatched an army into Thomond to punish the defection of O'Brien, who had formed an alliance with Macmorrough, and had fought several battles with the Irish monarch, being assisted by Fitzstephen, who was now a prisoner in Reginald's Tower at Waterford, whether he had been brought by the men of Wexford. On returning to Waterford, however, Henry set Fitzstephen free, inflicted severe punishment upon his treacherous enemies, and annexed Wexford and the adjoining territory to his royal domain. There is no authority whatever in the native annals for the statement that Henry was now recognised by a meeting of the states of Ireland; nor that all the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland now waited upon Henry, and not only tendered their own submission, but gave him letters signed and sealed, and making over to him and his heirs for ever the sovereignty of Ireland.

In the year 1172 was held the celebrated Synod of Cashel, in which various rules were made for the enforcement of discipline and morality, for there was no doctrinal matter discussed at this much misrepresented meeting, whatever assertions to the contrary may have been made by interested parties. The payment of tythes, which had been previously enjoined at the Synod of Kells, was again enforced, at this Synod, as also the catechising of infants, the rejection of marriages with relations, and the exemption of ecclesiastical property from the exactions of laymen, as well as from the enrichments of contributors for hospices. In other respects the Irish laws were not interfered with, the people being governed by their own Breton laws and their native usages and institutions from the time of Henry the II. to that of Elizabeth. Matthew Paris, Littleton, Ware, and even O'Connor, have strangely mistaken the nature of another meeting held by Henry at Lismore, which they misrepresent as a parliament that "communicated to Ireland the laws and customs of England." Whereas it appears clearly from the proceedings of the Synod that there was no interference with the old laws and customs. Amongst the territories granted in the county of Limerick to Fitzgerard and his relations, were the baronies of Cork and Kerry, which afterwards received in succession the submission of the native family of O'Connell (from whom Castleconnell and Carrig-O'Connell, now Carrigogunmell, received their name) in consideration," says Lynch, "of lands assigned them in the counties of Kerry and Clare, where branches of that family continue to the.

Fitzstephen was also confined in Beg Erin, in Wexford Harbour, about two miles from Wexford.

Desmonds.—The territory which gave its enormous power to the great house of Desmond, was acquired under curious circumstances. King John gave Desmond and Devis to FitzAnthony, he had five daughters, all of whom were married. The younger daughter of John FitzThomas Fitz Gerald. In the Irish civil war, he was the one of the sons-in-law of Anthony who took the king's side; so Edward L, as Lord of Ireland, gave him the counties of Kerry and Limerick to the young Fitz stephen Fitz Gerald. John Fitz Thomas came to Dublin as his kinsman and representative and took the royal letters patent, and called upon the Lord Justice to grant him the estate of his title. Stephen de Longuepe, who then held the office, had secret ties which bound him to the other sons-in-law of the late Lord of Desmond, and he would not comply with this reasonable demand. Fitz Thomas showed the letters patent. The king, said Longuepe, has been grossly deceived. Furtive at such a charge, the haughty Geraldine departed from Dublin, and set the first example of resistance to the constituted authorities for which his house were afterwards so famous. He called the tenants of
Decies and Desmond together, showed them the letters patent, and then took forcible possession of that extensive country. The King's Treasurer refused to receive the rent due to the crown, the justice refused to acknowledge him; but Mr. Thomas eventually succeeded against them both, was created Earl of Desmond, and left these estates to his posterity. By a letter in his name still held; for the Knights of O'Gin and Kerry are Geraldines of the Desmond Branch, the great Mitchelstown estate has descended to the Earls of Kingston, as direct heirs to the White Knights, also Geraldines, and Fitz-Anthony's lordship of Decies, passing to the younger son of one of the Earls of Desmond, is still possessed by his direct heir, the fair lady in whom the great family of Fitzgerald of the Decies ended, having given her hand and property to a Villiers, from which marriage Lord Stuart of Decies descends.

Maurice Regan thus continues the history of the king's movements, as we find him translated from that extensive country. Desmonds, all sorts of Muraltas a were at excessive rates.

When the Kyng made his abode at Dublin, and the Earle Richard at Kildare; and in this Tyne of the Kyng's being in Ireland all sorts of Virtuals a were at excessive rates.

While the Kyng remained at Dublin, by Mess. oters and Intelligence out of England he was certified that 1st son, the young King Henry, his rebelled against him, and that Normandy was in Danger to revolt unto hym.

This ill news troubled the Kyng beyond all Measure and informed he hasten his return out of Ireland. The Citty of Waterford he left in the Custody of Robert Fitz Bernard, and Dublin unto Hugh de Lacy. Robert Fitz Stephen, Meuler Fitz Henry, and Myles Fitz David, were in a sort restrained, and to remain at Dublin with Lacey. Before his departur from Dublin he gave unto Hugh de Lacy the Inheritance of all Meath, to hold of hym at fifty Knights Fees, and he John de Courcey he gave all Ulster, if he could. But conquer it.

When the Kyng had taken provisional Order for the Affaires of Ireland, he went to Weixard, where he inbarqued, and arrived at Portfinan in Wales, halfe a Leage from St. David's, and in his Companie Miles de Cogan, whom he carried with him out of Ireland; and from thence with all possible Expedition he part through England, and so into Normandy.

The Ring being departid, the Earl Richard returned into Fernes, and ther he gave his Daughter in Marriage to Robert de Quincey, and with her the inheritance of the Duftren and the Constableship of Leister, with the Banner and Ensigne of the same; the Wisses of the Author are these—

Sa fille ad Marie A Robert de Quicy, had done Iloc esten le Marriage Veen fut le bannarge, A Robert la Donat de Quincey Et tut le Duffer alltrei Le Constable de Leynatre Et l'Ensigne et le Bannere.

His Daughter he married To Robert de Quincey, And when the Marriage was solemniz'd, He gave to Robert de Quincey Not only the Dufferen, But the Constableship of Leister, And the Ensign and Banner thereof.

From thence he went to Kildare, making many incursions unto Ophalie upon O'Dempsey, Lord of that Country, who refused to come upon hym, and to deliver Hostages. He gave Maurice de Prendergast (in performance of his promise made unto him when he brought him into Ireland) Fernyogenal, for the service of ten Knights, which was afterwards conferred on Robert Fitz Godoebert, but by what means he obtained it I know not.—Maurice Regan's Fragment of the History of Ireland.

This Fragment is now published by Pickering, the text carefully made out by the eminent scholar, Franciscus Michel. And it appears that the poet sets out by stating, not that he is Maurice Regan, but that he obtained his information direct from Maurice Regan.

* PRENDERGAST.—Maurice de Prendergast, one of the most eminent of the companions of Strongbow in the conquest of Ireland, was Lord of Prendergast, a castle and small parish near Haversford West, in Pembroke shire; it is the traditional history reported to have been related to Strongbow by his mother. Dowing's Annals style him "brilliant," Johnes says he was "a gentle- man, born in South Wales; a right valiant captain," and a "valiant and hardy man, born about Wiltshire, in West Wales." Whilst Giraldus gives him likewise the character of being "a remarkable strong man."

He was the first to bring reinforcements to Robert Fitz-Stephen, reaching Ireland the day after that celebrated soldier, having under his command two ships, ten knights, and sixty archers. This was in May, 1169, Dowing says on the 2nd of that month.

We find him taking a prominent part in many of the ensuing fights. which are graphically described in the contemporary poem, the "Conquest of Ireland," partly derived from information furnished by Maurice Regan, the secretary of Strongbow.

In the great fight with the Prince of Osseorie, when that dynast had almost defeated the joint army of King Dermod and the English, it was the personal influence and word of Maurice de Prendergast that persuaded the king and his captains to make the successful and safe assault on the fortifications erected by Donald of Osseorie. His address is given in the "Conquest of Ireland," July 666, which may be modified into French as follows:

"Seigneurs baron communaux (companions and fellow soldiers) hast avancez tous nos fea val.
Que nous fusion en la montagne ! En de champ et en la plaine!
Car armes vous aimez, les prés, les vausques hardies et combattante.
Et les traitres soz vos uns
Hantoy et bruante
Pourez, all tournoys en seur champ
Il n'auroit de mort garant."

[No security against death.]

We thus find that the superiority of the English arms and armour was an important ingredient in the result of the conquest of Ireland.

Strongbow's departure from Ireland, after Strongbow's departure from Ireland, as to disgust many of them, and among others the haughty Maurice de Prendergast. He determined to return to Wales with his retinue, consisting of 200 soldiers. But King Dermod opposing his designs by force and treachery. Maurice joined with Donald, the prince of Osseorie, in attacking Dermod with success. But Donald and his Irish could not act long in concert with the English, who were under the orders of Prendergast, and after many adventures, the latter eventually fought his way back to Wales. The next year, 1170, however, saw Strongbow and Prendergast on their return to Ireland, with fifteen hundred men where they landed or in Ulster, or as the Anglo-Norman has it:

"Solum deit s a sancsens"
Bien tost apres, Richard li quens
A Waterford arriva:
Bien qu'ing cent de sei mena.
La ville Saint Bartholomae
Esti li quens arrive. — Sec. V. 1501.

We next real of Prendergast as ambassador, jointly with the Archbishop of Dublin, from the Normans beseeched in that city to their Irish believers. But as long as would not agree to permit the Norman lords to hold Leister, even as a gift of Roderick O'Connor, the King of Connaught, the negotiation had no result, and eventually the Irish were defeated.
Irish princes; and it is curious to reflect how easily the same immense property, which now passed from the Mac Carthys to the Geraldines, passed again to other English strangers after the rebellion of the usurping Earl of Desmond, from the descendants of these very invaders. In the latter case the English had no light whatever to transfer the property any more than in the former, for the rebellious Earl of Desmond was not the lawful owner of the property which the English confiscated.

In the year 1175, according to Ware, who follows the account given by English authors, Henry II. sent Nicholas Prior of Willingford, and William Fitz-Alldem, ancestor of the De Burgos, to Ireland, with the bull of Pope Alexander III., which confirmed that of Adrian, and was read and approved of in an assembly of bishops at Waterford, conferring on this Prince the title of Lord of Ireland and other privileges. But there is no mention of recall. -Just, however, as he was on the point of departing, O'Brien of Thomond surrounded Limerick with a large force, and the troops refusing to march under any but Raymond, Strongbow was obliged to restore him to his command, and ordered him to proceed to Cashel, near which city O'Brien, raising the siege of Limerick, had strongly entrenched himself. On this occasion Raymond was, we regret to say, aided by the chiefs of Ossoy and Kinsale, to whose exhortations, as well as to the impetuous valour of Meyler Fitzhenry, Raymond was greatly indebted for the victory which he obtained.

The period of Irish subjugation was now not long deferred—though the jurisdiction of the English can hardly be said to have extended beyond the limits of the pen before the reign of James I. The brave king of Thomond was now obliged to ask for peace, and the Irish monarch being convinced it impossible to make head against his enemies, had at last determined to send an embassy to England to make as good terms for himself as he could.1

1 The ambassadors appointed to negotiate for the unfortunate Roderick, were Cathollus or Callow O'Duffy, archbishop of Tuam, the abbot of Clonfert, and "Master Lawrence," Chancellor to Roderick, who, according to some writers, was no other than the illustrious patriot St. Lawrence O'Toole, who after doing all he could to save the independence of his native country, retired to France where he died. The contracting parties met at Windsor, and the result is thus briefly described in the Leinster Annals.—"Anno 1175, Cathollus O'Duffy came out of England from the Emperor's son, with the peace of Ireland and the royal sovereignty of all Ireland to Rory O'Connor, and his own Coreugus (province) to each provincial king in Ireland, and their rents to Rory." By this treaty Roderick became a tributary king, but only two kings of the Irish potarchy, and three of the principal cities, were exempted from his jurisdiction, and we shall find his descendants, as well as those of the king of Thomond, exercising their sovereignty to a late period in the history of Ireland. In the same council Henry appointed an Irishman named Augustus to the bishopric of Waterford, and sent him to Ireland to be consecrated by the Emperor's son, and to Ireland to be consecrated by Donatus, bishop of Cashel. At this period the following were the chief divisions of Ireland: Desmond, under the O'Briens; Hy Kinsale, or Leinster, under the O'Briens; Hy Kinsallagh line of Mahons; the South Hy Nail under the Clan Colmans, otherwise the O'Mahelings; the North Hy Nail under the O'Nealls and O'Donnells, who had not yet submitted to the English; and Hy Fiacra, otherwise the O'Flanerys, who held their property together with Hy Fiaura, otherwise the O'Donovans, and of the same family.

A more detailed list of the Irish territories and chiefs is given by O'Halloran, which may be acceptable to our readers, as containing an account of the principal chieftainties of Thomond, at the time when the fatal chain of foreign domination was riveted by the insenous divisions between the nations, which the new Lord Paramount, Henry II. knew so well how to fortify.

Alphabetical list of ancient Irish territories in Limerick, Clare, and Tippets—and by what Milesian families possessed, both before and after the invasion of Henry II. Aberloe, in the county of Limerick, the estate of a branch of the O'Briens. Alus Clach, in the county of Limerick, the lordship of O'Kirkwic. Aule Clach, extending from Cloc Groins, to near Limerick, was the patrimony of O'Connell, and Castle Connel his chief residence. Aradh Clach, in the county of Tipperary, near Killalo, the estate of Mac O'Brien Arad. Aule proprietor was O'Donogan, of the Erinian race. Arad, east of Cashel, in the county of Tipperary, the lordship of O'Dea. Bally Hallanan, in the county of Limerick, the ancient estate of O'Hallanan, but in later times Mac Sheehies.

Burren, a royal mansion in the county of Limerick, the seat of O'Donovan, chief of Kerry. Burren, or eastern Corcanroadh, a barony in the county of Clare, the principality of Louglin.

Cahar, in the county of Tipperary, the estate of O'Lonagan. Cairbre Aodhcha, now called Kerry, in the county of Limerick, the ancient estate of O'Donovan, O'Cleriga, and O'Plaskey.

Collin, in the county of Clare, the territory of O'Hehir. Carran Fearshallagh, or Cnoc Aine, in the county of Limerick, the estate of O'Grady. Cell Tannan, in the county of Clare, the estate of O'Mollony. Ciste Pama, in the county of Thomond, the estate of O'Dea. Clan Deria, in the county of Clare, the ancient territory of Mac Mahon. Cleanach, in the county of Clare, the property of Mac Mahon. Clan Mac Diarmaid, in the county of Clare, the estate of the Mac Clinkions, hereditary lord justices of Thomond.

Conal Ghabhhar, or Ibh Conal Ghabhhar, the present baronies of Connello, in the county of Limerick, the ancient territory of O'Connell; but afterwards we find it possessed by the O'Kineales, and O'Cailins, or Collins [and long before the invasion by the O'Tradges and Scallans]. Comall Jachtrasch, or lower Connello, in the county of Limerick, besides the Cineales, and O'Collins, we find the O'Sheehans had lordships there.
The treaty of Windsor took place in the year before the defeat of the king of Thomond. Not long after the latter event MacCarthy conferred an extensive territory in the county of Kerry upon Maurice, son of Raymond, who became powerful by his marriage with the daughter of Milo de Cogan, and gave his name to the territory of Clan Morris, and to his descendants as Fitzmaurice as represented by the Marquis of Lansdowne.1

Corca, a territory in the county of Clare, the estate of O'Keeffe and O'Heffernan. Corca-Bhalagain, now the Barony of Moatara, in the county of Clare, the ancient territory of O'Briene and O'Donnell, but for some centuries past the estate of the Mac Mahons of Thomond. Corcomruadh, in princely in the county of the Macarthy-Carranruadh, of the Irish race.

Curragh, in the county of Limerick, belonging to a branch of the O'Briene. Cuilcuaigh, in the county of Clare, the patrimony of O'Dubuighe, as Dubh. Darach, in Thomond, the patrimony of Mac Domhnaidh descendant from Brian Bolronne. Darby, in the county of Clare. Ebrach-ul-Cheirighe, in the county of Tipperary, the ancient territory of O'Fergarty. Eoghanacht-Aine-Glish, in the county of Limerick, the lordship of O'Keirvick. Eoghanacht-Cashel, extended from Cashel to Ross of his principal chief was Mac Carthy, head of the Eoghanacht line.

Eoghanacht-Graffan, in the county of Tipperary, the lordship of O'Sullivan; and their principal seat was at Crome Grann on the banks of the Sluane.

Faithui-Hallane, extending from Tulca to Clare in Thomond, the estate of O'Halloran of the Hebridean race.

Fearan-Singli, called Single-Land, but more properly the Land of the Holy Angel, near Limerick, the ancient estate of the O'Conegas or Counts.

Bh-Fhuin, now called Tearnui-Mhare, in the county of Tipperary, the lordship of O'Mara. Bh-Eochrach, in the county of Clare, the estate of O'Dea.

Eibhliin (Eibhliie), as represented by the Marquis of Lansdowne, as the name which words import the hereditary figure of a large family, of which there are scarcely any remains at this day.

Eoghanacht-ConCharha (Eoghanacht-Concharha) I suppose the present Tuam-Greine in the county Clare, the ancient lordship of O'Gara or O'Gersdy.

Maithfadh-Maithfadh, near Enniny, in the county of Tipperary, the estate of O'Carthy.

Maithfadh-Maithfadh, near Kilskeeneck, in the county of Limerick, the estate of O'Hhe.

Oisin-ug-Ghealans, now Six Mile Bridge, in the county of Clare, the estate of O'Keary.

Pobului-Brainn, now a barony in the county of Limerick, the county of a branch of the O'Brien family.

Bath-Conan, in the county of Limerick, the estate of O'Cassidy. The present Viscouit Pay, enjoys a part of his estate, in right of his great-grandmother, the heir of O'Cassidy.

Scalherkn, in the county of Clare, the estate of the Mac Bennolds, ancient historians of North Munster.

Traideire, or Traideacha, now a barony in the county of Clare, before the incursion, the residence of the MacBanna, or Murseon, Knights, from Daire, the son of Derg, called, and which words import the warriors of Daire, Lord Inchequin is the present chief of Traideire.

Trioncha-caul-Claisin, the barony of Tulla, in the county of Clare, the estate of MacNamara, hereditary Lord Marshal of Thomond.

Tuaimui-Mhare, in the county of Tipperary, the lordship of O'Mara.

Tuath-Mulimhain, North Munster, or Thomond, extended from the isle of Aran to Slieath Elbhine, near Cashel, to Carran Fergusadh, or Knock Aine, in the county of Limerick; from Luine na Conner, or Loop Head, to Slieath Dalas, in Osery; but in later ages it was circumscribed to the present county of Clare, of which the O'Brien are hereditary.

Tullachbrein, in the county of Clare, the estate of O'Gorman.

Tullalahall, in the county of Tipperary, the estate of O'Bryan, or O'Mul Bryan.—O'Hollaren.\ 1 In the beginning of June 1176, according to Bolland (according to others in May 1177), as the celebrated Strongbow, who was killed at Dublin on Reginald's account, to the city of Limerick from the Sluane. He was a native of the Sluane, as usual, describe as a providential visitation for the English, to save them from the English, and to establish the English, as the English. He had set up as the figure of a stallwart bight, armed cap-a-pie, and having the hope crossed as with cross of a Trinity, he has made upon the template as on the wall in Limerick, and over it appears the following inscription, inserted in a tablet in the wall:

The ancient, most venerable, and renowned church of St. John the Baptist, which was built by the famous and renowned invader of Ireland, 1169, Gilb of 1177. The monument was set up as the charge of the Right Honorable Sir Henry Sydney, Knight of the Noble Order, 1st President of Wales, 1st Deputy of Ireland.
the whole province of Munster. Dr. O'Brien, one of the descendants of the house of Thomond, supplies us with an account of the part borne in them by the O'Briens.1

The annals of the Four Masters have a curious entry at the year 1180:—

Cesar O'Toole, i.e., Laurence, archbishop of Leinster and legate of Ireland, suffered martyrdom in England.2 His death really took place at the monastery of Hey, in Normandy. He was connected maternally with the house of Thomond. His mother, according to the authorities quoted by Ware,3 who gives the above anecdote, being Ingen O'Brien, that is, daughter of the prince. His father was the youngest son of Murchadach O'Toole, the head of the second most powerful house in Leinster, and at that time lord of Hy-Munradhaigh, comprising the southern half of Kildare, not of Imale in Wicklow, as Laganan and Moore state, though their family did at this time take possession of Imale, which had been previously possessed by O'Teige.4 Laganan has curiously and characteristically mistaken Hy-Munradhaigh (which is called O'Murchadach Giralda) for O'More.5 We have been thus particular about this illustrious man, not merely on account of his connection with the kings of Limerick, but of the important part that he played in the history of these evil times.

