

A. Macartney

A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
IRELAND,
FROM THE
EARLIEST ACCOUNTS
TO THE
CLOSE of the TWELFTH CENTURY.
COLLECTED FROM THE
MOST AUTHENTIC RECORDS.
IN WHICH

New and interesting Lights are thrown on the remote Histories of other
Nations as well as of both BRITAINS,

BY Mr. O'HALLORAN,

Author of an Introduction to the History and Antiquities of Ireland.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

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BY MR. O'HALLORAN

IRISH

FROM THE

PARLIAMENTARY

TO THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

IN THE

MOST AUTHENTIC RECORDS

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NEW AND IMPROVED EDITION, WITH THE LATEST RECORDS OF THE

BY MR. O'HALLORAN

Author of the History and Antiquities of Ireland

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THE
HISTORICAL
OF
IRELAND.
BOOK VII.
CHAP. I.

Laogaire elected emperor—successfully invades Britain—attacks the Lagenians ; is defeated and taken prisoner—released on conditions which he refuses to observe—new settlements of the Heberians in Leinster—of the religion of the Druids, and its effects on the morals of the people—the first introduction of Christianity into Ireland, not from Rome, but Asia or Africa—the flourishing state of the Irish church before the landing of Patrick.

IMMEDIATELY after the interment of Daithi, the estates were convened to elect a successor ; and Laogaire, son to the renowned hero Niall, and governor of Tara in his father's reign, was unanimously called to the monarchy. Acting under the late emperor Daithi, the present prince, in conjunction with the Saxons and Armoricans, or maritime states of the continent—to wit, the people of Flanders, Picardy, Normandy, and Britany—had the honour of displaying the banners of Ireland, and

A.C. proclaiming liberty, even at the foot of the Alps; and as soon as he had settled the internal police of his country, he now prepared for new expeditions, in concert with the ancient national allies.

About this time Clodion was called to the government of Gaul. He was called Chevelu, as being the first prince of the ancient race of kings, who for above four centuries, wore his hair in long ringlets round the back*. For it is worthy notice, that the Gauls under the Roman government, were obliged to have their hair cut short, probably, as a mark of subjection; or perhaps because the Romans deemed it as a mark of effeminacy; whereas the other free states, had it flowing down the back in curls. The Irish in particular, as we have already observed, were so fond of this ornament, that no soldier or officer durst appear without it; nay, its loss was a mark of the highest contempt, and an indignity to be offered only to slaves. But to return from this digression : Laogaire with a potent army invades Britain, and again are the walls and mounds of earth levelled to the ground, and again they experience all the miseries of a defenceless people, exposed to the outrages of a cruel and exasperated enemy! At length, united by despair, the Britons make head against these invaders, and gain some advantages over their detached parties; yet by a large tribute only, are they enabled to extricate themselves, from these unseasonable visitors for the present.

Flushed by this success, the monarch raised new troops, determined to compel the Lagenians to pay their usual tribute, which it seems they had refused; but Criomhthan, the son of Eana Cinfelach, was too good a politician not to be sensible, that such refusal must necessarily draw on him the indignation of the monarch, and therefore wisely prepared for the worst. He applies to Na-

* Mezeray Histoire de France, tom. i. p. 10.

fraoich, the son of Core, of the Eugenic line, at this time king of Leath-Mogha, for his support; and enters into particular treaty with Luig-Dealbhoidh, the son of Cas, who was an excellent commander, and always kept a body of select troops in his pay. In the mean time Laogaire enters Leinster; but Criomhthan avoided a general action, till the arrival of his auxiliaries. As soon as these joined him, he bid defiance to the monarch, and by mutual agreement both armies met at Atha-Dara, in the county of Kildare. The battle, as usual on all these occasions, was fierce and bloody, and well fought on both sides; but the superior discipline of the Mamonians at length prevailed, and the Imperialists gave way on every side. In this general rout Laogaire was taken prisoner, and purchased his liberty by swearing to exonerate the province of Leinster, from all future demands of tribute; and which he did in the most public manner, "invoking the sun, moon, and stars," as witnesses to this compact.