In the year 1188, the annals of the Four Masters record the treacherous murder of Brian, the son of Turloch O'Brien, by Randal Macmamna Beg.6

In the year 1185, the son of the king of England, that is, John, the son of Henry, came to Ireland with a fleet of sixty ships to assume the government of the kingdom. He took possession of Dublin and Leinster, and erected castles at Tipperary, Ardnaman, and Ardfecht, out of which he plundered Munster, but his people were defeated with great slaughter by Donnell O'Brien.7 The son of the king of England then returned to England to complain to his father of Hugo de Lacy, who was the king of England’s deputy in Ireland on his (John’s) arrival, and who had prevented the Irish kings from sending him (John) either tribute or hostages.8

1 "A.D. 1178. Donal O'Brien, at the head of the entire Dalconnian tribes, greatly distressed and reduced all the English, laid waste their country with fire and sword, and obliged the dispersed Eugeneans to seek for shelter in the woods and fastnesses of Ecu-Eachan, on the south of the river Lee. In this expedition they routed the O'Donnovan of Erc-Eigiltine or Caile Breadhba, in the county of Limerick, and the O'Cottlins of Erc-Canna Gabhla, or Lower Connello, in the country beyond the mountain of Magrion, to the western parts of the county of Cork, where these two exiled Eugenean families, being powerfully assisted by the O'Mahonys, made new settlements for themselves in the pleasant parts of the O'Connell's, O'Leary, and O'Byrne's, where three families, which had always been the boundary between the borderers of Loughgane, where Auliff Mor O'Donoghue, assumed Connamach, had made some settlements before this epoch.

2 Ware’s Bishops.

3 The ruins of the castle, built at Ardman, are still to be seen on a rock overhanging the river Sair, in the barony of Inis and Offa, and county of Tipperary, where Cos, Lelan and Moore have also placed the castle of Tipai, Tachtuis. The followers of the prince John are described by Giraldus, Hammer and Compion, in the most uncomplimentary language. Giraldus describes them as talkative, boastful, envious swearers, insolent, and Compion’s:—The great quaquers, lauders, and prattle phronytes, fed with extortion and lyes.—History of Ireland.

4 In the year 1188 we find the following entries in the Annals of the Four Masters:—"Edwint, the daughter of O'Quin and Queen of Munster, died on her pilgrimage at Derry, victorious over the world and the devil." This lady was daughter of O'Quin, chief of Munster-Iffernan, in Thomond, now represented by the Earl of Drurra. In 1189, John de Courcy and the English of Ireland made an incursion into Connaught, accompanied by Conor O'Derniell; upon which Conor Meilaney, King of Connought, assembled all the chiefmen of Connought, who were joined by Donnell O'Brien, at the head of some of the men of Munster.—Annals of the Four Masters.

5 The O'Quins and O'Deans were the chief families in the district called from the latter, Dysert O'Dea.—See Bishop O'Dea’s Life in the Ecclesiastical part.

6 HISTORY OF LIMERICK.

In 1192, the English settlers in Leinster, taking advantage of the quarrels between the sons of Roderick O'Connor, wasted the territory of Thomond, but they suffered severely for their temerity. In the year 1193, say the annals of the Four Masters, "the English of Leinster committed great depredations against Donnell O'Brien. They pursued over the plains of Killaloe, and directed their course westwards, until they had reached a plain near the Shannon, the fortune of Killaloe, in the east of the county Clare, where they were opposed by the Dalogenes, who slew a great number of them. In this expedition the English erected the castles of Killaloe (about four and a-half miles to the east of the town of Tipperary), and Knockgrafton (about two miles to the north of the town of Cahir). Donnell O'Brien defeated the English of Ossory and made a great slaughter of them.9

The neighbourhood of Thurles was the scene of two defeats of the English by the brave king of Thomond.10 A memorial of these defeats of the English still remains in the Graves of the Leinster Men, which are situated in the barony of Owney and Arva, not far distant from the Slate Quarries, about two miles N.E. of Donny Castle House, and in the valley that lies between Thum-Thina (the Wave of Fire) mountain and the high lands behind Derry. Rynagh Castle, town, and fort are in the townland of Derry Neevey Nap. They occupy upon these ancient depositories of the remains, which were made during some drainage operations, when the peasantry declared they discovered a number of supernatural footprints near the resting place of these valiant warriors, and on the margin of a certain reservoir which was formed on the side of the mountain to drive a wheel. The wander destruction of one of the graves, some time before, had occasioned great indignation among the people. In the year 1194, when the annals record this, the twain still remained among the people. In the year 1195, when the annals record this, the twain still remained among the people.

7 The Four Masters mention that in A.D. 1213, O'Donnell having, in pursuit of Meilahach O'Daly, plundered and laid waste Thomond, followed him to the gates of Limerick, and forced him to cast his camp at Cean-Og Donnell (O'Donnell’s) marsh, so-called from that circumstance, laid siege to the city, upon which the inhabitants, at the command of O'Donnell, expelled Meilahach.—Annals of the Four Masters.

8 We find the following entry in the Annals of Connemara for the year 1216:—"Geoffry Marcha, De Moriscoue, founded a castle at Killaloe and forced the inhabitants to receive a great lamp in peace and war, and the brilliant state of the hospitality and valor of the Moriscoues and of old Let-Mogha, died, and Muttagh, his son, assumed his place."—Annals of the Four Masters.

9 The Four Masters mention that in A.D. 1213, O'Donnell having, in pursuit of Meilahach O'Daly, plundered and laid waste Thomond, followed him to the gates of Limerick, and forced him to cast his camp at Cean-Og Donnell (O'Donnell’s) marsh, so-called from that circumstance, laid siege to the city, upon which the inhabitants, at the command of O'Donnell, expelled Meilahach.—Annals of the Four Masters.

10 The name of this bishop was Robert Travers. He was afterwards deprived of his See, and to the Reformation the see continued to be filled almost exclusively by Irishmen, there having been but one Englishman, Robert de Mulchand, who succeeded in 1408.—In Harris’s Ware, vol. 1, p. 521-522.

Usher’s Primordia, 873.

11 Sir J. Ware, in the history of Irish bishops, gives the following account of the bishops and abbots of Inis-Catay, or the Island of Gata (the Cat or Monster, which St. Senan is said to have banished), were placed on the south-west of the island, according to the situation of the island, the possession of which is divided between the sees of Limerick, Killaloe, and Ardafort.

12 We shall here take occasion to mention what occurs in ancient monuments, concerning the east of the county Clare, where they were opposed by the Dalogenes, who slew a great number of them. In this expedition the English erected the castles of Killaloe (about four and a-half miles to the east of the town of Tipperary), and Knockgrafton (about two miles to the north of the town of Cahir). Donnell O’Brien defeated the English of Ossory and made a great slaughter of them.9

At this period several of the Irish bishops and sometimes abbots; and there are very few traces to be met with, concerning them, in ancient writers; the following are all I can collect:—
The last days of Donogh O'Brien, were chiefly occupied with conflicts with the chiefs of Connaught and their allies, the supporters of the sons of Roderick O'Connor, against their cousins, the sons of Cathal Crovderg or the Red-handed O'Connor, and nephews of O'Brien. The death of Cairbreach took place in 1242. He was succeeded by his son, Connor na Suidhaine, the founder of the monastery of Corcomroe, in which his tomb and effigy are still preserved. Cairbreach O'Brien was only the chief of the Dalcassians, not king of Munster. He was the first that took the title of The O'Brien.

The next events of the history of the princes of Thomond, are well condensed by Professor O'Curry, from the valuable Irish tract called "The History of the Wars of Thomond." The natural feelings of the worthy professor are characteristically expressed in the following quotation:

"The Anglo-Norman power which came into the country in the year 1172, had constantly gained ground; generation after generation, as you are of course aware, in consequence chiefly of the mutual jealousies and isolated opposition of the individual chiefs and clans among the Gaedhilis. At last the two great sections of the country, the races of the north and the south, resolved to take counsel and select some brave man of either of the ancient royal houses to be elevated to the chief command of the whole nation, in order that its power and efficiency might be the more effectually concentrated and brought into action against the common enemy. To this end then, a convention was arranged to take place between Brian O'Neill, the greatest leader of the north at this time, and Tadgh, the son of Conor O'Brien, at Caeluisge [Narrow Water], on Loch Erne (near the present Castle Calwell). O'Neill attended by all the chiefs of the north and a numerous force of armed men. O'Brien, though in his father's lifetime, went thither at the head of the Munster and Connaught chiefs and a large body of men in arms. The great chiefs came face to face at either bank of the Narrow Water, but their old destiny accompanied them, and each came to the convention fully determined that himself alone should be the chosen leader and king of Erin. The convention was, as might be expected a failure; and the respective parties returned home more divided, more jealous, and less powerful than ever to advance the general interests of their country, and to crush, united, they might easily have done, that encrusted, intransigent, and treacherous foe, which contrived then and for centuries after to rule over the clans of Erin, by taking advantage of those dissensions among them, which the stranger always found means but too readily to foment and to perpetuate. This convention or meeting of O'Brien and O'Neill took place in the year 1258, according to the annals of the Four Masters; and in the year 1259, Tadgh O'Brien died. In the year after that again, that is, 1260, Brian O'Neill himself was killed in the battle of Down Patrick, by John de Courcy and his followers.

"The premature death of Tadgh O'Brien so preyed upon his father, that for a considerable time he forgot altogether the duties of his position and the general interests of his people. This state of supineness encouraged some of his subordinate chiefs to withhold from him his lawful tributes.

"Among these subordinates was the O'Lochlainns of Burren, whose comity at length roused the old chief to action; and in the year 1267 he marched into O'Lochlain's country, as far as the wood of Suibhdaimeach, in the north-west of Burren. Here the chief met was by the O'Lochlainns and their adherents, and a battle ensued in which O'Brien was killed and his army routed; and hence he has been ever since known in history as Conchubhar na Suibhdaimeach, or Conor of Suibhdaimeach."

CHAPTER VII.

LIMERICK UNDER THE ENGLISH.—CHARTERS AND GRANTS.

The introduction of the English government into Limerick did not take place until the death of Donald O'Brien, John, Earl of Morton and Lord of Ireland showed great zeal and determination in establishing the English interest in the city. He granted a charter on the 19th of December, 1197, the 9th of Richard I, by which he extended to the city, the privileges

We translate from the Arthur MS, the following. [Fitzgerald gives only the recitation of an abstract of John's second charter!]

True Copy of the first 

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already granted to Dublin, enabling the citizens to choose a Mayor and Dunum-viri, or two Bailiffs, a designation by which they were named until the reign of James I., when by charter of that monarch, the citizens were allowed to choose Sheriffs in place of Bailiffs, etc. —these, with the mayor, performed the municipal government of the city. In 1198, however, the English were driven out of Limerick by McCarthv of Desmond; but soon after they may be said to have held firm possession, though their tenure was frequently disputed. We have on record as to the exact time the walls of the city were first built; but from the Patent rolls, in the early portion of king John's reign, we find that the city was at that period surrounded by walls, and that the king made several grants to his followers within and without the walls.

In the same year he gave to Humo de Valois, two centurids of "Hoche-voile" in the Land of Limerick for the service of ten knights, (Char. Rol. 82). On the 12th of January, 1200, he granted to William de Braosa the honour of Limerick, with its appurtenances, etc. This charter was given at Lincoln, and bears the signatures, as witnesses, H., Archbishop of Canterbury; R. Bishop of St. Andrew's; B., Earl of Chester; R. Earl of Leicester; G. Fitzalten, Earl of Essex; William Brivrr, Hubart Bard, Walter de Lascy: Simon Pateshill. It states that it (the charter) was given by the hand of Symon, Archdeacon of Wells, at Lincoln, granting and conferring to Braosa the honour of Lymereick, with all its appurtenances retaining in our
demese the city of Limerick and the Bishopricks and Abbeys, and retaining in our

hand the cantred of the Ostmen and the Holy Island, as king Henry, our father, that honour gave to Philip de Braosa, uncle of the aforesaid William—"to have and to hold to him and his heirs of us and our heirs by the service of sixty knights, except the service of William de Burgo, of all his lands and tenements aforesaid honours to be held, etc., etc.; and we have retained in our demesne and hand all its appurts in wood and plain, in meadow and pastures, in water and mills and fish ponds and fisheries and ponds, in ways and pathways, etc."

King John, (says Giraldus Cambrensis,) gave to Philip de Braosa the northern division of Munster, namely, the whole kingdom of Limerick, except the city itself, and the cantred belonging to it. At the same time he gave the king of Cork to Cogan and Fitz Stephen. So these three chiefs made a strict mutual alliance, and having obtained possession of Lismore, and of the greater part of Cork, namely, seven cantredds near the city, each containing 100 townlands, they proceeded to Limerick. Their army consisted of seventy men-at-arms, one hundred and fifty horse soldiers, and the proper complement of bowmen. But when they reached Limerick, the citizens set the town on fire. Cogan and Fitz Stephen proposed to ford the Shannon and storm the place. But Braosa proved wanting in courage and returned home.

He afterwards endeavoured to rehabilitate his character for bravery by joining in the crusades, and appears to have died in the Holy Land, when his rights, such as they were, to the kingdom of Limerick passed to his nephew, William de Braosa. But we learn from Dugdale (Baronage I., 415) that king John sold Braosa's lands in Ireland to Philip de Wygorria, (or Worcester), Lord Deputy in 1184, for five hundred marks. In 1200, however, the unhappy sheriff, obtained Wygorria's lands, and those of Theobald Fitz Walter, ancestor of the Ormonde family, to William de Braosa, for 5,000 marks, and 5,000 marks more for the kingdom of Limerick, (see the charters of king John, anno 2, and Dugdale, I., 416,) Fitz Walter repurchased his own estate for 500 marks, through the mediation of his brother Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, (see Roger de Hoveden, II., 513,) whilst Wygorria, says that author, "with difficulty escaping from the hands of the king, returned to Ireland, passing through the territories of the king of Scots, and recovered parts of his lands by waging war against the king." The kingdom of Limerick he had never had possession of, so did not probably now obtain it. But he seized on his former estates, chiefly in Tipperary, and held them by force; and his heirs still held lands there by knights' service in 1514, (Carew MSS.) The unfortunate Braosa was unable to pay the instalments due to the rapacious king John; he was fiercely

1 In the second year of his reign the king gave to Galfridus Fitzrobert one burgage below (within?) the walls of Limerick, to be held by free service 32d.; and granted and confirmed to the same by the service of five knight's fees. (Charter to the burgage at Radagarc.) He also granted one burgage to another, within the walls of Limerick, to be held by the service of 32d. per annum, and he granted unto the same for his homage and service a knight's fee at Clouhulugrad, in the "theadum" of Huertherain, to be held by the third of one knight's fee. (Charter to the burgage in the "theadum" of Valentia.) In the same year he gave to Humphrey de Pykeule, one burgage below the walls of Limerick, for the service of 12d. per annum; and he gave and confirmed to the same for his service and Killermouth, three knight's fees circumjacent for all service, for the service of one knight.—Charter Role 75. In the same year he gave Launvelein Fitzwilliam one burgage below the walls of Limerick, for the service of 12d. per annum, and five knight's fees. (Charter to Luscinia and Balleider, Balion, Corbally, Conn, Odergraper, Bullyderoet, in the "theadum" of Huhene, to be held by the service of one knight and two parts.—Charter Role 75. In the same year he gave to Wm. de Nalsh one burgage in Limerick through the service of 12d. per annum, and the castles of Kava Kittel, with a fee of five knight's fees in the nearer place of that castle, in the "theadum" of Limerick, where theservice of one knight's fee and two parts. —Role 81. In the same year he gave to Thomas, son of Maurice, one burgage next the bridge, on the left hand side towards the north, through the service of 12d. per annum, and five knight's fees, in the "theadum" of Blerrie, (or Olliver), (Charter to Thomas, son of Maurice, one burgage near the bridge, on the left hand side towards the north, through the service of 12d. per annum, and five knight's fees, in the "theadum" of Blerrie, (or Olliver), to be held by the service of one knight's fee and one-third.—Charter Role 82.

1 Tenure in burgages is where the king or other person is lord of an ancient borough in which the tenants are held by a rent certain. It is a kind of lease.—Lgt. I., 462, 163.

† A Knight's Fee, Feudum militare, is so much inheritance as is sufficient yearly to maintain a knight, with convenient revenue; and in Henry III.'s time was 15s. 4d. (Cant. Brit. p. 112), in the time of Edward II. 20s.; a knight's fee contained 12 plough lands, or 5 hides, or 480 acres. "Selden, however, says the knight's fee had no reference to land, but to the services or number of the knights reserved.—Tim. Law Dict. Stowe, in his Annals (p. 286) says there were found in England at the time of the Conqueror 52,211 knight's fees, according to others 60,216, whereof the religious houses before their suppression were possessed of 28,015.

‡ The word "Toth," means a fief, most probably one of five knight's fees, which was expressed in the Celtic mythology the word Toth meant the genii Loci. 1

2 1201. King John granted to William de Burgo 5 Knights' fees, called a Toth, wherein is seatd Castle Connell, within 4 miles of Limerick, etc., provided he fortified the castle, and was to restore it to the king if demanded, by getting a reasonable exchange for it.—Tare.

3 In Pat. Roll, Mem. 23, No. 203, the grant to William de Braosa is set forth—"quod tenetum in Dub_tvill castellum, habendo donec Regi placuerit.

4 In the fourth year of his reign a mandate was issued by the king to Philip de Wygorria, or Worcester, "that he should render to William de Braosa the land and castles of Orangoraen, and other castles of the Honour of Limerick, which are retained by the king according to convention."—Pal. Roll, Mem. 7.

5 In the 6th year of John's reign Limerick, was taken from William de Braosa by advice of the Barons of England. "for the peace of the kingdom."—Pal. Roll, Mem. 7.

persecuted by him, was driven from all his estates, and died a penniless exile, whilst the spiteful monarch wreaked his vengeance on his wife and son, who were starved to death, A.D. 1211, (see Dugdale as before.)

Captivated, as we have seen, with the beauty of Limerick, the King caused a singularly choice castle, "<i>egregium castellum</i>" and bridge to be built. In that age the Annals refer to the erection of two bridges over the Shannon, and one over the Suck, by the monarch Turlough O'Connor. There is no doubt those bridges were not of stone, but of wood, and that the first structures of the kind of stone were erected by, or after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. King John's bridge was perfectly level, crossing the main arm of the Shannon, from the N.E. extremity of the English town, close by the Castle; it was built on fourteen arches, under each of which some marks of the hurdles, on which it was erected, were visible until the bridge was taken down in the year 1838, and the present structure was built. According to tradition the cost of the building of Thornond bridge was but £30. Immediately above the bridge a ledge of rocks crosses the river, over which one can walk with perfect safety at low water.

The "<i>egregium castellum</i>" continues to our own time to be one of the finest specimens of fortified Norman architecture in Ireland. The north-west tower is said to have been the first portion of the work that was erected. Nenagh Castle is said to have been built at the same time; it too, is a noble military building in the Norman style. A Constable was immediately appointed to it by the King. The Castle is now used as an Ordnance store.

Mr. John Long, the eminent civil Engineer, who built the new bridge over the Shannon at Athlone, and the new docks at Limerick, communicates to us his opinion, that the early bridges were chiefly of wicker work; no doubt very frail and imperfect, and for this reason easily destroyed; the notes in the <i>Four Masters</i> will fortify this opinion. Afterwards stone arches were turned over wicker centres, but they form two distinct periods of bridge building. Until recently one of these wicker bridges stood over the Shannon above Carrick-on-Shannon, and Mr. Long says he has often crossed it. It was built of loose stone piers, such as a common labourer would build, placed close to each other; some rough black oak logs thrown across from pier to pier, and these covered with wicker work in several layers, and gravel, &c. strewn on these. It was very frail, and the horse was unyoked from the cart, and the latter pulled across by men. This, he thinks, was the character of all the early bridges across the Shannon before stone structures were erected, which he believes were not adopted until about Elizabeth's reign.
the ground within the walls and towers, an excellent Infantry Barracks for four hundred soldiers was erected in 1751. The number of English settlers now began to increase rapidly; and the introduction of English habits, customs, dress, &c. kept pace with the numbers of the new inhabitants. Outside the walls many English families also established themselves.¹

The politic John was resolved to keep on the best terms with the Bishop and Church of Limerick after he had obtained a firm footing within the city. The question of building the Castle and other fortifications, and of strengthening himself as much as possible, was paramount with him; but he was resolved to do so, not at the expense of the Church, by any encroachment whatever on the domains of the Bishop of Saint Mary’s Church in Limerick. It would appear that certain of his partizans had begun to occupy some of the church lands in their zeal to erect the Castle and fortifications; but the King, before 1207, issued a prohibition against the slightest encroachment on the church property, and kept pace with the numbers of the new inhabitants.