Criomhthan, as a reward for the great services of Luig, gave him large estates in Leinster, which from his surname were called the Dealbhnas. Delvin-more in Meath, was the patrimony of the O'Finallans, of this race, till dispossessed by Hugo de Lacy, in the latter end of the twelfth century, who conferred it on Gilbert de Nugent, whose posterity became barons of Delvin, and afterwards earls of West Meath. Delvin or Dealbhna-beg, in the same county, was the lordship of the O'Mael-Challains, of the line of Heber, Dealbhna-Tean-moi, was the property of the O'Scoluighs, or Scullys; and Dealbhna-Eathra, in the present King's County, was the territory of O'Coghlin, or Mac Coghlan, (for I find it wrote in old MSS. both ways) and which lordship, or at least a considerable part, is still preserved in that illustrious line. The present O'Coghlin was a member in the last parliament.

A.C. Scarce had Laogaire recovered his liberty, when he exclaimed and protested against all proceedings and promises made during his captivity. The Druids absolved him from his oath, and he prepared again to assert the rights of his ancestors, by force of arms, over the Lagenians. He likewise made some fresh invasions on South Britain; but our historians in this reign were so taken up with religious affairs, that they have scarce attended to any other matters, leaving us in the dark, as to the events of these last preparations. Indeed, the introduction and establishment of Christianity, is so closely connected with the history of the nations in which it prevailed, that it necessarily becomes a part of such works. The remarkable effect it had on the manners and pursuits of the Irish, deserves to be particularly adverted to.

Never was a system of religion better calculated to stir up the soul to noble actions, than that which prevailed amongst the Celtic and Scythian nations of Europe, previous to the introduction of Christianity. It seemed even to require longer and severer trials of probation, than the new Doctrine; for though the immortality of the soul was universally believed by them, yet they never allowed repose to it. They taught that it must pass from body to body, till by a series of ages, and actions of the brightest die, it became a pure emanation from the Deity, purged from all terrestrial vices, and worthy to be returned from whence it came. Was a man addicted to gluttony, the soul after his decease was judged to animate a hog, or some such unclean creature. The vices in one animation, were punished after death, by that soul's being transfused into some quadrupede most remarkable for such depravity. The souls of the brave, the generous, and the humane, after death, were revived in other bodies, still more noble and pure! In time they became pure aerial spirits; and from thence ascended to the Cælum Æmpyreum. Pythagoras

goras * boasted that he remembered his animating the bodies of A.C.
Aethalides, Euphorbus, Hermotimus, and Pyrrhus, and related the different accidents that happened to him in each personage. It is true, he tells us, the reason why he particularly possessed this power of recollection after death, not granted to others, that in the person of Aethalides, who was supposed the son of Mercury, he begged of that god to be enabled to remember after death, whatever passed in the different bodies he animated. Thus Ovid relates the tale :

- “ Morte carent animæ : semperque, priore relictâ
 “ Sede, novis domibus habitant, vivuntque receptæ.
 “ Ipse ego (*nam memini*) Trojani tempore belli
 “ Panthoïdes Euphorbus eram : cui pectore quondam
 “ Sedit in Adverso gravis hasta minoris Atridæ.
 “ Cognovi clypeum, lævæ gestamina nostræ
 “ Nuper Abanteis, templo Junonis, in Argis.”

Nor are we, *even at this day*, destitute of Druid tales to the same import. Fiontan, say our old legendary tales, came to Ireland, before the flood, with his wife Ceasair. They shared the same fate with the rest of the antediluvian world, except Noah and his children. He animated a new body after the flood, and lived for a considerable time. He related, that at the building the ark, he with his wife's father Bith, applied to Noah, for room for his family, but which was refused him. They consulted an oracle, and were advised to build such a machine as Noah was about ; to store it with provisions, and when the rain began to cover the country, to enter it, and commit themselves to the mercy of the winds and waves — “ *incerti quo fata ferunt.*” They did so, and

* Diogen. Laertius, lib. viii.

† Metamorph. lib. xv.