Among the possessors of land in the county of Limerick in the thirteenth century, the following names appear:—Bagot or Bagott, a companion of Strowbou was the founder of the Bagot family; now represented by Thomas Neville Bagott, Esq., of Ballinrobe, county Galway; Patrick Bagott, Esq., of Baggotstown, county Limerick, m. in 1540, Maria, daughter of J. Edmond O’Dwyer, Esq., of Kilnamanagh, county Tipperary; nine Bagotts were attainted and their estates confiscated in Carlow and Limerick, in the war of James II.—A portion of the family escorted King James to France:—Bonervyle, Brown, Butler, Fitzgerald, Sir Thomas de Clifford, Sir David de Rupo or Roche, Naish, Maunsell and Pierrepont. Walter Maunsell was chief sergeant of the county of Limerick in the reign of Edward the first. Of the early settlers in the county, the following are the names of those that survive in our day:—White, Barrett, Long, Naish, O’Neill, O’Noonan, Sergeant, Young, Dunden, Russell, Flanders, Hallinan, and Purcell. Judging from the municipal roll of the thirteenth century, from which not many names have come down to us, there appears to have been a mixture of Welsh, Normans, Spaniards, English and Italians.

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² The name of Robert Bagot occurs very frequently in the sales and settlements of land, &c., that were made during the episcopacy of Gilbert, Bishop of Limerick, whose transactions in this respect were very numerous, as appears by the Black Book. Maurice Bagott of Baggotstown was one of those who were excepted from pardon by the cruel and merciless Ireton, when he obtained possession of Limerick in 1651, through the treachery of Fennel, as will appear more fully in the proper place. Many of the Bagott family have continued Catholics, and are allied to some of the first Catholic families in Ireland.

³ Godfrey de Rupo or Roche was constable of the Castle of Limerick in the year 1216.—

Arthur MSS.

Before the regular list of these begins, there are scattered notices to be found of the constables of the Castle of Limerick. See Liber Manusorum Hibi. Thomas FisHugh de Lees was constable at a fee of ten marks, temp. Edward II.

He was succeeded by Thomas de Winchester. (Patent 28th May, 1526.) He had a warrant in the following July for £20 to repair the buildings and walls of the Castle—then in a very bad state of repair. And in October of that year £20 more was granted to him and John le Blanch. Mayor of Limerick, for the same purpose.

William de Swynford was constable in 1335.

Peter de O’Kebournam in 1343.

John Corbet in 1372.
James Earl of Desmond was made constable for life by Patent 23rd August 1423—with leave to execute the Officeby Deputy—and inasmuch as “the ancient fees for the custody of the Castle were for the most part annihilated, and the Castle become so ruinous, that the greater part of it was fallen to the ground,” he was given 610 for the repair of the Castle, as well as forty marks out of the profits of the Lexweir (Laxweir), while he should occupy the office—twenty marks more, out of the profits of these weirs, were granted to him for five years in 1424.

The 810 payable out of the fee farm of the said city, with 10 a year fee, the king’s island and the king’s fisheries there, called the Leixs (=Laxweir) rent, was made payable to the Bishop of Cashel and the deans and chapters of Cahir, Cashel, and Killaloe, by a new patent, 16th Sept. 1588.

Andrew Carew, eldest son of Sir Maurice, was appointed, 7th June, 1551.

Richard Chichester succeeded on the death of Wyse. He resigned, and was succeeded by Hercules Rainsford, Sir John Dannet succeeded, 29th Mar. 1607, by Capt. Francis Berkeley, on whose death, 15th June, 1608, his son, Andrew Wyse, was appointed, 7th June, 1511.

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themselves about the possession of Limerick. Meyer, the younger, son of Meyer Bermingham, besieged the city, and at last took it by force; in consequence of which the English of Meath became dissatisfied; dissensions arose among them. Cowley Mac Convey Leynagaskan, chief of Slironan, was killed, with many hurts done among the English themselves. 91 In 1208, Murtagh O’Brien, son of Donell, Lord of Thomond, was taken prisoner by the English at Limerick, in violation of the guarantee of the three Bishop, and by order of his brother Donough Cairbreach. This fact is also mentioned in the Annals of Clonmacnoise. In 1210, William De Burgo having received severe usage from the Connacians, to whom he and his people went to obtain "their wages," returned to Limerick, and Cathal Crowder ascended the regal way of Connaught. 4 It was in this year that the King, to supply defects as far as he was able, divided Leinster and Munster, the only parts he had actually in possession, into the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, Uriel, Catherleagh (Carlow), Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Tipperary and Kerry, and appointed sheriffs and officers of them after the manner of the English. 5 An important grant was made to Edmond, bishop of Limerick at this period, A.D. 1215—a grant which to our own day has continued to be a subject of interest to every class and party among the citizens, as it is connected with salmon and eel fisheries of the Shannan. The succession of mayors and bailiffs continued uninter ruptedly, and the city was now forming into a town, of which the English of Meath became dissatisfied; dissensions arose about the possession of Limerick.

The bishops of the see of Limerick continued occasionally to reside at Mun gret up to the tenth century, if not later, as we find from some of their documents, mandates, &c. In the second year of Henry III. Walter de Lacy got "plein seizen" (full possession) of the castle of Beathar near Limerick—Patent Rolls, Num. 3. In 1222, the 6th year of Henry III., the King ordered that none should receive a place or messuage in the cities of Limerick or Waterford, &c. who are strangers and do not abide in cities of good township. Close Rolls, No. 9. William Minimur and Adam Clericus, or Clarke, gave an account for the citizens of Limerick of £70 of the Term of St. Michael of the 11th year, of the farm of their manor house, and £140 for the whole of the 12th year, for the farm of said manor—in all £210. For a long period efforts were made to increase the trade and commerce of the city, and place them on an equality with those of Galway and Waterford, which were English cities also, and towards which the Government had been earnestly manifesting their favor. Henry III. who in 1254 accepted Limerick, and afterwards granted it to Prince Edward, exerted himself strenuously for this object. Galway, however, kept the lead for a long period. At this moment while the Limerick fisheries challenge so much public notice, it is interesting to find that the subject occupied the attention of a committee so early as the days of Edward I. The produce of the customs of Limerick...
The merchants of Limerick, on the contrary, up to the reign of James I. and most likely for sometime afterwards, were compelled to give tribute of wine and merchandise from their ships, not only to the O'Kehanes, of Kilmallock, and the O'Conors of Popes, but to each possessor of a castle between the city and the sea; which is one cogent reason no doubt, why the trade and commerce of Limerick did not equal those of Galway. According to the Annals of Tunisfallen, the possessions of de Clare and the English of Thomond extended from Tiobraid-no-Huismion to the confines of Burren; where de Clare built the castle which to this day own is one of the largest ancient edifices in Ireland. This castle has stood the brunt of several sieges, and, as a strategic position, it has nothing to equal it on the Shannon. Burren was extremely useful whilst it protected the shipping and trade of the city.

In this year Edward I. granted a charter to the citizens of Limerick, empowering the freemen of the corporation to meet in their common council within the said city, and there make laws and regulations for them internal government. In the same year the English followers of de Clare were defeated by the chiefs of Thomond, headed by king Torlogh at Tardree; and in 1257, after suffering repeated reverses, the sustained a decisive defeat in 1287, on which occasion Thomas de Clare, Fitzmaurice, Sir Richard de Exeter, Sir Richard Fallo, and other distinguished persons, were left dead on the field, and an expedition, headed by Geoffrey de Mariscus was sent to Connaught to quell the disturbances there.

Following out the fortunes of the O'Brien family to the period when Murrough, the son of Turlough, resigned the title of king of Thomond for an English Earldom, we shall adopt the account given by the author of the valuable Irish tract, from which we have already quoted.


1 Radgh O'Brien, the elder son of Connor, left two sons, Turloch and Donoh; and according to the law of succession among the clans, Torloch, though still in his minority, should succeed to the chiefancy and to the title of O'Brien. In this, however, he was wrongfully anticipated by his father's brother Brian, who had himself proclaimed chief, and without any opposition. This Brian Raadh continued to rule for nine years, until the young Torloch came to full age; when backed by his relatives the MacNamaras, and his fosterers the O'Deas, he marched with a great force against his uncle, who, sooner than risk a battle, fled with his immediate family and adherents, taking with him all his property, eastwards into North Tipperary, and left young Torloch in full possession of his ancestral rule and dignity.

2 Brian Raadh, however, could not quietly submit to his loss and disgrace, and, taking council with his adherents, decided on his seeking the aid of the national enemy, to reinstate him in his lost chieftainship. For this purpose Brian Raadh and his son Donogh proceeded to Cork, to Thomas de
Clare, son of the Earl of Gloucester, then at the head of all the Anglo-Norman forces of Munster, and sought his assistance, offering him an ample remuneration for his services. They offered him all the land lying between the city of Limerick and the town of Ardsallas, in Clare. De Clare gladly accepted these terms, and both parties met by agreement in Limerick, from which they marched into Clare; where, before any successful opposition could be offered them, the Castle of Bunratty was built and fortified by the Norman leaders.

"A short time afterwards, however, in the year 1277, de Clare put the unfortunate Brian Ruadh to death, having had him drawn with horses and torn, notwithstanding that the fidelity of the treacherous death of their father, the infatuated soul of Brian Ruadh still adhered to de Clare, and the warfare was kept up with varying success till the year 1318, when Robert de Clare and his son were last killed, in the battle of Disert O'Dea. After this the patty of Brian Ruadh were compelled to fly more over the Shannon into Ara, in Tipperary, where their descendants have ever since remained under the designation of the O'Briens of Ara.

"The brave Dalassians having thus rid themselves of domestic and foreign usurpation, preserved their country, their independence, and their native laws and institutions, down to the year 1542, when Murloch, the son of Turloch, made submission to Henry the Eighth, the ancient and glorious title of the O'Brien, and disgraced his lineage by accepting a patent of his territory from an English king, with the title of the Earl of Thomond." This however is anticipating. We now follow the order of events. In the year 1306 Donough succeeded his father Torlough, and had scarcely been anointed as king of Munster, demolishing all the English castles as far as Youghal, and putting their garrisons to the sword.

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of the great sept of Glancuilen, so called from Cuilen, the seventh in descent from Caisen, from whom this powerful race was also called Hy-Caissen, which Caisen was the second son of Cas, eighth in descent from Ollioi Olum, king of Munster, in A.D. 234. This sept included the following families, Clan Macconmorran, Clan-an-Oirchinneagh (MacInnes) Clan a Ghiolaamhavil, Clan-an-Chlaoraigh, Clan Muireannain, O'Maol Downy, O'Halloran, O'Slattery, O'Hossin, O'Hartigan, O'Haly, O'Cindergain, O'Maly, O'Meehan, and O'Liddy. Donogh was also supported by the two very powerful families of O'Quinn and O'Dea, the chieftains of Cinel Pearnach, now the barony of Inchinnam.

In 1309 these families met to decide the sovereignty of Thomond by the arbitrament of the sword, and a battle ensued in which Dermod, the grandson of Brian Roe, was defeated, and his brother Connor slain.2

The next year the territory of the O'Gradys (the Cinel Dongaile) was invaded and devastated by Dermod, by whom they were compelled to join him. The English as well as the Irish were how pitted in hostile camps, in consequence of the feuds existing between the Geraldines and De Burghs, the latter of whom supported Donogh, while the Geraldines joined their connexions, the De Clare, in sustaining the claims of Dermod.

The first entry in the Annals of the Four Masters for 1310, states that "Conor O'Brien, the best roydama (heir presumptive, literally, 'makings of a king,' ) was treacherously slain by the black English." In the year 1311, was fought the battle of Bunratty, in which 630 gallowsmen of Donogh's army were killed, and De Burgh taken prisoner. The besiegers were commanded by the Red Earl of Ulster. Clonroad Castle was burned to the ground; Donogh himself was treacherously slain by a relative, and his successor Dermod died in the same year in which he was chosen.3 These events are somewhat differently recorded by the Annalists of O'Clare Mcnabb, who state that he was defeated and succeeded by Murtagh son of Turlogh. On the death of Dermod, his kinsmen Donogh and Brian Bane, grandsons of Brian Roe, once more took the field with the families of the Hy-Mbloyd. They were defeated at the battle of Tully O'Dea, and obliged to fly to Bunratty to seek the assistance of De Clare, which was granted. In the year 1313 Donough, supported by the English, vanquished his enemies, drove Murtagh O'Brien and his brother into Connaught, and was himself formally inaugurated King of Thomond.4 The next year, however, a new division of territory took place by a decision of the States of Thomond, who awarded the eastern portion to Murtagh with the addition of Clonroad and Hy Cormac, the present barony of Islands. Murtagh O'Brien, encouraged by the remaining within.5 And as the sows also turned out useless, the besiegers, being taken in a successful sally on the 27th of February, thq raised the siege. The O'Gradys and O'Shanagheys afterwards attacked Inisheer, with whom they eventually obtained possession. But we find no mention of the O'Grady of Knockeany as concerned in further actions at this period. The O'Quins are at present represented by the Earl of Dunraven. The O'Deas who gave their name to the parish of Dysart O'Dea, were connected by fosterage with the O'Briens, between whom and h e m a strong tie of affection subsisted to a very late period.

1 The Annals of the Four Masters.
2 This expression puzzled Dr. O'Donovan who thinks it means the English lately came over. It is most likely, however, that it is a term of reproach which was ribely merited by these ruthless and perfidious and turbulent invaders, the theatre of whose quarrels was now transferred to the kingdom of Thomond.4
3 The Annals of the Four Masters.
all the church living within that province. In execution of this decree the Archbishop and his suffragan bishops were charged with having gone to Clonmel, in the diocese of Limerick, and in the presence of all those who granted or ordained the said subsidy, or who were concerned in levying the same, and for this offence an information was exhibited against them, the King's damages being laid at one thousand pounds. The Archbishop pleaded that neither he nor his suffragans had granted subsidy in the said Parliament—that by Magna Charta the Church was to remain free, and all were to be excommunicated who should infringe the liberties granted thereby. He confessed that he had excommunicated all who were enemies to the King's peace, who should infringe the said statute, or levy any subsidy without the King's consent—but he denied having excommunicated any person on account of the said subsidy. They were, however, found guilty, but we are not informed that any punishment was inflicted on them.

A charter was granted in aid of building a bridge at Limerick, and the election of a city coroner took place. In the year after the city returned its first members to Parliament; and absenteeism was prohibited; whilst the fisheries still filled the public mind with proceedings connected with them.

Pipe Roll, 2nd and 3rd Edward III., 1328-'29.—Robert Long and William de Rupe, Bailiffs, render account of the farm of the city of Limerick, and several sums and £260 delivered to the Bishop of Limerick in recompense of the fishery of the city of Limerick.

Pipe Roll, 2nd and 3rd Edward III., 1328-'29.—Account of the issues of the weir.

Commission to the Mayor of Limerick, dated 13th June, Edward III., 1331, Ireland commission of weirs.—Know ye that we of our special grace have granted to our trusty the Mayor, &c., Commonalty of the city of Limerick, in Ireland, our weirs, to the said city belonging; to hold from the day of making these presents, to the end of the five years next following, paying to our Exchequer as much as those who heretofore held those weirs.

Pipe Roll, 10th to 12th Edward III., 1337-'39.—City of Limerick: John Daniel and Thomas Ecold, Bailiffs, render account of the fee farm of the city, and a sum of £260 to the King for the weirs allowed, in recompense of the fishery of the city of Limerick, which was of the Bishop of Limerick, &c. &c. Robert de Saint Edmund's account is set out, and the account of Mayor and Bailiffs' arrears of farm, of weirs, of water of Shyney.

Pipe Roll, 17th Edward III., 1343-'44.—City of Limerick: William Western and Richard Welth, Bailiffs for the same, render an account of the fee farm, £30 to recompense to the Bishop of the fishery of Limerick, of the issues of the weirs.

In 1343, there was a grant to John de Balstot of the king's weirs at Limerick. Hugh de Burgh, treasurer, caused the weirs to be extended, and that extent to be delivered to the exchequer.

1 Calendar of the Patent and close Rolls of Chancery—67.

2 We give the following as a curious instance of the wills of this period. 1361, 36th Edward III., 12th of August, Edmund Wyndebad, citizen of Limerick, gave to his son Paul Wyndebad, and in defect to him of legitimate male issue, to William Long, in defect of legitimate male issue to William Long, to Peter de Rupe (Roche), and in defect to Peter de Rupe of legitimate male issue, to Robert de Rupe, and in defect of him of such issue, to the heirs in a direct 1st of the said Edmund, for ever, all the messuages, lands and tenements, and returns to them belonging in the city and suburbs of Limerick, as also all the lands and tenements of Donius and Carregbethelagh, with their appurtenances in the county of Limerick. Witness the Mayor, U. B., and Ballywenn J. W. T. T., above named, Eustace Delix, Thomas Kildare, Gilbert Fitz-Robert de Saint Edmund's account is set out, and the account of Mayor and Bailiffs' arrears of farm, of weirs, of water of Shyney.

In the year 1394, Richard the Second, king of England, landed in Waterford. He is said to have been stimulated to undertake his new enterprise by a taunt uttered by the German Electors, from whom his ambassadors had in vain solicited the Imperial Crown of Germany; the Electors pronouncing him unworthy of that high dignity, as neither being able to keep the conquests in 1367 the statutes of Kilkenny were passed prohibiting the use of the Irish language, costumes and customs, the presentation of Irishmen to ecclesiastical benefices as well as their admission into religious houses. The practice of the Breton Laws and the entertaining of bardic minstrels were by it declared penal. We have great pleasure in stating the curious fact, that by the return of the late census, it appears that we have in this year 1864, more people speaking Irish than existed at the passing of this atrocious measure. We notice, too, with very great satisfaction, that the study of the Irish language is increasing rapidly every year, even among the better informed classes of Irishmen.
in France, made by his ancestors, nor to repress the insolence of his own subjects, nor to reduce to obedience his rebellious vassals in Ireland.

The army which landed with Richard consisted of 4000 men at arms and 30,000 archers—a formidable army which soon obliged several of the native chieftains to make another and enforced submission, which, however, amounted to a mere nominal allegiance intended to be broken at the earliest opportunity. 1

In 1399 when Brian O'Brien, Lord of Thomond, died, occurred also the death of Torlogh, son of Morogh na Baithnigh O'Brien, the representative of the line of Brian Roe. Brian was succeeded by his brother Conor.

In this prince's reign the Franciscan Abbey of Quin, in the county Clare, was completed. The king, of his own motion, granted a charter to the citizens of Limerick, in which he confirmed the liberties already extended by his grandfather, King John, and granted "that no citizen of Limerick shall be impeded outside the walls of the same city of any plea, except of pleas of outer tenements, which do not pertain to the Hundred of the aforesaid city. And that they be quit of toll within the metes of the city, and that no citizen shall make duel in the same city of any appeal, which the oath of forty men of the city, who shall be lawful. And that no one shall take procurations within the walls by assize or by livery of the marshals against the will of the aforesaid citizens. And that the citizens shall be quit of toll, lastage, passage, portage, and of all other customs throughout his whole land and power. And that none of those citizens shall be indicted of an amercement except according to the law of the Hundred, to wit, by the forfeiture of forty shillings, whereof he shall happen to be in amercement shall be acquitted of one-half, and the other half he shall give in amercement, excepting three amercements, to wit, of the assize of bread, and ale, and of watchings, which now are of two shillings and sixpence, whereof one-half shall be forgiven, and the other half shall be rendered in amercement. And that the Hundred shall be held only once in a week. And that he shall be in no plea for and cause by miskeming, 1 and that they may justly have their lands, and tenures, and their pledges, and debts, throughout his whole land and power, whoever should have them. And that they may distrain their debts or their goods in Limerick, and that of the lands and tenures to which within the city they shall be entitled, they shall be held according to the customs of the city, and of the debts which shall be accommodated, and of the pledges given in the same city, pleas there-of may be held according to the custom of the city, saving to him and his heirs the pleas touching the Crown."

This charter also ordered "that no foreign merchant shall have within the same city of a foreigner, corn, hides, or wool, except of the citizens of the city. And that no foreigner shall have a tavern in the city of wine, except in a ship; and this liberty reserved to the king, that from each ship the baliff shall choose two casks of wine to the king's use. Whereover they wish in the ship, namely 'one before the mast, and the other behind the mast,' for forty shillings, viz. one for twenty shillings, and the other for twenty shillings, and no more thereof shall he take except at the will of the merchants. And that no merchant shall sell cloth in the same city by retail, nor shall remain in the same city with his wares there to be sold except for forty days. That no citizen of Limerick shall be attached or distrained for any debt, unless he be a debtor or surety; that they may marry themselves, and their sons and daughters, and widows of the same city, without the license of their lords."

Henry VI. granted another charter in 1423 in which the following passage occurs:—"And that they (the citizens) may hold their market as they have been accustomed from of old to hold it; and also that no one who is an Irishman, by blood and nation (the term 'Irishman,' being understood and taken as it is accustomed to be taken and understood in our land of Ireland), shall be mayor, or exercise any office within our said city; nor any one within the aforesaid city take or maintain any child of Irish blood and nation, as aforesaid, as an apprentice, under penalty of forfeiting his franchise in the aforesaid city."

In the following year, viz. 1424, the Charters of Limerick were confirmed (P. and C. Rolls.), and the Bishop was summoned to answer cert& charges (ibid). There is a record of the weir also this year (Select Rolls).

In the year 1426, Conor O'Brien died at an advanced age, and was succeeded by Teige na Glemore, his nephew, and son to O'Brien Cathan na Aonaigh. Of Teige na Glemore's sons—one, Brian Duff, was ancestor to the O'Briens of Carrigoeconnell, and gave his name to Pobble Brien, in the county Limerick,—another, Donald, was Bishop of Limerick, according to
Dr. O'Brien. August 31st, 1422, 1st Henry VI., the Earl of Desmond was appointed Constable of the Castle of Limerick, and in 1444 was appointed Governor of the counties of Limerick, Waterford, Cork, and Kerry, with a liberty to absent himself from Parliament for life, on condition of sending a sufficient proxy. He married a daughter of Ullick Burke MacWilliam the Younger, and he is said by some to have brought the MacSheehys into Munster as his life-guards. The MacSheehys, however, were in Munster before himself. They are given by O'Halloran as chiefs of Ballyhollan, in the barony of Poblet, County Limerick. During the wars of the Roses the attention of the English Government was so much taken up by their domestic quarrels that the Irish were all but left to their own devices. All the power of the Government was unable to keep the native chieftains from collecting their "black rent;" and the Geraldines, especially the Desmond branch, soon adopted all the peculiar habits of the natives, and were designated by the English as "more Irish than the Irish themselves." In the reign of Queen Elizabeth and of the sixteenth Earl of Desmond, for the word "reign" is not applicable to this powerful chieftain's tenure of power, no less than one hundred thousand acres of his property mere confiscated in the county of Limerick alone, and divided between the following English families:—The Amneys, Berkleys, Billingeyls, Bourchiers, Carvers, Courtenays, Fittons, Munmers, Stroudes, Trenchards, Thortons, and Uthereds. Trinity College, Dublin, also owes many of its property to the Desmond confiscations.

A charter to the Mayor of Limerick was granted in 1433. In 1436, a trial was prohibited in Limerick by ecclesiastical authority. In 1442, Sir John Talbot was endowed with a grant out of the fee-farm of the city. In 1450, important improvements, which are more particularly noticed in the annals of Limerick, were effected. In 1453, John Cantwell, Archbishop of Cashel, held a provincial synod here, the canons of which are to this day extant (Wilkins' Concil, tom. iii.). Teigh O'Brien, Lord of Thomond, in the year 1467, led a very great force southward, across the Shannon, in the summer; he plundered the Irish of Desmond and of West Munster (Cork and Kerry); the Irish of Leinster also paid him tribute, and he then returned home, after having taken possession of the territory of Clan William (in Tipperary), and of the county of Limerick, which were confirmed to him by the earl of Desmond, for obtaining peace for himself and his country. After obtaining security of sixty marks for him and his heirs for ever, from the people of Limerick, he died, and Conor, the son of Turlogh O'Brien, was appointed his successor.

1 The Annals for 1411 contain the following, amongst other entries:—

"Dermot, the son of Conor O'Brien, Tanist of Thomond, was slain by Barry & c." 

2 Thomas, the son of John, Earl of Desmond, was banished from Ireland by James, the son of Garret." 

"Dermot, the son of Cilla ne Maraeth, Ollay of Thomond in poetry, died." 

3 "The earl of John, Earl of Desmond, thus briefly abridged, was banished by his uncle James, son of Garret or Gerald (the ward of the O'Briens of Thomond), is the hero of the romantic story immortalised in Moore's beautiful song. "By the Earl's bower bethim." 

4 The Earl of Desmond, who was ward or foster son to the O'Byrons, and of whom we have spoken before, as conferring grants in land in the county Waterford on the descendants of Turlogh O'Brien the Bald, banished from Thomond about 1367, may be regarded as the first of that great house who held vast estates in Limerick, Cork, Kerry, and Waterford, and who assumed the regal or princely state, in which of which they conferred Knighthood on some of their relatives—the Knight of Kerry, the Knight of Glana, the White Knight, &c. He was the fifth in descent from Murice Fitzgerald, the father-in-law of De Clare, who treacherously captured Brian Roe O'Brien at Buncrana. He obtained Milo de Cogan's extensive property in Cork, by Royal license, which enabled him to purchase whatever lands he pleased, and by whatever service they were held under the king.

5 Lodge's Peerage, vol. 1 p. 67.

6 See p. 41.

7 Annals of the Four Masters.

The annals of these times startle us with strange and terrible incidents. In 1460 O'Brien, Bishop of Killaloe (Terence or Turloogh O'Brien see Harris's Ware, p. 594, who refers to the Annals of Ulster for further particulars) was killed by Brian of the Fleet at Clonroad, on which the original town of Imois or Ennis stood. The site of the present town was a strath or green belonging to Clonroad, which was the principal seat of the O'Briens. Constant wars between the natives marked the features of the times. In a maritime expedition of the O'Meallys of Mayo with the son of O'Brien, to Corca Bhaiscinn, the MacMahon's country, comprising the baronies of Moyart and Condrelaw, in the South West of the county Clare, against MacMahon, three of the party were slain before they could reach their ship; Donald O'Brien and Mahon O'Brien were taken prisoners on their way to their ship; their people were slaughtered; and subsequently O'Brien O'Meally was slain by his brother Hugh O'Meally, in a dispute which arose between them.

It was on the 4th of March, in this year, that Edward IT., was made King of England. He granted a charter to Limerick in 1464. In 1462, the young Earl of Ormond came to Ireland with a large number of Saxons [i.e., Englishmen], a great war broke out between the Earl of Ormond and Desmond; Garrett, the son of the Earl of Desmond, was taken prisoner by the Butlers; in successive fights the Desmond's suffered several defeats; the Butlers in consequence rose to very great power. Mac Richard Butler, who is designated the most renowned and illustrious of the English of Ireland in his time, died soon afterwards—he was educated by Richard O'Hedigon, Archbishop of Cashel, according to a memorandum on folio 115 of the Psalter of Cashel. Not satisfied with the way in which Thomas, Earl of Desmond, who had been sent over in 1464, conducted the government of Ireland, John tipoft, Earl of Worcester, was deputed to replace him—an occurrence, according to the 'annalistes,' which wrought the ruin of Ireland. The Earl was invited to Drogheda to meet Tiptoft, when taking advantage of the occasion, his enemies accused him of making alliances with the Irish, "who were the king's enemies, and furnishing them with horses and arms against the king's subjects." He was beheaded on the 15th of February, 1467-8, by order of Tiptoft. But these were only the pretended reasons given for his destruction. At the time of his end and name was appointed to be executed at the same time, who besought the executioner not to hurt a child that was upon his neck: the putting of which child to death confirms the opinion that malice and revenge were the principal reasons why this Earl so unhappily lost his life. Edward Plunkett, Esq., was also attainted at the same time for the same alleged charge, and suffered. Tiptoft is said by Cog6 to have been one of the most learned and eloquent men of Christendom. One of the articles of his Parliament of Drogheda was that "none shall purchase Bulls for Benefices from Rome under legal penalty." Between the Desmond
of Kerry. In the next year Conor O'Brien, Lord of Thomond, died, and his brother Gilla Duv was inaugurated in his place.

On the 26th of August, 1496, the king (Henry VII.) granted a pardon to Maurice, Earl of Desmond, for all his offences—he had also a grant of the Customs of Limerick. 1

In 1407 and 1498 a great famine prevailed throughout all Ireland, “so that people ate of food unbecoming to mention, and never before heard of as having been introduced on human dishes.” Corn was so scarce that a peck of wheat, in Meath was sold at five lesser ounces of silver, a gallon of ale sixpence, and a barrel of oats in Ulster was worth a cow. 2 The century closes with wars between the O'Briens and the rightful head of the Butlers, who were jealous of the support which the O'Briens afforded to Sir James Ormond, already referred to as an illegitimate son. Turlough O'Brien defeated the Butlers at Moyaliff in Onnond, or rather in Tipperary, not far from Cashel, after a bloody engagement.

CHAPTER S.

LIMERICK UNDER THE TUDORS.

The sixteenth century, so full of deep importance to the destinies of the country, so remarkable for the many religious, political and domestic incidents and changes which took place in it, teems with important and startling events. 1502. In the winter of this year Turlough O'Brien, Lord of Thomond, burned the county of Limerick and Corl-Maigh [i.e., along the river Maigue in the Barony of Coshma, to Limerick].

The death of Donough O'Brien, the descendant of Donough Carbhagh, Lord of the district of Adare to Limerick, and from Baile-na-M (*Newtown in the parish of Kilkeedy to Monasterenagh, Lord of Aherlagh and Coll-Boithne Kiltbehney) ”the fountain of the prosperity and affluence of Munster,” occurred in 1502. In this year, according to the Annals of Ulster, there was such inclement weather that it killed most of the cattle of Ireland, and prevented the husbandmen from tillling the earth. In the next year (1503) the Earl of Kildare went to England, and returned home with success, bringing with him his son, who had been in the custody of the King of England. Edmund Knight of Glynn died; and Teige Boinneach of Burren, county Clare, and Murtagh O'Brien, who went with Owen O'Flaherty into West Connaught against his kinsmen, Rory Oge and Donnell an baid or of the Boat, two sons of O'Flaherty, attacked the camp and carried away prizes and spoils. The sons of Mahon O'Brien and Owen

1 Byrner's Fodera. The Earl of Desmond made a submission to Thomas Radeliff, Earl of Essex, Lord Deputy of Ireland, at Limerick.

2 What little was known in these times in Ireland of natural history is evident from the fact that a camel which was sent by the King of England to one of the O'Briens, was regarded with perfect wonder, even by the better educated, who did not know what to designate the animal. We find the camel thus described in the Annals of the Four Masters:

1 A wonderful animal was sent to Ireland by the King of England. She resembled a mare, and was of yellow colour, with the hoofs of a cow, a long neck, a very large head, a large tail, which was ugly and scanty of hair. She had a saddle of her own. Wheat and salt were here usual food. She used to draw the largest sledges by her tail. It used to kneel when passing under any doorway, however high, and also let her rider mount.

3 MSS. Annals quoted in Smith's History of Cork.

4 Annals of the Four Masters.
O’Flaherty were slain by the O’Flahertys. The great battle of Knocktop, or the hill of the Battle-ax, in Clare Galway, about five miles north of Galway, between the Lord Justice Garrett, the son of Thomas Earl of Kildare, and Mac William of Clarinarche, and which events had been maturing, as we have already seen, was fought in the next year (1504). It is described by the Annals as one of the most remarkable battles on record since the invasion of Ireland. A description of it, copied nearly word for word, from the Annals of Ulster, is given by the Four Masters; which O’Donovan, in his note in reference to the account of the details of this singular engagement, states that it is in bardic prose style, which sacrifices strength to sound, and sense to alliteration. The battle was occasioned by a private dispute between the Earl of Kildare and Ulick Burke, the MacWilliam, &e. of Clarinarche, who was joined by O’Brien of Thomond, and the half of Munster. It is said that no Englishmen fell in the engagement; and Moore adopts this assertion as a fact; and in truth no English appeared in the battle—the belligerents at both sides were Irish—viz. those of the Pale, under Kildare, and those of Connaught, under MacWilliam. Sir John Davies expresses surprise that so late as the reign of Henry VII. a battle so terrible should be undertaken to decide a mere private quarrel—without charge of the King—as stated in the Book of Howth. Clarinarche and his forces were overthrown—the number of the slain was enormous. But as we proceed, we shall see that Ulick Burke and the “Irish” determined to strike another blow, and that Monabramher, within the liberties of the city of Limerick, was selected for the fight.

Our local annals of the next year, 1505, (21st Henry VII.) shows that the citizens resided anything but safely within their walls, and that the means they took to protect themselves from pirates, who appear to have come up to the very water-gates, were primitive indeed. William Harrod was Mayor for the second time; Nicholas Creagh and John Rochford were bailiffs: John White was Clerk of the Court of Limerick (quere? Town Clerk); James Butler, Earl of Ormond, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland: when our authority, on the 13th of February, says, “a great tri-ored galley, fitted out with all things necessary, was built for the purpose of guarding our port, and protecting the public interests against the incursions of pirates.” The next year (1506) the Bridge of Port-Crosi, a name which is yet preserved in the townland of Portaross, situated on the Shannon, in the north-west end of the parish of Castleconnell, was built by Turlough O’Brien; and some few years afterwards, as we shall see, the Earl of Kildare marched with his army to this bridge, which he broke down, and encamped for the night, before the battle of Monabramher. John Burke, son of Ulick, “the noblest of the English in Ireland, a vessel filled with hospitality and truth, a link of steel in sustaining the battle,” died—Henry VII. now (1508) ascended the English throne; and events prove his anxiety to see more closely than any of his predecessors into the affairs of Ireland. In Limerick, we find that he laid the foundation of the Sexton family, which up to our own time, retain much of the lands which he gave to his ancestors. By near Letters Patent he constituted Garrett, Earl of Kildare, Lord Justice of Ireland, and intimated to him his father’s decease and his own succession to his kingdom. Always aggressive, and now, more than ever sustained by Royal favor, an army was led into Munster by the Lord Justice of Ireland,
Butler, and others of his Confederates, advanced to meet the Geraldine army,—and "when the son of the Earl perceived the nobles of the army of the great race of Brian approaching, the resolution he arrived at was, not to come to an engagement with them, but to leave the town unharmed, and thus they parted with each other." It was immediately after this that the Earl took the Leap Castle, which still exists under its old name, and is situated between Roscrea and Tullamore.

CHAPTER XI.

END OF THE KINGDOM OF THOMOND.—RIVALTY BETWEEN LIMERICK AND GALWAY.

One reason of the constant hostilities of the princes of Thomond from this period down to the extinction of that Kingdom, is, to be sought in the alliances formed by Conor na-Srona for his daughters, three of whom married with members of the O'Donnell, De Burgh, and O'Rourke families; and to these alliances are also attributable many of the disastrous consequences of the fatal battle of Knocktoe. The limits prescribed by the space which we propose to occupy with the sequel of the History of that Period down to the extinction of that Kingdom, is to be sought in the Annals of the Four Masters, who, as usual, have been regarded as a person of considerable consequence, for his name is included in a treaty entered into with the Earl of Desmond by Francis I. of France, to claret the attention of Henry VIII. of England, who was then leaguéd with the Emperor Charles V.

1 Annals of the Four Masters.
2 The great war between O'Donnell and O'Neill, in which the former was victorious, occupies several pages of the Annals, in 1532, and is interesting, chiefiy as indicating the existence of the fierce and most implacable feuds among the Irish. The O'Briens, Burkes, O'Connor Roe, O'Connor Don, McDermotts, &c., joined O'Neill, whilst O'Donnell was supported by the forces in Kildare; Connell, viz., O'Boyle, O'Donel, the MacSweens, O'Gallagham, &c. &c. But between the English in Ireland there were also fierce and implacable disputes.
3 Historical Memoir of the O'Briens.
4 Annals of the Four Masters, who, as usual, favor the O'Donnells, the founder of their monastery.
5 On the Suir a little north of Cashel.

against the French monarch. Torlogh Donn was succeeded by his eldest son Connor, his brother Donogh being nominated tanist, who died in 1531, and was succeeded by Murrough, who surrendered the Royalty to Henry VIII.

The hatreds, jealousies and wars between the Butlers and the Fitzgeralds—the English in Ireland—the latter, however, "more Irish than Irish themselves," are written on a dark and dreary page of our national annals. To dwell on the state of affairs between the English in Ireland at this period would be merely, mutatis mutandis, giving a picture of the wars that prevailed among the Irish themselves. We proceed, therefore, to develop the progress of domestic affairs at this time. In the year 1524 a remarkable occurrence took place, which shows that Galway at this time was in a position superior to ours, commercially and financially. We are told by the Historian of Galway that the city of Limerick was from an early period of our history jealous of the growing trade and prosperity of Galway, although the latter had retained its superiority. This jealousy was shown on many occasions; but latterly broke out violently in consequence of a mercantile dispute which happened some time previously to 1524, between David Comyn, a citizen of Limerick and some merchants of Galway. Comyn complained that he could have no justice administered to him in Galway; and waiting for an opportunity he seized the person of Ambrose Lynch Fitzjames, one of the inhabitants of the town, and kept him close prisoner, until he was ransomed for a large sum of money. In consequence of this outrage hostilities commenced between the city and town, and great depredations were committed both by sea and land; until the people of Limerick, wearied of the contest, dispatched two of their citizens, Christopher Lynch and Nicholas Arthur, to Galway, to conclude a peace; or as the record of this transaction expresses it, "to pacify and put away all manner of adversities, rancour and inconveniences that have arisen or insurred between the city and town and inhabitants of the same." Upon their arrival in Galway the Mayor, bailiffs and commonalty assembled in the town-house, and with one assent elected Walter and Anthony Lynch Fitz-Thomas, to conclude a perpetual peace and concord with the deputies of Limerick. The terms being agreed upon, a public meeting was convened on the 7th of May, 1524, and articles were ratified on both sides; and apparently to the mutual satisfaction of all parties; but as treaties are more frequently entered into than inviably observed, so the people of Galway complained that those of Limerick still indulged their resentment, although every matter in dispute was supposed to have been peaceably settled; and charged them with having again involved the town in fresh troubles, by insidiously instigating Pierce, Earl of Ormond, to make a demand for prising wines, an impost which had never been theretofore paid or demanded in Galway.

Limerick, in the end, owing to political causes, gained the ascendancy, which it holds to this day.

These rivalries between Galway and Limerick prevailed for many years. The "tribes" of the one were jealous of the sturdy Anglo-Irish of the other; but though at this time Galway was one of the finest towns in Ireland—spacious, well built, and well walled, with a great trade with the south of Europe, and particularly with Spain, and sustained by the spirit and energy of its early settlers, who were always a terror to the Irish of West Connaught, it fell away, whilst Limerick increased in importance, and rapidly progressed, became superior, and retained its superiority. 1521-1522 (3
Henry 8) David Comyn was for the second time Mayor of Limerick; Nicholas, son of Thomas Fitzwilliam Arthur, was Mayor for the second time in this year also: William Fanning and Andrew Harold were Bailiffs. David Comyn died during his Mayoralty of a terrible pestilence, which prevailed all over the city; and on the 4th of September he was succeeded by Nicholas Arthur. Dr. Arthur does not fail to remark that it was now the supreme Pontiff conferred on Henry 8th the title of "Defender of the Faith," in consequence of "the book he published against Luther," and that "the Turks invaded the island of Rhodes."