A.C. were thrown on the Irish coasts. Here, after some time, they all died; but Fiontan, like Pythagoras, being endowed with the spirit of recollection after death, on re-animating a new body, related this wonderful tale, which is all the authority we have for our antideluvian history! However this tale proves sufficiently, that the early Irish Druids were well acquainted with the history of the Jews, long before the incarnation; and that they wanted neither boldness nor invention, where the honour of their religion or the antiquity of their country were the objects. It is recorded in the Psalter of Cashill, in the reign of Fiacha Muilleathan, that the Druid Modharuith, (who, for finding out the means of supplying his army with water in a time of great scarcity, was granted lands in the county of Cork, afterwards the lordships of O'Keefe, and now called Roche's country, about A. C. 260) boasted to this prince that he remembered the reigns of nineteen monarchs of Ireland. Caoilte Mac Roan is said to have lived (or rather to have animated different bodies) many hundred years before the days of St. Patrick, and to have given to this apostle several curious anecdotes of the country and of its ancient inhabitants and religion, little known to the public. The dialogue between St. Patrick and Oisín, still preserved, in which a minute relation is given of the bloody battle of Gabhra, and of the heroes that fell on both sides, is another proof of this. The author asserted that he was Oisín, the eldest son of the famous Fion Mac Cumhal; though this battle was fought A. C. 296, at which time Oisín must have been advanced in years, his son Osgur being then general of the Fionne Eirion, or Leinster cohorts!

But though the immortality and transmigration of the soul were, as we have seen, constantly inculcated by the Druids, yet their doctrines and tenets were calculated, in general, rather to inflame than suppress the passions. Thus, the love of glory, ambition, and revenge were the chief themes of the bards and sena-

chies. None were spoke respectfully of in our annals, or celebrated by the bards, but such as indulged these passions to the highest degree. Lucan *, who seemed well acquainted with their tenets, tells us, that the chief employ of the bards, was to celebrate the achievements of those who fell in battle; and, to confirm this, we have already observed, that in the midst of slaughter the bards attended the fight, to animate their patrons by their verse; to remind them of the achievements of their ancestors, and the disgrace they must entail on their posterity, should they fall short of such glorious patterns! Thus Lucan—

“ Vos quoque qui fortes animas, belloque peremptos,

“ Laudibus in longum vates, dimittitis ævum,

“ Plurima securi fudistis carmina bardî.”

The Christian religion pointing the road to salvation, by doctrines totally opposite to these of the Druids, we must suppose produced a sensible alteration, in the conduct of its votaries; and it did so. At a very early period was Christianity preached in Ireland. The constant enmity between this country and ancient Rome, prevented any kind of friendly intercourse. This doctrine came not immediately from thence here, but from the churches of Asia; and this explains what Tertullian notes—“ Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo verò subdita.” Mansuetus, an Irishman, the first bishop and patron of Toul, and canonized by Leo IX. is said to have been a disciple of St. Peter †. St. James, the son of Zebedee, it is affirmed, also preached the gospel in Ireland ‡. To me it would seem that Mansuetus, and the other early Irish Christians, were rather the disciples of St. John the evangelist; and I ground my opinion on what the Ve-

* Pharsal. lib. i.

† Uffer. Primord. p. 747, 8. Bruodin. p. 879, &c.

‡ Uffer. p. 5.

C.A. venerable Bede relates, with regard to the famous controversy about the celebration of Easter *. He tells us, that in defence of the Irish time of celebrating this feast, in opposition to that of Rome, Colman, the Irish bishop of Lindisfarn, among other reasons declared—"that he had received it from his fore-fathers, "who sent him to Northumberland as their bishop; and that it "was the same custom which St. John, Christ's especially beloved disciple, with all the churches under him, observed." In the reign of Con, in the second century, Ireland sent forth the famous St. Cathaldus † to preach the doctrine of Christ; and he became bishop and patron of Tarentum, in Italy. In so flourishing a state was Christianity soon after, that in the next age, Cormoc, as great a legislator and as wise a prince as any nation produced, became before his death a Christian, and died in that faith, as we have observed already; soon after which it is expressly said in the Catha-Gabhra, that the Irish general Fion went to Rome. In the next reign, we read of an Irish bishop's suffering martyrdom in Britain; and it is evident by the poem of Torna Eigis, chief bard to Niall the Grand, beginning with—"Dail Catha, idir Core, and Niall," that he himself was a Christian; and Colgan offers his reasons ‡ for thinking his master one also.

* Hist. Eccles. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 25. taldi, &c.

† Trias Thaum. p. 175, N. 28.

† Bruodin. p. 879. Vita St. Ca-

C H A P. II.

Churches and schools founded, and bishops established, before the arrival of St. Patrick—Pope Celestin sends Palladius to Ireland—a passage in Prosper on this embassy, explained and defended—is succeeded by St. Patrick—his manner of conducting the mission—the number of bishops consecrated by him, accounted for—is appointed one of the committee to examine the national records—remarks upon it.

THE preceding chapter has shewn the flourishing state of Christianity in Ireland, before the days of St. Patrick; and if what is generally taken for granted be true, i. e. “that the more polished nations were, the speedier this doctrine spread itself among them”—we must rank this country amongst the most civilized states of Europe; and what Cambrensis meant as an insult, the highest encomium on the people; for he upbraided the archbishop of Cashill, for that, amongst the numbers of saints and confessors which Ireland boasted, they could not produce one martyr *. But persecution and death for religious tenets, was never the practice of truly polished people.

The missionaries in the fourth century, not only preached, but founded churches, and opened colleges in Ireland. Amongst these was the holy Dima, whose name a church near Adare, in this county (Limeric) still bears. Heber, or Ibarus soon after founded an academy, at a place called Beg-lire, in Leinster, where, as Usher notes †, “he instructed very great numbers of Irish as

* Topogr. Hib. dist. iii. cap. 29.

† Usher, Primord. p. 80r.

A.C. “well as foreigners in sacred and polite letters.” Colgan ‡ says, “that people from all parts crouded to his schools, to be instructed “in Christianity and letters.” St. Albe, archbishop of Munster, and his contemporary, Usher tells us, after preaching through the whole kingdom, founded his church and schools at Emely. † St. Kieran and St. Declan, also preceded Patrick, and founded churches; and when this apostle required their acknowleging him as archbishop of all Ireland, it produced some dissensions, “Ibarus particularly protesting against giving the supremacy and “patronage of Ireland, to any one but a native.”

The zeal and success of the Irish missionaries in Britain, and on the continent, at this time, sufficiently proved to the Roman pontiff, in what a respectable state Christianity must have been in Ireland; and though, as we have already observed, this doctrine was not introduced amongst us by Roman preachers, no more than amongst the early Gauls (else why would these last, in that terrible persecution raised against them, in the latter end of the second century, prefer their complaints and paint their distresses, to their brethren in Asia and Phrygia, rather than to the faithful in Rome *), yet they naturally wished to establish their authority here. To this end, in the year 431, and in the reign of the present emperor Loagaire, pope Celestin sent Palladius, archdeacon of the Roman church, as archbishop and apostle of Ireland, with twelve Irish missionaries. This is affirmed by the Venerable Bede †, who tells us, “*that in the eighth year of the “reign of the emperor Theodosius, Palladius was sent by Celestin, “bishop of the Roman church, to the Scots believing in Christ, “to be their FIRST BISHOP.*” Prosper §, treating of the mission of Palladius, says, “*that he was ordained by pope Celestin, and*

† Vita St. Abbani. • Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. i. p. 433. + Hist Eccles. lib. i. cap. 13.

§ Chron. ad ann. 431.

“sent the FIRST BISHOP, to the Scots believing in Christ.” The great primate Usher, whose zeal for his country was equal to his erudition, contended that the word *Primus*, was foisted into later copies of Prosper; and his reason for supposing this, was lest it might be thought, that there had not been Christians in Ireland before this period, a point which he strenuously contends for*. That there were, cannot be controverted, and yet it does not nevertheless lessen the authorities of Bede and Prosper. The political enmity betwixt Rome and Ireland, cut off all communication between them. The Irish received the faith from the early Asiatic, or African churches; and Palladius was therefore the first bishop sent from Rome, to establish the Roman hierarchy *here*. This becomes more clearly illustrated, by what Prosper says afterwards, in speaking of Celestin—“that having ordained a bishop, for “the Scots or Irish; whilst he endeavoured to keep the Roman “island, i. e. Britain, Catholic, he made the barbarous island, “i. e. Ireland, Christian.” The evident sense of which is—that whilst he attended to the care of Britain, which always acknowledged the power of Rome, he forgot not the same zeal and concern for Ireland, though it never admitted of Roman jurisdiction. A confession highly honourable to this country, and a farther evidence of the truth of our ancient history.