It was in this reign (28th Henry 8th, cap. 15) it was enacted that none of the king's subjects shall be shaven above the ears, or wear the hair on their heads like long locks called "Glisses," or have any hair on their upper lips called a "Grommeat," or wear any "skirt, smock or karcher," Bendel Neckeshowr, "Moced or Linnen" caps could' with saffron, nor wear above seven yards of cloth in their shirt or smock, and no woman to wear any coat or kirtle tuck'd up, or "embroider'd" with silk or laid with "Usker," after the Irish fashion; and none to wear any mantles, coat or hood, made after the Irish fashion; a forfeiture of the thing so worn (to be seized by any of the king's true subjects) and also the penalties following:—

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Penalty</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tr>
<td>Every Lord Spiritual and Temporal,</td>
<td>£ 13  4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Every Knight and Esquire,</td>
<td>2  0  0</td>
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<td>Every Gentleman or merchant,</td>
<td>1  0  0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Every Freeholder and Yeoman,</td>
<td>0 10  0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Every husbandman,</td>
<td>0  6  8</td>
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<tr>
<td>And every other person,</td>
<td>0  3  4</td>
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<tr>
<td>To be recovered in any of the king's courts and to be divided between</td>
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<tr>
<td>King and prosecutor, Proviso, not to extend to any woman, herds or</td>
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<tr>
<td>horse-boys wearing a mantle, nor any persons on their journey, or upon</td>
<td></td>
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<td>hue and cry.</td>
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In the rapid progress of events we see how Henry changed not only his policy but his faith, how those religious institutions, which flourished so vigorously when he was "fanaticising" against Luther, soon afterwards were doomed by him to suffer spoliation and ruin, and how the properties which went to the alleviation of human misery and woe, under the care of the monks and friars, and in support of the old faith, were handed over to those who submitted to his will and changed their principles at his pleasure.

Henry proceeded in his active courses strengthening his power in Ireland. On the 19th of November, 1584, Thomas Butler was made Baron of Cahirc, and in the beginning of the next year Maurice O'Brien and Ullick Bourke, induced by the example and success of the Earl of Tyrone, went to England to wait upon the king, having made their submissions, and surrendered their estates. O'Brien obtained a grant of all his lands in Thomond, and all the Abbeys and patronage in the king's gift within his precincts to him and his heirs male; and he was made Baron of Inchiquin, to him and his heirs, and created Earl of Thomond for life, with a remainder to Donough O'Brien and his heirs for ever, who for the present was made Baron of Ibricane but whether this Donough were nephew or natural son of the Earl's is not very plain. This Lord of Ibricane had also an annuity of twenty pounds per annum granted to him in tail, and the Abbey of Insula Canoniceorum, and half the Abbey of Clare; and the king bore the Earl of Thomond's charges and gave him an order to be of the Privy Council. As for, Ullick Bourke, he had his charges borne, and was created Earl of Clancarice, and his estates were regranted to him, and the Abbeys and patronage of all benefices within his precincts.

Thus ended the kingdom of Thomond under Murrough O'Brien, the fifteenth and last of its princes who had been elected chief, by Tanistry to the prejudice of his nephew Donough, to whom in compensation he resigned the Lordship of Ibricane. Murrough is at present represented by his lineal descendant Lord Inchiquin.

CHAPTER XII.

LIMERICK UNDER THE TUDORS CONTINUED.—HENRY VIII.—LORD LEONARD GRAY.—EDMONT SEXTON, ETC.

The English convocation and the English Parliaments having acknowledged the supremacy of Henry VIII., with a ready servility, the new head of the Church expected to find in Ireland an equal subserviency, but in this he was grievously disappointed. A most unexpected and decided resistance arose in the opposition of the Catholic Bishops, of whom, a few only were induced to submit to the new orders of things. We give the events in the original words of our authorities.

Ap. Parry, who had been in the service of Lord Leonard Gray, writes in 1535, respecting his journey from Cork to Limerick, to secretary Cromwell, after he had visited Callan, Clonmel, &c., stating that they had removed from Cork to Mallow, and there encamped by a riverside, and on the following day went to Kilmallock, and lay there that night—he describes it as a very "poore tyme"; and the next day came to Limerick, "and of treuthe O'Brey was cum dome, and lay within three myl of Lernery, and as the saying was with a great ost; and hurlyd down the wodes in this may, as we schould have gone into his country, and had forsakyen two of hisys castels, herd by Lernery; and herd that we were so ny, he went into the mounthys from us, for fere of ordynance: and when that he herd tell that we had no ordynance, then he restored his men into hys castels again, with such ordynance as he hod of his own. And without ordynance to bett the one pyll we could never enter well into his country. Therefore my Lorde Jamys thought best to recoyll bake again, and to bring the Desemonts, and Carmack Oge with his companie, to a say, ore that hee wold psse any further." He adds, that in Limerick they had "very good cher, but nat nothing lyke the cher we had in Corke." They parted eight miles off to a place (Monasternagen), "the wyche is after the order of Grenwyche," and my Lorde of Kyldare was the founder of it, for he hath a castell and

1 State Papers of Henry VIII.

landes eyn thera fast by, and ther met with my Lorde Jamys, his brother-in-law, whyche is O'Brien's sone," (Donough, nephew of Murrough O'Brien.) The account of the interview between Donough and his brother-in-law, Lord James, describes the latter as telling the former that he had married his sister, forsaken his father, his uncle, and all his friends and country, to come to him to help to do the king a service. He had been sore unrewarded, had no gains—had nothing to live upon. If it pleased the king to take him into his service, he would come into the country and bring with him a piece of ordnance, to take the Castle of Carrigogunnell,1 and that the king would give to him that which never had belonged to an Englishman for two hundred years, he said he desired no aid but the English captain and a hundred Englishmen, to pursue his father and his uncle, who were His Majesty's enemies, and the Irish who were ever the enemies of the English. He pledged himself he would hurt no Englishman, but do all he could against the Irish and the king's opponents. 'And in all such land as he should conquer, it was his wish that the king should plant Englishmen, the land to be helden of the king, according to his pleasure; and he further promised to discard all Yrzych Faschyons, and to order himself after the Yeunglysehe laws, and all he could make or subdue. He besought a reply.

1 Carrigogunnell. Castle.—This Castle is four miles distant from Limerick, to the S.W. of the island, which is near the shore of the Shannon River, and on the coast of the town of Limerick. 

The dilapidated ruins tell the effects of the explosion. Immense fragments of the walls and towers lie scattered around in picturesque confusion. But the walls are not entirely destroyed. They stand on an abrupt limestone rock, and commands an extensive view, across the Shannon, of the County Clare, and the low grounds termed "Corscan Land," which form the banks of the river. Its building is ascribed to the O'Brien family. Through stipulation and treachery it was lost more than once by the followers of the Earl of Desmond, and those sent to reduce him and the country. At the Siege of Limerick, in 1690, it was garrisoned by 150 men, adherents of James II., but surrendered without resistance in order to maintain discipline. The English army, which attempted to approach the fort, was repulsed by the garrison under the command of the Earl of Desmond. The castle, the defenders escaping at the other side; and having done so they broke down the bridge. The gunners fired all day at the castle, but with no effect, for the English and possess Carrigogunnel, and set to the reformation in those quarters—the Deputy put an English ward of soldiers in the castle, and there they consulted together as to the winning and breaking of O'Brien's Bridge—wherein we thought the said O'Brien's sons were yeade and conduct so necessary, as we supposed, that by a day or two to be kept under us during the king's highness pleasure." After which conclusion takyn the said castell by traidmen, was takyn again by the persons which had possession thereof before—but we trust shall lytel prevayl them, but that the Deputies conclude and army, and the promises theron shall take effect." The letter proceeds to state, that on Friday they marched with all the army, with demiculverins, and such other ordnance as they had towards the bridge, and by the conduct of the said Donough and his friends, they were brought to it in a secret and unknown way, on this side the water, where never English used nor carts went before, whereby they achieved the progress with less danger than they could have done on the other side. On Saturday they reached the bridge, and after the army was encamped, the Deputy and gunners made a reconnoissance. On this side was a strong castle, "built all of hewn marble," and at the other side a castle, but not of such force, both built within the water, but not much distant from the land. At this end the O'Briens had broken four arches of the Bridge at the end next the land. The gunners fired all day at the castle, but with no effect, "for the wall was at lest 12 or 13 fote thick," and both the castles were well warded with the gunners, gallowglass and horsemens, "having made such fortifications of timber and hoggsheds of earthe, as the lyke have not been seen in this lande." They had a great piece of iron, "which shot bylyees as great in manner as a manes hede." They had also a ship piece, a "Portingall piece," "certayne hagbushesses," and hand-guns. The Deputy seeing the ship-piece no avail, ordered that each man should make a faggot a fathom in length, to fill that part of the water between the land and the castle, and desired ladders to be made: which done, he appointed certain of his own retinue and a company of "Maister Saylcows" to give the assault; by which they carried the castle, the defenders escaping at the other side; and having done so they broke down the bridge. [A letter2 of William to Cromwell gives the credit of the capture to Ossory.] Two of the army were slain, several more wounded; whilst the timber of the bridge was loosing, the Mayor of Limerick, Edmond Sexten, with about 30 others who were standing on it at the time fell, but were not injured. Gray also gives a long account of the above achievements to Cromwell.

Henry VIII. in a letter to the town of Galway, in which letter the Irish

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1 State Papers.
2 State Papers.
customs of clothing, &c., are forbidden, and in which he takes from malefactors the sanctuary of the Friars Minor, &c., in and near that town, and calls upon the justice to bring them to punishment—proceeds to say, "Moreover, ye O'Brien, or any other Iрыshman, be at war with our deputie, or our subiectes of our Citie of Lymerrycke, that in no wyse, by any colour, pratyce, or covynge, ye suffer no viola, iron, sault, or other commodite, to passe from you to theym, durying the time of their contention till they shall be perfectly reconciled, upon payne of your allegances; and always that ye observe the articles before written, specially concerning the keeping of markettes, and that none of you resort with any merchandye amongst your Iрыshmen at any tyme. And where we be informed that at such seasons as strangers re-frayne within the havyn of Lymerrycke, certayne of our market of our said citie, alvyng and procrying the stranger merchante to repayre oute of the havyn of Lymerrycke to you, offering theym avauntage above the profere of the said citie, to ther gret disadvanytage and commoditie, and embausynge the pryce of foren and alyen merchaundyses, to the profit of alyens: we therefor woll and commaunde you, that you do not provoke any merchaundise arvyng in theyr havyn from you to theym." He commanded that he should have no further complaint on this behalf, or in any of the premises if they intended his favors.

In the same year Cowley, writing to Cromwell on the establishment of the king's dominion in Ireland, says:—

"Then a thousand to arrive at Lymyryck, and the Eel of Ossey, and his son, and power to joyn with them, and first to wyne the pyles and Castlees from O'Duyne, which was many munstermen, and next that to wyne the Castale and towne of the Enagh (Nemagh, in Tipperary), and to build and enhabite the towne, and so to pursue all the Irshy at this side of the water of the Sheynan, and to wyne O'Bryen's Bridge that standeth upon the same water. Then to peruse all Clancullen (the ancient barony of Clancullen was situated between Limerick and Killaloe, now forming part of the barony of Tullagh) in O'Bryne's countrey, and to win the pyles and holds, and specially the strong castele called Don Rayte (Banratty), eight myles from Lymerrycke, on the river of Lymerrycke—consequently to make a strongholde of Clare, and to enhabite accordingly; and to make two other baronies in the midst of O'Brien's countrey. There are piles enough in that countrey already, so that there needeth no more than to enhabite."

In the same year, writes a long letter to Cromwell on the subject of the Lord Deputy's expedition for the fortifying and re-edinifying of Woodstock and the bridge of Athy. After giving an account of the expedition, he says, "And his Lordship went to Kilkenny, where he met the Eel of Ossory and MacGhiptrick, where he and Omor were contendid to remayne, and g6o to Dublin with my Lord, and ther to abide his and his counsail's order, and to put in pledges for performance thereof, and to attend upon my Lord in this his journey. And from thens departid the Chief Justice, and the Mayor of Limerick (Edmond Sexten) to speake with O'Bren the Earl of Desmond, who have confedered together."

In a long letter from the Lord Deputy and Council to Cromwell, written from Dublin the 23rd day of November, the journey of Munster is said to have taken fruit and success, &c., &c. "For undoubtedly the pretended Earl of Desmond, after his divers communications had betwixt him, the Mayor of Limerick, the Chief Justice, and the Master of the Rolles, at severall tymes, condescended as well to delvery his too sommes in hostage, and to fynde the Vicount Barry, the Lord Rooche, Thomas Butler FitzEdmond, John Butler, brother to the Baron of Dunboyne, Gerald M'Shane of Dromonnaugh, and diverse others, to be bound for him in a 1200 marces, that he should not onely obey the King's laws, and cause them to be obeyed everywere under his rule, but also as well to suffer the King's revenues to be levied there, upon the title and claim of James FitzMorice to the Earlom, to abide thorder and judgement of the Deputy and Counsail; and percusse the same James FitzMorice mere adjudged Erie, to suffer him to enjoy the Earlom accordinglie; with diverse other articles, comprised in a prayer of indentors concluded thereupon, &c., &c."

In 1537 a letter from the Lord Deputy and Council to Henry VIII. they state "for as much of your revenues as appertained to the Earl of Kildare in the countie of Lymerrycke, your Grace hath nothing of it, nor shall not have until the pretended Earl of Desmond be at some poynse; of whose offers. I pour Graces Deputy, have sevral tyme advertised your Highness, and your Counsail, to the intente I sought your pleasure therein, whereof hitherto I have not been advertised." And after speaking of the burying act, the expulsion and the destruction of the tenants, the writer goes on to state, "trustin there wold be few wastes after this year, if your Grace ensure our devises in too poyns. One is, no man in this countrie wolle manoure and enhabite your, ne other mans landes, especialie to any fruitful purpose, unless he may have a secrerie of continuance therein, so as, when he hath edified the same he shall not be expelled from it." This letter is dated from Dublin the 20th of April, 1537; and to those landlords who do not acknowledge tenants-right, me earnestly recommend its perusal, as an important fact in favor of the tenure of favor of their tenure.

On the 28th of June, 1537. Lord Leonard Grey arrived in Limerick, where he remained a meek, and of his doings there he gives a detailed account to his royal master. He had already received the submission of O'Carroll of Ely, of O'Kennedy of Ormond, of MacBrien of Arna, of O'Murran of Owney, as well as of MacWilliam of Cnareckarde. He summoned the Mayor and his "brothern" before him, and acting in the spirit of the instructions which he had received from the Council of Dublin, he had the Mayor and members of the Corporation sworn, according to the tenor of the act of supremacy, and further to abjure the power of the Pope. He moreover commanded the Mayor to have all the commonalty of the city, likewise sworn and to certify the fact to the Court of Chancery. He states that "without stopp or grage the confirmed them sylves." After this he adds, he called before him the Bishop of Limerick, not Bishop William Casey, who was, after apostatising, appointed Bishop of Limerick, but John Coyne or Quinn, and had him sworn in like manner, a fact which appears the more singular, and of which very grave doubt exists, because Quinn had been promoted to the see against the wishes of King Henry, who laboured earnestly in favor of Walter Wallesley who was afterwards appointed to Kildare.2 Coyne or Quinn had assisted at a synod which was held in Limerick by Edmund Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, in 1524, and his zeal for the interests of his religion had been manifested on various important occasions. Gray further states that he commanded him to have all his clergy sworn. On this occasion Connor O'Brien, Prince of Thomond, was present, and promised to serve against Morough the Tanist, who owned the country around O'Brien's

1 State papers.
2 Ware's Bishops.
Bridge. This Connor O’Brien died in 1539, and was the last of the race of Brian Borouimhe who up to the hour of his death exercised regal functions in the ancient kingdom of Thomond.1 During his stay in Limerick, Gray impeached certain of the merchants of the city of treason for victualling and maintaining Morogh O’Brien and other “Iryshe Rebels.” Stephen Harold, Treasurer of the city; Pierce, Walter Edmund and James Harold, merchants, Thomas and Bartholomew Styrich, merchants, and Robert Lewis, merchant, were among the number. The property of the treasurer (Stephen Harold) was confiscated, the others named were imprisoned, for the Lord Deputy resolved to carry things with a high hand in his dealings with the citizens.2

On the next day, James of Desmond, and O’Brien with their retinue came to him, and on the 8th of July, he removed with them into Morogh O’Brien’s country, and there took his castle of Ballyconnell,3 and Clare [Clare More], invaded, burnt and destroyed Morogh’s country that day. On the morrow, because he would not conform to good order or reformation towards the king, Gray encamped that night at Clare castle,4 and upon the next day James of Desmonde and O’Brien departed; and then he proceeded to Clarekeare, where he encamped that night, and the 10th of July, repaired to a castle called Bally Clare, which he rifled and not chalice or cross left in it belonging to Richard Oge Burgh, which did much hurt to Harold, Treasurer of the city; Pierce, Lens, Robert O’Brien, and James Harold, my brother, and the mayor of Lymyryck, my brother, and the three Morris, the mayor of Limerick, my brother, and the mayor of Limerick, as touching the address and difficulty, took up thematter with them. And Desmond, being pacified with Butler, he remains eight days in Galway, where he was entertained by the mayor and the busshop. “About this time, it would appear a serious dispute arose between the Deputy and Edmond O’Brien, now lately made cross left in it belonging to Richard Oge Burgh, which did much hurt to him in so much that the former put him in array to have given battle, were it not that Sir Thomas Butler, being familiar and bold with Desmond, with great address and difficulty, took up thematter with them. And Desmond, being pacified with Butler, returned home.

1 O’Donoghue’s History of the O’Briens.
2 State Papers.
3 The Castle is called by Gormanstowne Ballyconnell, and by Arthair MSS. Ballyconnell. According to his narrative, the garrisons both of it and of Clare Castle fled at the sight of ordinance.
4 The “Confusia” states that they remained at Clare two nights, and that at their removing there began a great schism, and a dangerous fray, between Desmond and the Lord Deputy, for O’Mulryads’ hostige; so much that the former put himself in array to have given battle, were it not that Sir Thomas Butler, being familiar and bold with Desmond, with great address and difficulty, took up thematter with them. And Desmond, being pacified with Butler, returned home.

which he valiantly executed, for when Lord Leonard Grey, Viceroy, conducted the Royal army into Limerick with a determined resolution to slaughter all the inhabitants in one night, I know not for what reason, except that he bore a mortal hatred against them for their constancy in the orthodox religion, and he deceitfully removed out the Mayor and the better part of the city bands to assault Carriogommon, they being displeased at the peace, the Mayor having somewhat discovered the Viceroy’s treacherous contrivance, flies into the city at midnight, hastes almost out of breath with his guards to the Viceroy’s house, knocks loudly at the gate, the porter having delayed and refused him entrance, he threatened instantly to tear the gates asunder. He was then admitted, and having found the Viceroy and all the commanders and men at arms of the army waiting for the destined hour of slaughter, he asked the Viceroy what was the meaning of that unusual appearance of armed men, pipers and drummers thus assembled, who did not give him genuine but for feigned reasons. Lest by the loss of time the intended wickedness might not be brought to maturity, the Viceroy advised him immediately to return into the city, but he fully detected the hidden contrivance of the treacherous general, and produced from the inside of the bosom of his soldier’s coat the king’s patent which he had a good while by him; and due respect being given he ordered it to be read quite over, by virtue of which he positively commanded the Viceroy in the king’s name that he should not attempt anything secretly, unknown to and without consulting him in his government of the Province of Munster; and that he should not presume to devise anything to the prejudice of that royal city committed to his care (for that was the tenour of the Royal letters) and he declared if the Viceroy had ordered any to stir up tumults in the city, that he would in the first place restrain and set them in order. Thus did he deliver the city from the threatened destruction.’

The Council of Ireland writing to Cromwell in 1538 state that understanding Edward Sexton2 intended at this season, to repair thither, they had thought good for their discharge, to acquaint his Lordship Cromwell partly of his demeanour; upon contention moved between him and the citizens of the city of Limerick. Sexton was accused before the Council of high treason, for which being committed into ward in the King’s Castle of Dublin, he alleged what he had a good while by him; and due respect being given he ordered it to be read quite over, by virtue of which he positively commanded the Viceroy in the king’s name that he should not attempt anything secretly, unknown to and without consulting him in his government of the Province of Munster; and that he should not presume to devise anything to the prejudice of that royal city committed to his care (for that was the tenour of the Royal letters) and he declared if the Viceroy had ordered any to stir up tumults in the city, that he would in the first place restrain and set them in order. Thus did he deliver the city from the threatened destruction.’