His mission was attended with no great success; for we must suppose, by the opposition given to St. Patrick’s ministry in the beginning, that the Irish were very unwilling to acknowledge spiritual supremacy in a people, whose temporal power they so manfully and successfully opposed. His stay was but of a few months in Ireland, during which time he founded three new churches, and then retired to Britain, where he died soon after.

* Prim. Eccles. Brit. p. 798.

A.C. On the report of his death at Rome, Celestin looked out for a successor, and none was judged so proper for this arduous task as Patrick, who, as we noted in the life of Niall the Grand, had been then taken amongst other captives, and sold as a slave in Ireland, where he remained for seven years. After his redemption, he devoted himself to the church, and to the sublimest spiritual exercises. His knowledge of the country and language, his piety, wisdom, and meekness; but above all, his own seeming immediate call from God, for this mission, conspired to mark him out for this great undertaking. It is recorded in his life, and affirmed by himself, that after his release from captivity, and return to his friends, often reflecting on his future pursuits in life, in a vision, he saw a man coming to him from Ireland with letters, the beginning of which was, *vox Hibernigenſium*; and that whilst perusing it, he heard the natives call to him for instruction. From this time forward he determined for the church, and to convert the Irish. His baptismal name was *Caecilius*, but at the time of his ordination by St. Germain, it was changed to *Magonias*. After his consecration, and to add greater weight and dignity to his embassy, Celestin conferred on him the Patrician order. This was an institution of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, and more honourable than that of the ancient order; as these *Patricii* ranked next to the emperors, or their declared successors. To prove this, we find Charlemagne and other kings of France to have retained the title of Roman patricians. *Patricius* was not the real name of our apostle, though he afterwards retained it, but the title conferred on him.

It is not my intent to give a minute account of the piety, zeal, and wisdom of this great apostle during his mission. His life has been written, and his actions celebrated, by so many different pens, that the task seems almost unnecessary. I shall however touch

touch upon such parts, as will tend to illustrate the history of the country. When he landed in Ireland, he found the nation replete with holy and learned preachers, and their votaries pious and obedient. It is very probable that Palladius presumed too much on his mission from Rome, and wanted to extort a greater reverence and obedience from the Irish clergy, than they thought him entitled to. Patrick conducted himself quite otherwise. He rather gained on them by mildness than severity; and we see Ibarus, who opposed his authority most, he insensibly gained the ascendant over, and brought him to be of his party. Having thus established his authority over the clergy, he considered of the most effectual methods of spreading the new doctrine through the whole kingdom. His principal aim was the conversion of the nobility, in which pursuit he met with great success. After traversing Leinster and Ulster for near two years, every where making converts amongst the great, he determined to attend the national estates, soon to meet at Tara. The eves of Bel, or May, and of Samhuin, or November, were the two principal festivals of the Druids. At each season all culinary fires were extinguished, and re-light by the sacred fires, kept burning in the temples of Uisneach and Flachta. It was deemed sacrilege to have any fire lighted on those days, but from these temples. Patrick nevertheless determined to break through this custom, and sap the very foundation of Druidism. On the eve of Bel, he had a very large fire kindled near the temple of Uisneach. The Druids and their votaries beheld with horror this innovation, and preferred their petition to the monarch. Next day Patrick was summoned to appear before the estates.

The state of Loagaire is on this occasion compared to that of Nebuchadnezzar on the plains of Dura. The apostle appeared, produced his credentials, and defended his doctrine with such forcible arguments, that numbers were converted, and the empress of Lao-

A.C. gaire was of the number. This step of Patrick's was certainly a very bold one; but I suppose he relied on his public character of a Roman patrician, or on the number of friends he had already gained in the council, for his protection. He continued for some time after at Tara, in public disputations with the Druids; and the event proves, with great success. From thence he proceeded to Tailtean, where the chiefs of the nation assembled every year, to attend the famous exhibitions; and here numbers were converted. In a word, so great was the success of this holy apostle, that in a very few years the princes and chief nobility of the kingdom acknowledged the doctrine of Christ. Not only this, but so great was their zeal, and so pure their intentions, that they did not deem it sufficient to devote the tenth part of their riches, their flocks, and their corn to God, but bestowed the tenth son on the church! Hence the amazing number of devout recluses, and holy bishops, of the purest blood of Ireland, whose pedigrees have been preserved with great care; many of whom passed over from time to time to Britain and to the continent, to establish the doctrine of Christ by their precepts and by their examples. It is recorded of Patrick, that during his mission in Ireland he consecrated no less than 365 bishops, and ordained 3000 priests, none of whom were received, who had not given the clearest evidences of an holy and pious life and conversation.