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1 Arthur MSS.
2 This name is spelled indifferently Sexten and Sexton. In the paper referring to him, as well as to the events of the period, I prefer using the old and some-what rugged style of the chronicles of the times.
alwaies in that wise, that it is the onlie key, releve, and socour to the Kinge, his Deputie, and army, against all men, wheresoever they com thither. And whaletsor the inhabitants be, as, in good faith, having respect, where they dwell, we take them to be good, it were a shrewde policie to subvert the hoole citie for a few eivell. And they, on the other side, beare him displeasure, and, as they saie, he moche abhorre him, because he is an Irishman of blosde, and (as they saie) he useth himself according to his nature. Howbeit he is made denizen and free by the King, so as he hath beene chargour there, contrary to the Englishe statutes and their liberties. They saie also that he, his breredmen, kynsmen, and adherantes, been mere Geraldines, and that parte of his breredmen were slayne in defence of the Castele of Maynoth; so as in respecte of his Irish Mode and corrupt afection to traylours, they saye they do not trust him.1

In an extract from the minutes of Council; with the King's commands, it is statelyd that as the law is continually kept at Dublin, and that between Dublin and Limerick the distance is 120 miles, and so many dangers betwixt, "and noe danger or none dare passe without some strength which poore suitors have not," it is suggested that a Council of a President and four Councillours under a Secretary be established; the President to have diet for himself, and the rest £200 yearly. Every Councillour for his entertainment, and finding his own horse and servant, £50 yearly, and the Secretary of the Council, £26:13:4 yearly, with such reasonable fees as the country may bear. The Archbishop of Cashell is suggested as a meet President.

In a later letter from the Council of Ireland to Secretary Cromwell,2 Limerick is represented as a city situated among Irish and English rebels, pretending to have privileges of the King as other maritime cities, to buy and sell, and as a place that deserves to be protected only because it is a succour and a refuge always for the King's Deputy, when he wars and inquietude had happened among the citizens, than any other. In this letter it is stated that, owing to the "misinformation" given by Edmond Sexten to the Lord Deputy during his last journey in Munster, more damage and inquietude had happened among the citizens than any anticipated honor or profit to the King. There is no doubt, notwithstanding all these complaints, that Sexten succeeded in retaining the good graces of his royal master, for, in 1538—9, 29th and 30th of Henry, he was granted by Privy Seal "to the King's well beloved servant Edmond Sexten, sewer of his chamber," of the Monastery, Priory or cell of St. Mary-house, the site, ambit, or ground thereof, and all lordships, manors, lands, advowsons of churches, tithes, chapels, chantries, spiritual and temporal, therunto belonging, within the precinct of Limerick, city or county, in as large and ample manner as Sir Patrick Harold, late Prior, held the same, together with all the goods and utensils of the house; to hold to said Sexten and the heirs male of his body, by the service of one knight's fee; with directions for the issue of a commission for the dissolution of said monastery. And, 34th Henry VIII., we find grant from the King to Edmond Sexten and his assigns, for life, of £8 sterling, annually, which the

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1 The Corporation of Limerick subsequently made a Complaint to Cromwell against Sexten, upon which the Irish Council, on the 20th of May, 1539, reported, that though he was the king's servaunt, they could not vindicate his conduct. The Complaint is in the Chapter House, and the reply of the King, with the grant of £8, is in the Lambeth Library, a memorial of his services, before, during, and after his mayoralty in Limerick. —State Papers.

2 State Papers.

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King and his ancestors heretofore received in the name of fee farm, out of the city of Limerick.

The execution of the decrees of Henry could have no firmer partizan than Edmond Sexten, judging from the high estimation in which he was held by his unscrupulous master. He soon had his revenge of Lord Leonard Grey, who had been unsparing in his destruction of the shrines and sacred places of the land. Among other fell atrocities he caused the most precious shrine of St. Bridget, St. Patrick and St. Columba, which was in Down, to be burned and the ashes thereof to be cast to the winds:—

"In Burgo Dunum tumulatur in uno, Briga, Patricii atque Columbae pius, Anglice "

"Brigida, Patrici and Columb of renown. Were all three entombed in the town of Down.

This outragge took place in the year 1538, but the divine vengeance quickly fell upon him for this and for other crimes; his head was cut off in London in the year 1541.

Sexten now grew in favor every day. The letters which passed between him and the King show that a strong mutual feeling of consideration and fidelity prevailed; and that the services performed by him were of such a nature as to win the substantial recognition of his Majesty. Desmond, through Sexten's influence, wrote the following letter:—

To His Soveraigne Liege Lord the King's Majestie,

"Be it known to all men by these presents that I, James Fitzjohn of Desmond, bynde me, mine heyrres, my goodes moveable and unmoveable, my fidelity and true trust to my friend Edmond Sexten, to fulfill and performe all such things as the said Edmond shall speake to the King's Majestie and his counsell in England as hereafter follows:

First—that I shall bringe to the Kynges Majestie's coffers all the cheeffe rents that O'Brien and Mac I Bryen Arra hath upon the country of Lymmerike; and also all the Abbey lands and goodes that are in Mounter to the Kyng's hands, and I and my friends and servants shall take them to feareme. Also that all the Lordes and Gentleman of Mounter, Englishe and Irishe, shall pay a certaine chiefe rent to the Kynges Majestie, so as it shall be a great revenue. And for the more performance of the premises, I, the said James, subscribed this with my hand and sett to it my seale the 20th day of June."

Henry addresses "to our mytie and well beloved Sir John Desmond within our land of Ireland," a letter of "right heartie and cordial thankes," and states that he has "conceived and graven the same in our hert and shall return and suceede to you no little profit and advancement." The King writes a much longer and more particular letter to Desmond, in which he acquaints him fully of all that has been told him by his "trustie" and well beloved servant, Edmond Sexten, of the humble submission with a promise to observe towards us from henceforth such faythe and duty of allegiance appertaining, and shall be consonant to the office of a true and faithful subject, which we accept in this new to our consolacion, and give unto you our righte hardy thankes and condigne." The king says Dr. Thomas Arthur2 wrote another letter to James Fitzjohn of Desmond,

1 "But the walls as well of the cathedral as of the little chapel, where the most sacred relics were deposited, fell to this day, as I saw them in the year 1751."-De Burgo, Bk. Dom. p. 242.

2 Arthur MSS.
O'Brien writes the following to the king, in which he admits all that Sexton had done in his Majesty's favor:

O'Brien to King Henry VIII.

Moste noble, excellent, high, and mighty Prince, and my most redemptioned Sovereign High Lord, and my best master and my well beloved. I desire you may have knowledge, that I am informed, especiall, that I should give your Majesty to understand, that I am Maier of the City of Limerick, that I never have offended the Kyngge and his commonweal in Ireland. This is recommended in another of these state papers that garrisons should be formed in several cities. That at Limerick 1000 soldiers whereof horseman 300, gunners 200, archers 400, and billsmen 100, should be raised. This letter is dated from Dublin, 18th January, 31st year of the king's most victorious reign.

In 1542, the Council repaired to the city of Limerick, on the 15th of February, and held a Parliament which they continued to the 10th of March. This Parliament stood prorogued to the 7th of November, and was further prorogued to the 22nd of December, when it met at Dublin, and adjourned again to the 15th of March, according to the despatch of the 7th of March, three days less than the term mentioned in the despatch from the Deputy and Council to the King. In the same despatch O'Brien is lauded as a very sober man, and likely to continue a true subject. A subsidy of 20 marks yearly is ordered out of the county of Limerick, and 60 marks out of the county of Tipperary. Upon the Irishmen of certain quarters mentioned—first upon Mac I Brien 60 goglass for a month—and 6d. sterling out of every plowland in his county—upon Talagh Mac Brien, Captain of Ycnowledg. £40 rent yearly, upon O'Kenny and McEgg (Egan), £20 yearly, upon O'Molloy and O'Deare, £100, should be raised.

As if it would please your grace to be so good and to your poor subjects, as to send some nobleman to govern us, I have sent you, privy nor appoin't, into my country; but I could not, for very shame, refuse him. In this complaint of the lande have the determined attitude of the Desmonde (the pretended Earl) O'Dwyer, will take me; for I am informed, nothing is done in his majesty's favor that I and my brother, and all my kinsmen, with all my friends, shall do him as lowly service, and as trew, as any man; and I, my kinsmen, and all my friends, shall right gladly receive him to our foster sonne, after the custom of Ireland, and shall live and dye in his right and service for ever, and bind us to the same, after your pleasure known, by writing us, to your servant Edmond Sexton, to whom we remit all the rest of our minds to your grace. As the Holy Trinitie knoweth, who have our Majesty in his most tender tayency, to our karte's desire. Written at my Manor of Clonroad [Clonroad, Emly], the 15th day of October.
The despatch is dated from the castle of Catherlague (Carlow), the last day of March, in the 83rd of the reign of Henry VIII.

In the expedition to O'Brien's Bridge, so often referred to, Sexten was desired in the following letter which appears in the Arthur MSS. to give his assistance:—

To our trustie and well beloved, the Maior, Baylives, Aldermen, and Citizens of the citie of Limerick,

Trustie and right well beloved we greete you well, and desire and pray you also neverthelesse in the kyng's name charge according, our former writing of haster night, you with your companie in all haste, repaire unto us with your pikeaxes, spades, shovels, matokes, axes, and other such engines for the breaking of O'Brien's Bridge. Yee knoe well wee have but 3 dayes victualls, and cannot sett forth conveniently, till your conying, making your victualls with all haste possible, and let victualls be brought by water. Yee knowe the king's honor and all your wealths lyyth upon this our proceedings at this instant tyme, fayle yee not hereof, as ye promise to and with your companie in all haste to doo tak unto you our said Sexten, and but begin courte whereby the said inhabitants may percewe our estimation and favour born unto hym, by which means ye shall now the better allay the superstition and consequencie and consequently by his experience and policy further the kyng's annoy." He was also the letters of Henry to Sexten, and of Sexton to Henry. Henry writes a special and lengthy letter commencing to the Lord and Councell of the Kyng and well beloved ye greete you well" and well(unittested) you shall not faile for to remember your integrall declared therein, as shall be to your benefits, wealth and commoditie hereafter. Ye shall also understand that whereas the fee farm of that our cittie remained for sundrie yeeres behind and unpaid, sythens (since) our subject Richard Fitzo was first maior thereof, we have authorised and appointed our trustie and well beloved servant Edmund Sexton, sewer of our Chamber, to receyve of you to our use the said arsenage born behind, so unpayed, whose acquitance in that behalfe shall be your sufficient discharge as from yere to yere henceforth to tak and receyve into his hands our said fee farm being ten punds by the yere till ye shall further knowe of our pleasure. The letter goes on at further length to the Lord and Councell of the kyng, the Maior, Corporation and citizens, Henry wrote to the Council and Corporation of the citie as follows:

Henry Rex.

To the Maior of Lymyrick, you with your companie in haste, we grete you well, and percyveing by your letters and credence sent unto us in the person of our trustie and well beloved servant Edmund Sexton, sewer of our Chamber, to receyve of you to the use the said arsenage born behind, so unpayed, whose acquitance in that behalfe shall be your sufficient discharge as from yere to yere henceforth to tak and receyve into his hands our said fee farm being ten punds by the yere till ye shall further knowe of our pleasure. The letter goes on at further length to the Lord and Councell of the kyng, the Maior, Corporation and citizens, Henry wrote to the Council and Corporation of the citie as follows:

Trustie and right well beloved, we greete you well, and perceiving by your letters and credence sent unto us in the person of our trustie and well beloved servant Edmund Sexton, sewer of our Chamber, to receyve of you to the use the said arsenage born behind, so unpayed, whose acquitance in that behalfe shall be your sufficient discharge as from yere to yere henceforth to tak and receyve into his hands our said fee farm being ten punds by the yere till ye shall further knowe of our pleasure. The letter goes on at further length to the Lord and Councell of the kyng, the Maior, Corporation and citizens, Henry wrote to the Council and Corporation of the citie as follows:

A summary of the achievements of Edmond Sexton from the Arthur MSS. is of some interest:

1. He served at his own cost at the taking of Knockgrafton, Dunvargan, Carrigognnell, the first and second time; Palloncellon Castle in Thomond and Clare, and Clononkenie, in the countie of Lyrick. He toke Donell O'Bryen's galley, which did much prejudice the King's effects in the river of Shenan. He sent his men, who slew the rebel called Stilc (Stiglher Stiglhe), which did offend the citizens much, and threatened to burn Lyrick. He caused Edmund Bourke and his sonne to pay 100 l. to such of the citizens as they have robbed thereof. He caused William Rjts Jamesal to bestow the prey which he took from some of his subjects and brought home the cattle which were bought out of the prey. He caused, before his coming, by some of the rebels. He apprehended one Macghlen Baikaks sommer, and another rebel, whom he caused to pay 24 l. to such of the citizens as they have robbed thereof.
2. He caused Edward of Silo, Stiglhe, who carried by land a myle and a half, and then lanced them to the water, and brought them to Lyrick. He caused at midnight out of Lyrick to the Bishop of Killalowe and his two sonnes, but they narrowly escaped them, quitting their horses and baggad, wherein they setked the ouh the walls of Lyrick, and Clononkenie, in O'Bryen's country. He allured James of Desmond to come into the Lord Deputie's camp and laye in his tent and waite on him to Lyrick, and in his progress through Thomond within two miles of Galway, where they took leave and came to Lyrick, and the Lord Deputie went to Galway. He payed 40 l. in part payment of 1000 Ducattes, which he promised to Douthagh O'Bryan for betraying and delivering up into his hands the rebel Thomas Fitzgerald, being then with O'Bryan in Thomond, as he undertook to do, but fayled in performance thereof.
3. A very large massa of correspondence contains among the rent, several letters written by the king to his Deputy Lord Leonard Gray, in which he strongly reminded our trustie and well beloved Edmund Sexten, one of the gentlemen of our chamber and may be of that our city of Lyrick to doo unto us faithful and acceptable service, and tells Gray "in all your proceedings in our affairs concerning the reduction of the inhabitants thereof unto our obedience and due reformacion or as the state shall require. In the same, the obedience and service due to us, yee assure to us all that which mynde we desire. And to that end, whereof he fayled, but certified his Majestie of the refractoriness of the said O'Bryan, and his complices. The then Lord Deputie and Councell oftentymes employed him to that effect, and sent him to other Lords in Munster, to keepe them in their obedience. He was also the letters of Henry to the Lord and Councell oftentymes employed him to that effect, and sent him to other Lords in Munster, to keepe them in their obedience. He was also the letters of Henry to the Lord and Councell oftentymes employed him to that effect, and sent him to other Lords in Munster, to keepe them in their obedience. He was also the letters of Henry to the Lord and Councell oftentymes employed him to that effect, and sent him to other Lords in Munster, to keepe them in their obedience.

In a letter from the Council of Ireland to Cromwell, dated from Cashel, August 24th, an account is given of the recapture of the castle of Carrigognnell, by Donogh O'Brien, Ossory, and the Lord De Gray; in the assault ordnance and arrows were used, and thirteen of those who were within the castle were slain with ordnance, and four with arrows. There were 40 of Ossory's party also killed. The keeping of the castle was then given to Ossory.
CHAPTER XIII.

SUCCESSES OF THE ENGLISH—FRUITS OF THE REFORMATION.

The events summarised in the last chapter occupy a period of between seven and eight years. We need not refer to the extraordinary changes which took place in consequence of these successes of the English in a country where they had heretofore had little if any footing except within the walls of the city where they had been endeavouring to establish themselves for some centuries before. In 1537, the Earl of Kildare, whose rebellion had caused sore annoyance to the government, and who is styled by the annalists "the best man of the English in Ireland of his time," and his father's five brothers, namely, James, Oliver, John, Walter, and Richard, were put to death in London; all the Geraldines of Leinster were either exiled or put to the sword; the Earl Dom of Kildare was vested in the King, and every one of the family who was apprehended, whether lay or ecclesiastic, was put to death. It appears from a letter written by Lord Thomas, to Rothe, that during his confinement he was treated with the greatest indignity—"I was put in a cell till the 19th of January, 1538, and in my cell I lay a week, all that time not put to the wall. He wrote a letter to Rothe, in which the following passage appears:—"I never had any moneys, but a nough, nor have I had neither horse, nor shoes, nor shire, but on [one] nor any other garment, but a cynnig fraye gowne, for a velve fyffyrd wythe ellipse, and so I have gone wolwode and bare-found, and bare-ledge, diverse times (when ytt hath not been very warme); and so I shall have done styll, and now, but that pore prysones, of their gentylnes, hath sumtyme given me old horse, and shoes and old shyrtes." The grief and misery which prevailed throughout Ireland for the fall and extermination of the illustrious Geraldines of Leinster, were expressed in the lowest and most unmistakable manner; and to add to the sorrow with which the heart of the nation was stricken, it was just at this time that the "Reformation" in England and in Ireland began to manifest the existence of its bitter fruits. The possessions of monks, canons, nuns, brethren of the cross—i.e., the crossed or crouched friars—and the four poor priests, of their gentylnes, hath sumtyme given me old horse, and shoes and old shyrtes.

8 In the year 1555, on the 2d of February, was granted a great licence in Ireland, in which the Lord Chief Justice, Gerald Aylmer, knight, and justiciary of our lord the king, in the pleadings which the ancient Irish writers called the sea that divides England from France. Many of the old statutes of Kilkenny for the extinction of friendships between the Irish and English, and the the Irish Parliament. To appease the gentry of the king, and in 1541 these resignations were ratified and confirmed by the Irish Parliament. To appease the gentry of the king, and in 1541 these resignations were ratified and confirmed by the Irish Parliament.

9 The number of abbies which Henry VIII. possessed himself of in England was 645, which were levied by which was thus taken possession of by the king to satiate his own brutal lust for plunder. In Ireland the abbies, convents, and priories, mere in like manner hounded over to the king, and in 1541 these resignations were ratified and confirmed by the Irish Parliament. To appease the gentry of the king, and in 1541 these resignations were ratified and confirmed by the Irish Parliament.

10 The Chief Justiciary, Gerald Aylmer, meantime arrived in Limerick, in the 13th of February, and the particulars of it, as we find them in the Arthur MSS., which go into many subjects in detail which deserve to be put on record. These, which will be found in the note, will give some notion of the great riches with which the abbeys and monasteries of these days were filled, before they fell a prey to the rapacious spoliation of the brutal and merciless Henry. They have never, we believe, been hitherto published.

11 Of the Butlers, and very few others, there were none in favour of these proceedings. Many of the old statutes of Kilkenny for the extinction of friendships between the Irish and English, and the Irish Parliament. To appease the gentry of the king, and in 1541 these resignations were ratified and confirmed by the Irish Parliament.

12 Item we do finde that there are twoe mones, which were granted by the king to satiate his own brutal lust for plunder. In Ireland the abbies, convents, and priories, mere in like manner hounded over to the king, and in 1541 these resignations were ratified and confirmed by the Irish Parliament. To appease the gentry of the king, and in 1541 these resignations were ratified and confirmed by the Irish Parliament.

13 Item, we do finde that there are twoe mones, which were granted by the king to satiate his own brutal lust for plunder. In Ireland the abbies, convents, and priories, mere in like manner hounded over to the king, and in 1541 these resignations were ratified and confirmed by the Irish Parliament. To appease the gentry of the king, and in 1541 these resignations were ratified and confirmed by the Irish Parliament.

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15 Item, we do finde that there are twoe mones, which were granted by the king to satiate his own brutal lust for plunder. In Ireland the abbies, convents, and priories, mere in like manner hounded over to the king, and in 1541 these resignations were ratified and confirmed by the Irish Parliament. To appease the gentry of the king, and in 1541 these resignations were ratified and confirmed by the Irish Parliament.

16 Item, we do finde that there are twoe mones, which were granted by the king to satiate his own brutal lust for plunder. In Ireland the abbies, convents, and priories, mere in like manner hounded over to the king, and in 1541 these resignations were ratified and confirmed by the Irish Parliament. To appease the gentry of the king, and in 1541 these resignations were ratified and confirmed by the Irish Parliament.

17 Item, we do finde that there are twoe mones, which were granted by the king to satiate his own brutal lust for plunder. In Ireland the abbies, convents, and priories, mere in like manner hounded over to the king, and in 1541 these resignations were ratified and confirmed by the Irish Parliament. To appease the gentry of the king, and in 1541 these resignations were ratified and confirmed by the Irish Parliament.

18 Item, we do finde that there are twoe mones, which were granted by the king to satiate his own brutal lust for plunder. In Ireland the abbies, convents, and priories, mere in like manner hounded over to the king, and in 1541 these resignations were ratified and confirmed by the Irish Parliament. To appease the gentry of the king, and in 1541 these resignations were ratified and confirmed by the Irish Parliament.

19 Item, we do finde that there are twoe mones, which were granted by the king to satiate his own brutal lust for plunder. In Ireland the abbies, convents, and priories, mere in like manner hounded over to the king, and in 1541 these resignations were ratified and confirmed by the Irish Parliament. To appease the gentry of the king, and in 1541 these resignations were ratified and confirmed by the Irish Parliament.
The persecution suffered during these terrible days by the Irish Catholics was not surpassed by that endured by the Church of Christ, in its very earliest times at the hands of the Pagan Emperors of Rome, so that it is impossible to narrate or tell its description unless it should be narrated by one who saw it.

In more remote and hidden places the monasteries, it is true, were not molested, simply because they were beyond the reach of the destroyers, but for no other reason.

The Lords of the Pale at this period felt that they must introduce Irish tenants, they were not content with the English tillers of the soil, who could not live in penury or wretchedness as the Irish, but must sustain by leasing yearly 16d. Item, Oliver Arthur Fitzrother, hath one garden yeare by lease, paying yeare therefor 6d.

Item, that Denogh O'Donell hath one house by lease paying yearly 8d.

Item, that Donogh O'Donell hath one house by lease paying yearly therefor, 16d.

Item, there is half one plowland named Ballynagleagh in the south side of the Curry there is underwood and pasture belonging to the same.

Item, by leasing yearly 8d.

Item, that Donogh O'Donell hath one house by lease paying yearly therefor, 16d.

Item, there is half one plowland named Ballynagleagh in the south side of the Curry there is underwood and pasture belonging to the same.

Item, is by leasing yearly 8d.

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Item, there is half one plowland named Ballynagleagh in the south side of the Curry there is underwood and pasture belonging to the same.

Item, by leasing yearly 8d.
themselves and "keep honest residence," and it became a matter of grievous complaint that they were obliged to chose those who could neither speak the English language, nor "wore cap or bonnet." In the year 1540 Murrough O'Brien and the chiefs of Thomond, by the consent and permission of the superiors of the order of St. Francis, bestowed the monastery of Cloonroad on the friars of the Observance, but wherever the English extended their power, they persecuted and banished the religious orders, and in this year the monastery of Monaghan was destroyed, and the guardian and some of the friars were beheaded.

Whilst the common enemy was thus at work, the old intestine divisions and wars continued to prevail among the leaders of the people. So general were these wars, that the death "in his bed" of Torloaghan, in 1542, at Inchiquin, is specially mentioned, he being "the most expert man at arms, the most famous and illustrious of his years, in his time." The progress of the Reformation was slow, but the plunder of church property and the destruction of churches, went on unchecked, and many relics of older times were brought to light.

The Geraldines again gave trouble to the Government in revenge of their expulsion from their patrimony. The Lord Justice (St. Ledger) going into Offally, wrought vengeance upon them—he burned churches and monasteries, destroyed crops and corn, proclaimed O'Conor and O'More traitors, and confiscated their territories to the King.

In 1547, just in the crisis of troubles and misfortunes, Maurice Russell of Dublin, gentleman, was appointed curator, bailiff, commissioner, or trustee of the city of Limerick during pleasure, with the like fees as John White or any other received in said office, and the yearly sum of 40s. sterling out of the fee farm of the city, and was again so appointed the 10th August, 1549.

In 1547 Henry VIII. died, and Edward VI. ascended the throne on the day of his father's death, via. 28th of January, 1547. Henry was styled "Defender of the Faith," for his book against Luther, yet in the two and twentieth year of his reign he issued a proclamation, that no person should take or purchase any thing from the Court of Rome; in the three and thirtieth the clergy submitted themselves to the King for being found guilty of a prior restraint, and were the first that called him supreme head of the Church: yet with this restriction far as it was in accordance with God's word and not otherwise; and he proceeded from bad to worse, until in his thirty-fifth year all colleges, chantries and hospitals were given up to him. Notwithstanding

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1 Annals of the Four Masters.
2 The castle at this lake, which was built by the head of the O'Briens sometime after the expulsion of the family of O'Quin.
3 In breaking down a part of Christ Church, Dublin, in the year 1545, a stone coffin was discovered in which the body of a bishop, in his episcopal dress, with ten gold rings on his ten fingers and a gold myns chalice standing beside his neck. The body lay in a hollow, so cut by a chisel, in the back of the coffin, it was then stopped up, all parts adhering together, and placed in a standing position, supported against the altar, and left there for some time; no part of the dress had been ruffled or pressed, this was regarded as a great sign of sanctity. -- Annals of the Four Masters.
4 Cox remarks of the state of education at this time, that "most of the letters of the great Irish lords (even some of English extraction) are subscribed with a mark, very few of them being able to write their names. Most of the Irish chieftains neither understood nor sought to understand the English language, and carried on their correspondence in Latin, supplied by the Catholic clergy." Cox errs in some respects, as O'Neill and other Irish lords unquestionably wrote their names.

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1 Annals of the Four Masters.
2 Cox's Hibernia Anglicana.
3 In the time of Henry VIII., the discovery of the American gold mines made a great change in the value of money: i.e. Chief Baron of the Exchequer had a salary of £100 a year; the Barons, £45 13s. 4d. each; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, then a less important person in the state, had £20 13s. 4d. a year.
4 It breaks and moulders away after very little handling; it is called copper, or, from its shape, a chisel.
5 Annals of the Four Masters.
6 Annals of the Four Masters, p. 287.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 This was the name of the massive tower now called the "Round" of Neagh; who this Mac Manus was is impossible to say. — Dr. O'Donovan's note in Annals of the Four Masters. Could it be "Magnus"?
who was styled Edal—" a man valiant in making and puissant in sustaining an attack, influential, rich and wealthy," Donough O’Brien succeeded him; he had a contest with his uncle Daniel, who claimed the Estate by Tenantry; by the mediation of the Lord Deputy they came to an agreement, when an Indenture Tripartite was made between the Deputy, the Earl, and Daniel O’Brien: the Indenture bears date, May 7th, 1552. It had but a temporary effect; the Earl of Thomond and his uncles Donald and Turloch were again in arms; they took Clonroad; the earl defended the castle for a time; but not long after he was murdered by Donald, his uncle, and the annalists add, that Dermot O’Brien died on the eve of St. Bridget and was buried in the monastery of Ennis.

If Edward VI. did no good to Limerick, he endeavoured to show his partiality for it by granting a charter to the city.

CHAPTER XIV.


The news of the accession of Queen Mary to the throne of England was received with joy by the citizens of Limerick, who hoped that they might participate in the full fruition of their civil and religious rights and immunities. 1 Casey, 2 who had been the first Protestant Bishop of the see, now fled beyond the seas, imitating, in this respect, the conduct of Bale, Bishop of Ossory, Hugh Lacy, or Lees, was constituted by the Pope, Bishop of Limerick, and an immediate change in the aspect of affairs was apparent. A Parliament was held in Dublin, commencing on the 19th of June, 1557, and on the 2nd of July it was adjourned to 10th of November to Limerick, and from Limerick, to the 1st of March in the following year, to Drogheda. The statutes of this Parliament enacted that all heresies should be punished, that all acts against the Pope made since 20th Henry 8th, should be repealed, &c. Sullivan (Catholic History, p. 81) gives every credit to Mary for propagating and supporting the old faith; but he adds that although the Queen was zealous, her ministers did not forbear to injure and abuse the Irish. 1

Towards the close of her Majesty’s reign, the Lord Deputy, Sussex, arrived to suppress a revolt of some inferior branches of the O’Brien family against their chief. Sussex mustered an army to march into Munster, and O’Brien another to oppose him; they, however, made peace; and on this occasion, Connor O’Brien, the earl and the freeholders of Thomond, after service in the cathedral church of St. Mary, swore fealty to the crown of England; 2 the Irish, from the Barrow to the Shannon, on the part of O’Brien, and the English of Munster on the part of the Lord Justice. 3 Sussex brought over with him five hundred soldiers and an order to coin brass money, and to make it current by proclamation, which was done. 1 On the 14th of June, he came to Limerick, and advanced afterwards to Thomond. Scattering his foes, he took the castles of Bunratty and Clare, and restored the country to the Earl of Thomond, who, together with the freeholders, swore, on Sunday the 10th of July, on the sacrament, and by all the relics in the church—book, bell, and candle light, to continue loyal to the Queen and to perform their agreements with the Lord Deputy. 4 The progress of Sussex was not confined to this triumph—the Earl of Desmond made his submission on the 21st of June, and to strengthen the bonds of fealty and friendship, the Deputy, on the 26th, became godfather to the Earl’s son, whom he named James Sussex, and gave the child a chain of gold, and gave another chain and pair of gilt spurs to Dermot McCarthy of Muskerry. 5 In this year, Turlough O’Brien, son of Turlough, son of Teigh-an-Chomá, 6 died.

Queen Mary died in the following year, and was succeeded by Queen Elizabeth, during whose eventful reign some of the most startling events in our local annals occurred, and first among them the lamented death of James, Earl of Desmond, of whom it is said “the loss of this good man was woeful to his country, for there was no need to watch cattle or close doors, from Dunquin, west of Ventry, in Kerry, to the green-bordered meeting of the three waters, on the confines of the province of Eochaidh, the son of Lucta and

1 Cox’s Hibernia Anglicana, p. 292.
2 Sullivan speaks with great truth when he refers to the conduct of Mary’s ministers and councillors in Ireland; they were as fierce and implacable against the old Irish race as any of their predecessors; and the annals are full of the misdeeds of Sussex against many of the ancient possessors of the land, whom he treated with unexampled oppression and cruelty.
3 O’Donovan’s Annals of the Four Masters, cir an 1556.
4 Sussex’s advent in Ireland is stated by the native annalists to have been followed by the most fearful disasters. He polluted the temples of God throughout Ireland; he uprooted and overturned the altars wherever he met them: he expelled the orthodox bishops and the clergy, and all members of religious houses; he drove out the nuns from their sanctified retreats, and introduced the Lutheran religion, the Lutheran liturgy, and the heterodox faith, wherever he could.
5 O’Donovan, ibid., 468.
6 These are the words of the herald’s certificate.
7 Cox’s Hibernia Anglicana, p. 307.
8 Coold, a towland containing the ruins of a small church near Corofin, Co. Clare.
9 Annals of the Four Masters.
**HISTORY OF LIMERICK.**

Leinster. He died at Askerton on the 14th of October in this year, and was succeeded by his son Garret.

In this year also, Donnall O'Brien of Thomond was banished from his patrimony by the Lord Justice. The chief towns of Thomond and not only these, but the entire country as well as lands inhabited, were placed by the English in the hands of the son of Donough O'Brien who was appointed Earl—and he was the first of the race of O'Brien who was popularly called Earl. Terrible was the commotion in consequence; for nothing went more to the hearts of the people than an indignity of this nature. In accordance with the custom that every Irish chieftain thought it a duty to perform a predatory excursion as soon as his inauguration as possible, made his Captain's first expedition against Turlough Mac I Brien of Arra, on which occasion, he totally devastated and ravaged the country from Ballina, near Killaloa, to O'Hogan's mill, near Ardorney. On the same day he slew Morrough Macblrient, a distinguished Captain. In revenge the Macblrient proceeded soon afterwards to ravage Ikerrin, in Tipperary; but in this expedition he was overthrown; O'Carroll approached in battle order, dispersed the guards of the Macblrients, not one of whom escaped by flight, took Macblrient prisoner, who was not set at liberty until he had paid ransom. The rebellion of Gerald, the 16th Earl of Desmond, which brought him and his family to ruin, not content with his peaceable settlement in the Earldom, began about this time. His first disturbances were (in 1564) against the Earl of Ormond. These Earls were ordered to England, and bound by

recognizances in chancery of twenty thousand pounds to stand by the queen's award.

By the dissensions between the Earls of Ormond and Desmond, Munster was almost ruined, especially Tipperary and Kerry. The barony of Ormond was overrun by Pierce Grace; and Thomond was as bad as the rest by the wars between Sir Daniel O'Brien and the Earl of Thomond. Hooker states that there was no law, no religion; he means of course amongst those who, in the name of religion, perpetrated unheard-of iniquities. A great battle was to be fought between the Earls of Desmond and Ormond, concerning certain lands in dispute about the Suir and Caschel. The place selected was Bohermore, near Tipperary town; immense numbers of their respective English and Irish neighbours crowded together from Cork to the Barrow, and from Logh Garman; to the wide, foamy harbour of Limerick. But when the hosts came front to front and face to face, the Great God sent the angel of peace to them, so that concord was established between the hosts; for, having reflected on the dreadful consequences of the battle, they parted without coming to any engagement on that occasion. Soon after this event, Teige, the son of Murrough O'Brien, was taken prisoner at Limerick, by order of the Lord Justice, and sent to Dublin to be imprisoned, and it was universally said at the time that the Earl of Thomond had a hand in his capture. Teige escaped from his bondage two years afterwards, when meeting Donald O'Brien, who had exerted himself to set aside the Earldom of Thomond before Conor's accession, united in opposition to the Earl, who raised many estates in the midlands of Thomond; but in the fight which ensued, many people were defeated, many of them slain, and Brien, who was taken, was not given up until Shallee, in the barony of Inchiquin, was given to Teige by way of ransom. Ballycar, the residence of the sons of Murrough, was afterwards taken and demolished by the Earl, who had brought ordinance and forces from Limerick for that purpose.

It was in this year that the magnificent abbey and abbey lands of Corcomroe, with their rents and customary services, and acquisitions of land in the territories of Thomond, and its church livings, were given to Donnell O'Brien, as a compensation for the lordship of Thomond, to which he would have succeeded by Tanistry.

The citizens of Limerick, now aided the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney; to the number of three hundred of them joined his forces in apprehending the Earl of Desmond at Kilmallock, where for a short time the Earl was imprisoned, and thence conveyed into Limerick, where he was indicted for levying war against the Queen. His brother John was knighted, and made Seneschal of Desmond. This was the first occasion on which Sidney visited Limerick— he had been some time previous occupied elsewhere in his endeavours to suppress the Desmond Rebellion. Queen Elizabeth wrote an obscure letter to him, all in her own hand, in reference to the disputes of the Desmond and Ormonds, and this letter is printed in Smith's History of Kerry, pp. 256-7.

On the 24th of September in the next year (1565) Arnold, Justiciary of Ireland, by consent of the Secretary of the Council, commanded the Mayor, Bailiffs, and citizens of Limerick, that they should observe the solemn injunc-
tions of Sussex, lately Viceroy of Ireland, recently given to them by his letters, by which he cautioned them that they should not dare, even in the slightest particular, to sell any one of the ancient commonage lands, but that they should preserve them entire and be expended in public service according to requirements. At this period a very remarkable man lived in Limerick, and taught school. This was John Goode, a Catholic Priest, of the order of Jesus, some time educated at Oxford. He was a man of extraordinary erudition, and gave great aid to Camden in that portion of his Britannia which treat[s] of Ireland. "Tis strange" (says Nicholson) that a writer so much honored by this great English antiquary, who gives a high character of this gentleman's modesty and anxiety of learning, should be overlooked by Sir James Ware and the Oxford antiquarians."

Gerald, the Earl of Desmond, was removed from Limerick to London by the intrigues of Ormonde, and imprisoned in the tower, where were also confined, at the time, the Baron of Dungannon, O'Conor Sligo, O'Carrol, and other Irish chiefs, most of whom made submission to the Queen in 1568, when they were enlarged. Sidney visited Limerick a second time in 1569, when he established Sir John Perrot in the office of President of Munster. In Collins' State Papers it is said that the city was in a wasted condition at this time, and that the Deputy recommended the building of a bridge here—most likely it was in consequence of his recommendation that Thomond Bridge underwent some repairs. Sidney's anxiety respecting bridge-building did not rest with recommendations—he built the bridge of Athlone in 1568.

In 1568 Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy, held a parliament, in which a subsidy of 13s. 4d. was granted out of every occupied plough-land in Ireland, except those belonging to the Corporations of Dublin, Limerick, Cork, and Waterford, and the chief government was to present to all church dignities, the cathedrals of Cashel, Limerick, Cork, and Waterford excepted. In 1569 Limerick was one of the first places where the acts and ordinances of the remarkable parliament held this year were ordered to be proclaimed. In the course of a great hosting which Sidney made in the same year, he proceeded from Cork to Limerick, demolished some of the towns of Munster between those cities, and next proceeded to Connaught, and reduced to "obedience" all the county to Limerick, naming Sir Edward Phyllis (Fitzton) President—the first President that ever was named in that country. Limerick at this time was in a wasted condition. In the next year following the Deputy received the submission of MacBreigh Arra, who, in consequence, was confirmed in the possession of all his "manors, castells, lordshipps, signiorities, rules, herediments, commodities, and profit with all and singular appurtenances" in Duhallow. These expeditions were successful. It was about this period that Clare was made a portion of the province of Connaught. The deputy visited Limerick a second time in 1575, and was entertained with more pomp than anywhere else. Here he kept sessions, and observed the same methods he did at Cork; he then marched into Thomond, in which, though it had formerly belonged to the English lords of Clare, and was inhabited by many English, now not a man of English extraction was to be found, and even the O'Briens, though very near relatives, were invertebrate enemies one to the other; the country was entirely wasted, and innumerable complaints of murder, rape, burning, robbery, and sacrilege were made to the deputy: who imprisoned the Earl of Thomond and Teig Moor, until they gave bonds and hostages of their good behaviour; he kept the Earl's brother in iron, made Sir Donald O'Brien sheriff, left a provost marshal and a garrison among them at their request and charge; and upon showing them that the uncertainty of their tenures was the cause of all their disturbances, they promised to surrender their estates and take patents according to law. Having effected these objects he proceeded to Galway.

Sir John Perrott, who in 1572, had been appointed Lord President of Munster, had so effectually proceeded in the interest of Elizabeth, that James Fitza-maurice, of Desmond, was compelled to submit to him at Killallock, which town on 4th of March before he had burned and plundered, having executed the sovereign and several of the townsmen. Fitza-maurice
made his submission in the Church, lying prostrate at the President's feet, who held the point of the sword at his heart, in token that he had received his life at the queen's hands."

Extraordinary customs prevailed in this reign, if we are to credit contemporaneous witnesses. At the execution of Murrough O'Brien, "a notable traitor" at Limerick, the foster mother of the unfortunate Murrough took up the head, sucked the blood as it flowed from it, and stated, that the earth was not worthy to drink it. She then stept her face and breast in the reeking gore, and tore her hair, crying and shrieking most terribly."

We will not follow the Deputy to Galway, which he describes not flatteringly, neither shall we go through those still continued and apparently endless wars of the Desmond's and O'Brien's, which fill so vast a space in the annals of these eventful times. During the Mayoralty of Roger Everard, the Deputy arrived, as we have seen, in Limerick, and Ferrar, who is followed by Fitzgerald, erroneously states, on the authority of the Davis MSS. that it was in this year that the sword of state was carried before the Mayor, and that the Cap of maintenance was for the first time worn. The sword had been sought for in the reign of Henry VIII., but refused; Elizabeth, however, in her charter, which she granted to Limerick in 1582, and not in 1575, not only bestowed the sword, but gave the "hatte of mayntenance" also. For this most important charter see Appendix.

During Sir Henry Sidney's visit to Limerick he addressed a letter to the Lords of the Council in England, which supplies some interesting details, illustrating the state of the south of Ireland at this period. The letter is dated Limerick 27th of February, 1575-6, and after giving an account of his arrival in Waterford, after his tour in Ulster and Leinster in all which places he met with a very favourable reception, proceeds to describe his visit to Lord Power at Curraghmore, where he was entertained "with great and good order," and where he found the tenants in a condition which would consider as well as was possible from the present day, for though the soil is stated to be much worse than in the county Kilkenny, "yet his tenants made more of one acre of land than there was made of three acres in that country or was made in the Decies, the lordship near adjoining him on the other side; and the reason was that he suffered no idlers in his county, nor the better sort to oppress each other."

From Curraghmore the Lord Deputy proceeded to Dungarvan Castle, where the Earl of Desmond waited on him, humbly offering him any service that he was able to do the queen.

From Dungarvan the Deputy passed into Sir John of Desmond's country, in the county of Cork, from which he proceeded to Lord Barry's, and on the 28th of December, arrived at Cork, where he was received "with all the joyfulness, tokens and shews they could express, and diet and lodge six weeks for half their pay." Here he waited on by the chief men of the province, to whom, the letter states, offered all fealty, homage and service to her Majesty, and to hold their lands of her, and yield her both rent and service.

After having settled matters at Cork, he proceeded towards Limerick and was in two nights entertained at Lord Roche's. At Limerick he was attended by several lords and gentlemen, and was received with much greater magnificence than he had hitherto seen in Ireland. Here as elsewhere, the local notables who visited him, complained bitterly of the misery and waste of the country by their great men, and begged for an English force to protect them, and English Sheriffs to execute the laws, offering to surrender their lands and hold them of the queen. The letter mentions amongst his visitors the Bourkes, Supple-Purells, the 'Red Roches,' and divers original Irish, as O'Moynan, MacBrien, Ogoonan, MacBrien Arna, O'Brien of Aherlow, on the South side of the Shannon, and many other personages of distinction. The Earls of Ormond and Upper Ossory also waited on him, the latter of whom he had left governor of the English Pale during his absence, and found kept in good order. Uluck and John Bourke, sons of the Earl of Charrikardale, also waited on the Deputy, having received their pardon and being ordered to meet him at Galway. The Earl of Thomond, the letter continues, and all the principal gentlemen of his name, though enemies to each other, with two Lords in Thomond called Macnamara, also came and made the same complaints as the others; but the counties of Kerry and Tipperary being Palatinate the Lord Deputy did not visit. "but thinks that no perfect reformation could be in Munster until these grants were resumed"—so far Sir Henry Sidney's letter. The palatinate authority here referred to was about this period pleaded by the Earl of Desmond, who had been nominated one of the Council of Sir William Drury, who in the year 1576, was appointed Lord President of Munster on the return of Sir John Perrot to England, as a preliminary step towards the reform of the Province. The new President proceeded to extend the jurisdiction into Kerry, notwithstanding Desmond's plea and subsequent appeal to the Chief Governor; and there, after a short struggle with the Earl's followers, he proceeded at once to execute the law without any further obstruction.

In the year 1576, Thomond according to the annals of the Four Masters was separated from Connaught and joined to Munster. The annals for the year 1577, which is memorable for the massacre of the men of Leix and some of the Keatings at Mullahmast by the English, aided, some say, by the O'Dempseys, mention a visit paid to Thomond at this period by the Lord President, accompanied by a great multitude of the English and the chiefs of the two provinces of Munster, on which occasion he held a court for eight days at Ennis, and "the Dalguis having refused to become tributary to their sovereign, he left," says the annalist, "a marshal with a vigorous and merciless body of troops to reduce them. The President then returned to Limerick, and proceeding to the head of the chiefs and rebels of the district adjacent to Limerick: amongst these were Murrough the son of Martough, son of Mahon, son of Donough, son of Brian Duv O'Brien, the most renowned and noble of the heirs of Curragh O'Connell and Eatherlah," now Carrick O'Gunnell and the Glen of Aherlow, in the county of Tipperary.

In this year Thomas Leary, Catholic Bishop of Kildare died in banishment. The Earl of Thomond, Conor O'Brien, in the same year, according to the annals of the Four Masters, went to England to complain to the queen of his distresses and oppression, and obtained a charter of his territory and towns, and also a general pardon for his people. He received great honor

1 Annals of the Four Masters. 2 Rothe's Anecdota.
and respect from Elizabeth, but he was disappointed in his expectations that thenceforward his territory would be free from the unjust jurisdiction of the Marshal, who before the Earl's return had imposed a severe burden on the people, so that they were obliged to become tributary to the sovereign, paying ten pounds for every barony. "This... was the first tribute paid by the Dalcausians." For they had been free from tribute before the English invasion, and they had resisted the payment of tribute up this year.

In 1579 Thady Daly, a Franciscan of the convent of Askeaton, was executed in Limerick for the faith. Edmund Donnelly, of the Society of Jesus, a native of Limerick, after suffering different torments, was hanged and quartered in Cork.

In the same year Nicholas Striteh, Mayor of Limerick, presented Sir William Pellham the Lord Justice with a thousand citizens well armed; with these forces Sir William marched to Fanningswn, where he was presented with letters by the Countess of Desmond, to excuse her husband for not obeying the Lord Justice; these were filled with evasions and trudging excuses. Desmond was proclaimed a traitor, and the army was ordered to enter his country with fire and sword, if he did not within twenty days, surrender. In their progress they hanged the Mayor of Youghal at his own door.

In this year was fought the celebrated battle of Manister or Monasterneagh, five miles to the north-west of Biff—a battle of which such singularly discrepant accounts have been given by O'Daly in his History of the Geraldines, and by Camden. The latter, who has been followed by Ware, Cox, and Leland, asserts that Sir John of Desmond was defeated with the loss of two hundred and sixty of his army, together with the famous Dr. Allen the Jesuit, who was left dead on the field. Allen and Sanders, the Jesuit and Papist, who had arrived from Spain at Smerwick, on the coast of Kerry, in the previous year, with three ships, men and money, &c. O'Daly, who mentions the loss of Thomas Geraldine, Johnston, and Thomas Brown, Knight, says nothing about Allen. The Irish force assembled here by Sir John Fitzgerald, brother of the Earl of Desmond, consisting of 2000 Irish and Spaniards, headed by Father Allen, and aided by the abbot of the monastery, were attacked by Sir William Malby at the head of 150 cavalry, 600 infantry, and defeated with great slaughter, including a great number of the Clann-Sheehy.

The Irish were well commanded by Spanish officers, and fought with such fury that the battle was a long time doubtful. The Earl of Desmond, who, with Lord Kerry, had viewed the action from the neighbouring eminence called Tory Hill, on perceiving the result, retired into his strong castle at Asketon, where Malby remained nearly a week. The Geraldines every day threatening to give him battle, though they did not do so. Malby destroyed the monastery of that town, and then proceeded to Adare, where he remained, subjugating the people of that neighbourhood until he was joined by Sir William Pellham the newly patented Lord Justice, the Earl of Kildare, and the Earl of Ormonde. During the engagement the Irish and Spanish soldiers took shelter in the abbey of Monasterneagh, which suffered greatly from the fire of the English cannon, the refectory and cloisters being destroyed, and the surrounding walls razed to the ground, so that the monastery, though it survived until the dissolution, never recovered its original importance. It was here that a horrible slaughter was made of the Cistercian monks by the murderous soldiers of Malby, who cut the throats of those defenceless recluse, and perpetrated the most revolting atrocities. The Desmond castles, garrisoned by the English after this battle, were Loughgur, Bathmore, Castlemorris, Adare, and Kilmallock.

**Chapter XVI.**

**Martyrdom of Bishop Hely and Father O'Bourke—continued atrocities.**

The Earl of Ormond, in the same week, made a chieftain's first expedition into the territory of the Geraldines, and proceeded as far as Newcastle West in the county Limerick, whence he carried off all the flocks and herds in the country that he could seize upon, but he returned back without receiving battle or conflict, because that at that time the Earl of Desmond was with his relatives in Kerry.

The martyrdom of the holy Bishop of Mayo, Patrick Hely, and his companion, Father O'Bourke, occurred in this year at Limerick by the order of the Deputy, soon after his visit. Pope Gregory had earnestly recommended Father Patrick Hely to his flock in Ireland, on account of his "incredible zeal," and had him consecrated Bishop of Mayo. After a certain number of days the Holy Father, having provided him with whatever he required, sent him forward, recommending to him the care and spiritual health of the faithful in this country. The pious bishop proceeded on his journey, and having arrived at Paris he remained there for seven or eight months, where he spent his time, partly in the convent of his own order, and partly in the city itself; and, says my authority, he did not do so without permitting the hearty commendations of all who approached him, as he was not only an example but a perfect mirror for every one to see himself, not as he was, but as he ought to be; and who was not only admirable for his talents and virtues, but in whom charity, in particular, was so strongly, that he may have been said to have been a warming "sun" (hezain), who was not deterred by the most imminent dangers from studying the salvation of the Irish. He held a public
thesis in Paris, in which he manifested, in the most indisputable manner, the wonderful resources of his great intellect, in which, not only in the abstract sciences, but in the varied range of controversy and logic, he shewed a superior genius, astute, vigorous, complete, deficient in nothing that constituted the perfect theologian; bending even to the studies of the juniors, and making easy to them the pathway of learning. In an age when learning was so general in France, and when Paris was filled with many of the ablest men of the age, the praise bestowed by Father Thomas Bourchier on Doctor Patrick Hely, would seem extravagant were it not vouchsed for by an earnestness and emphasis not to be misunderstood or mistaken, in the elaborate panegyric of the illustrious man who was soon destined to bedew the scaffold with his blood in Limerick: his only crime was that he loved the faith and evangelised the poor. He had a full conception of the peril he incurred in coming to Ireland, where the ravening wolves which at this period, were thirsting for the blood of a priest, were sure to scent him out; but he did not hesitate wherever zeal and obedience urged him forward. He resolved to bow to the mandate of the Holy Father rather than be dictated to by his own apprehensions of what was to happen to him. He prepared, at once, like a good shepherd, who is ready to lay down his life for his flock if the occasion should arise. He made himself up for the voyage, therefore, and the ship which bore him having touched on England, he sailed for Ireland, which when he reached he at once proceeded to seek the Earl of Desmond. When he reached his residence, he found that the Earl was from home, but he was hospitably and politely received by his wife, the Countess of Desmond; but not indeed to the honor of her name, must it, alas! be told, that like other women, she too acted a fearfully treacherous and dreadful part. Like the dancing girl who brought the head of Saint John to Herod,—like Delfia who shore Samson of his strength, and delivered him into the hands of the Philistines,—like the woman who caused the fall of David—this lady of the house of Desmond, forgetful of everything that became her position and name, betrayed the holy Doctor Patrick Hely and his companion, Father O'Rourke, a native of Connaught, into the hands of their enemies, after a period of about three days.

On the day after this visit he departed for Limerick, which Bourchier describes as at this time the first city in Munster, in which, as there were many Catholics, Hely expected to gather good fruit in the vineyard of souls; and there, his intended work and mission having been made known to the Mayor, through the exertions of the Countess of Desmond, he was cast into prison. The enterprise was unquestionably a most perilous one, and the holy Bishop must have been perpetually aware of the snares which awaited him in a locality where destruction was prepared for the devoted sons of the Church. But he was so filled with love of his heavenly Father, as Father Bourchier observes, that he despised all terrors. He was immediately transmitted from Limerick to the town of Kilmalloch, where at that time the Deputy resided, and by his orders sentenced with his companion to death, without any other form, except the process of martial law. The Deputy, however, offered him full right and possession of his benefice, provided he would deny the faith and betray his whole business to him; to which the bishop replied, that as regarded his faith, he would not part with it for the enjoyment of life and honors; but as for the business on which he had come, he said he came to discharge the episcopal function (which he had openly professed to do) and thereby to promote the cause of religion and effect the salvation of souls,

nor did he refuse a death which was attended by any advantage to religion, or even avoidance of disadvantage. The Deputy further called upon him to reveal the plan formed by the Pontiff and king Philip of Spain for the invasion of Ireland, which he absolutely refused to do, although his silence was the cause of various tortures to him. For, placing small iron bars across his fingers, they struck them so violently with a hammer, that his fingers were cut to pieces, and as he still refused to reveal anything, they immediately led him to the gallows. While he was being conducted to the place of execution he asked permission to read the litanies and to receive absolution from his companion, and to give it in turn; both of which he was permitted to do. He then exhorted his companion, who was affected by a natural horror of death, to be of good cheer, for that though the feast was a bitter one, the triumph would be noble. Having restored his companion's courage by this exhortation, and made a most impressive address to the people, in which he spoke at length of the necessity of preserving an unswerving faith, and of his professional duties, for asserting which he, together with his companion, cheerfully met a happy death for the love of Christ, both were immediately hanged. But Bourchier observes, that the Deputy who passed sentence on the bishop, was immediately after seized with an incurable disease of which he died at Waterford, "though struck by no wound, as one who undoubtedly fell under the vengeance of God." Be the cause of his death what it may, certain it is that Sir William Drury, the Deputy or Lord Justice, who had been summoned from Cork to Kilmalloch, to suppress the insurrection which had suddenly burst forth on the arrival of James, the son of Maurice, formerly temporary leader of the Geraldines, who had recently landed from France with a supply of men and arms, to raise the standard of the Pope amongst the disaffected Irish and English, did die at Waterford, whither he had returned, and was succeeded in his office by Sir William Pelham. Dr. Patrick O'Hely, who thus suffered with Father Cornelius O'Rourke, and another whose name is not mentioned, was, as I have stated, bishop of Mayo; both martyrs were of the Franciscan order. They were hanged upon a tree, and their bodies remained suspended for fourteen days, to be used as targets by the soldiery. As a proof that this persecution was not confined to Limerick, we may mention that in 1579 Thomas Hierlihy, Bishop of Ross, who was born in the country of Ross, in the district of Carberry, was raised to the Bishopric of that see, and assisted at the council of Trent in 1563, together with Donald Magongail, Bishop of Raphoe, and Eugene O'Hair, Bishop of Achonry. Upon his return to Ireland, he endeavoured to enforce the decrees and discipline of that council: he was driven from his see in 1570, and fled from the violent persecution against him into a small island, where he was taken, together with his chaplain, by the eldest son of O'Sullivan, and delivered up prisoner to Sir John Perrott, President of Munster. He was sent prisoner to England, and for three years and seven months was confined in a dark nauseous dungeon of the tower of London, together with Richard Creagh, Primate of Armagh. He was there offered great honours and dignities if he would renounce the faith, which offers he constantly rejected and chose death in preference to them. At length, Cormac McCarthy becoming bail for him, he was released out of the tower and returned to Ireland: upon his landing in Dublin, he
was again apprehended and confined, until by letters from London, the government was assured of his being enlarged there. Upon his return to his own country he retired from the noise of the world, and built, for himself, near the side of a lonesome wood, a little cabin made up of wattles, wherein he spent the remainder of his days in divine meditations, in consoling his distressed flock, in administering the sacraments, and in all other works of piety and charity; at length, consumed with labour and overcome by many hardships, he died, in the odour of sanctity, in the year 1579, and was buried in a convent of Franciscans in Muskerry, called the Celebrese. Nor were these dreadful crimes perpetrated upon such men only as Doctor Hely, and his companion, Father O'Rourke, and the Bishop of Boss; the terrors of the time are indescribable. On the 11th of February, a commission of marshal law was sent to Sir Warham, the Archdeacon of Limerick, who remained three weeks at Waterford, whence he went to Clonmel, where Ormond met him, and thence to Limerick. His baggage was carried a great part of the journey on men's heads for want of carriage horses, or because of the badness of the way, or both; and at Limerick, the chancellor of the diocese was found guilty of high treason, for corresponding with Desmond, but he made a shift to get a pardon, while the Bishop of Limerick, who was also shrewdly suspected, was merely confined to his house. On the 10th of March, Ormond and the Lord Justice met at Rathkeale; next day they passed over the bridge of Adare, and returned at night and invaded Connelloe, and having done what mischief he could there, proceeded to Carrigfoyle, which he took, and made no delay until they cast anchor in the Shannon, opposite Carragh-an-Phull. About Whitewash, the Lord Justice proceeded back to Askeaton, where he spent a considerable part of the summer, and never ceased, day and night from persecuting and extirpating the Geraldines. Having perpetrated several revolting atrocities, he passed by a transverse course to Cork, and back to Askeaton and Limerick. He had in his custody, the chiefs of Munster (the Geraldines only excepted) as hostages on this occasion, namely, Barrymore, the wife and son of MacCarthy Mor, the two sons of MacMaurice of Kerry, O'Sullivan Bear, MacDonough McCarthy, Chief of Duhallow, and the son of MacCarthy Regan, while the Lord Justice, Sir William Pelham, was at Limerick, Arthur, Lord Gray, Baron of Killarney, and Knight of the Garter, arrived in Dublin; and the Lord Justice surrendered the sword to him, having left Limerick for Dublin for that purpose, and sailed for England.

The reign of terror proceeded unchecked and rampant; and in the church of the parish of Mahonagh, county of Limerick, dedicated to St. Nicholas, 24 poor old people were put to death on the 6th of August, 1581. Gelasius O'Quillenan, a Bernadine abbot of Boyle, and Eugene Crane were martyred. Daniel O'Neial, a Franciscan, was martyred at Youghal by John Norris, mayor. Laurence O'More, a priest, Oliver Plunkett, a gentleman, and William Walsh, a soldier, were shot to death by a party in hatred of their religion, 11th November.*

An Italian or Spanish fleet of the "Pope's people" landed in Kerry in the September of this year; their arrival caused the greatest excitement in Limerick, so much so, that had they appeared at the gates of the city, they would have been thrown open to them, such was the idea of their strength and importance among the citizens, who viewed the expedition with contending feelings of hope and dread. They landed at Fort-del-or, which is situated on an island connected with the South shore of Smerewick Harbour, and which James of Desmond fortified the year before. O'Sullivan, in his Catholic History, gives a description of the island, near which is a green round hill called Cnoc-na-geaan, i.e. hill of the heads, whereon tradition has

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1 The Four Masters and Ware state that it was the occupants of the Castle of Askeaton who endeavoured to blow it up; and the Four Masters add that, not being able to destroy it, they opened wide gates, and the next day it became the property of the Queen. This was the first time that ordnance was used in the district, and the terrible roar of the unknown guns, the like of which had never been heard before, had a dreadful effect on the occupants of the Castle.

2 Annals of the Four Masters.

3 Ibid.

4 White's MSS. and Analecta.

5 Arthur MSS.
it, the English were encamped when they stormed the fort. This fleet was induced to come to Ireland to assist the Geraldines, who, it was known abroad, had been reduced to great extremities for their devotion to Ireland, and their defence of the Catholic faith and of Catholic interests. The Earl of Ormond mustered an army to oppose the expedition, and did not halt until they arrived in Kerry; after a good deal of parleying and diversation, the Italian Captains, Stephen San Josepbo, Hercules Pisano, and the Duke of Biscay, "came to the Lord Justice as if they would be at peace with him;" but the people of the Lord Justice went over to the island, and proceeded to kill and destroy the invaders, so that even of the seven hundred Italians who escaped, but being followed two days after by that of William, son of the Earl of Clanrickarde, whose sons had rebelled against the authority of the crown.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FATE OF THE EARL OF DESMOND.

In this year the two sons of MacMorarice of Kerry made their escape from the King's court in Limerick, the Council having resolved to put them to death. They soon found themselves supported by hundreds of kern, and they spent the remainder of the year in acts of pillage and insurrection. In the winter of this year Dr. Saunders, the Pope's legate, died in a miserable hovel in the moors of Claenglass, worn out by cold, hunger, and fatigue. The government had offered to pardon Desmond if he would give up this eminent ecclesiastic to them, but this he steadily refused. His companion in misfortune, the Bishop of Killaloe, who attended him in his last moment, escaped to Spain and died in Lisbon, A.D. 1617. It was to the fastnesses of Claenglass, which is situate in the south of the county of Limerick, and to the adjacent woods of Kilmore, that John Desmond, who still protracted this wretched struggle, was in the habit of carrying his spoil. In this year Hugh Lacy, Bishop of Limerick, died in gaol. He had been deprived by Queen Elizabeth.

In 1682 died Teige O'Brien (founder of the Ballyorrick family) "a hero in prowess." He had been for some time Tanist of Thomond, but was expelled together with his brother by Donnell. He afterwards went to Spain and France, and thence to England, where he obtained his pardon and his entire share of the territory, except the tanistry alone. He was interred in the monastery of Ennis. Donogh O'Brien (son of Morrogh), who had joined the rebellious De Burgh the year before, having repented, returned back under protection; but the Queen's officers detected a flaw in the protection, and hanged him in the gateway of Limerick; he was buried in the monastery of Ennis. His castles and lands of Lemenagh, Dromoland, Ballyconnelly, and other places, descended to his son Connor and his heirs, amongst whom is the present Lord Inchiquin, who established his right to that title in virtue of his descent from this Donagh, the founder of the family of Dromoland. There was no forfeiture, because Donagh fell a victim to martial law, which recognises no forfeitures.