This number of bishops may surprise some readers, and therefore merits an elucidation. Amongst the other causes of Patrick's great influence on the people, one was, his attention to avoid whatever could alarm the national pride, or alter the established police of the kingdom. As to the first, we find no hint at a foreign supremacy during the whole of his mission; nor any disputes whatever about the tonsure, and time of celebrating the feast of Easter; *though it is most certain, that before, during,*

during, and for two centuries after his death, the Irish church adhered most strictly to the Asiatic churches in these modes of discipline. The same prudence governed him with respect to the internal police of the kingdom; and, provided religion was not materially hurt, he passed over small things. In Ireland all posts of honour and profit were hereditary in families. The priesthood amongst the Irish, as with the Jews, was also hereditary. Dignitaries amongst the Druids, and the lands to support them, were the properties of certain families. Not only this, but besides the present possessor, a coadjutor, who was also to succeed him, was at the same time nominated. Wherever the Christian bishop was elected to succeed the Druid flamen, he also had his assistant and successor appointed. It was a wise measure, as on a demise the new pastor was well acquainted with his flock, and with his own duty. He was called a Comharba, or partner, in the church lands, and ranked as a bishop. Of this order of men, no less than four died in the see of Ardmach during the apostleship of St. Patrick; so that he was himself the first and fifth archbishop of that diocese. And when we reflect on the length of his mission, being sixty-one years, and the number of these titular bishops which must necessarily be appointed, this great creation of his will neither appear improbable or surprising.

Though St. Patrick had been preaching and converting souls in other parts of Ireland, since the year 432, yet he came not to Munster till 448. Two reasons are to be assigned for this: first, the flourishing state of Christianity in this province for a considerable time before this period; secondly, some preliminaries were to be adjusted between him and St. Albe. At length Aongus the king invited Patrick to his court; and, to do him the greater honour, attended by his nobility, his prelates, and clergy, he met him at some distance from Cashill. In his suite were St. Albe and St. Declan. A synod was soon after called, at
which

A.C. which the king presided ; and it was decreed—“ that St. Albe
 “ should rank as a second Patrick, and patron and archbishop of
 “ Munster ; and that St. Declan should be called the Patrick of
 “ the Deasies, and their chief bishop. After this they blessed
 “ the king ; and giving the kiss of peace, each returned to his
 “ particular charge *.” Thus was this difficult affair of precedence settled, in which Aongus, as king of Leath-Mogha, was deeply interested. That the supremacy of Ireland should be fixed in Leath-Cuin, was but just, as the monarchs of Ireland were of the Heremonian line ; and that the archbishops of Munster should rank next to these of Ardmagh, is evident ; for in the days of Patrick, the archbishop of Ardmagh was generally called archbishop of Leath-Cuin, or of Northern Ireland ; and the other archbishop of Leath-Mogha, or Southern Ireland ; so that though we should admit Leinster to be raised to an archbishoprick by St. Patrick, yet it is evident that it must rank after Munster, because Leinster was always in the southern division of Ireland, and in a great measure dependant on it, as paying tribute to Munster. For the same reason Tuam was inferior to Ardmagh. To give my opinion of this matter, the precedence of the Irish archbishops should be thus : Ardmagh has ever preserved to itself, and with the highest justice, the primacy of all Ireland ; the archbishop of Cashill, or of Munster, in strictness should rank next to him as primate of Ireland, on account of the antiquity of that kingdom, and of its being possessed by the Heberian, or eldest branch of the Milesian race ; and that Leinster was always looked upon as an appendix to it. Leinster should fill the next place on account of its riches, and of its being ruled by Milesian princes some centuries earlier than Connaught. Under these archbishops were no less than 100 bishops,

* Hanmer's Chronicle, page 35.

whose names are preserved in Colgan and Ward*. It is certain that in these early days, bishops were much more numerous than since. In the Council of Sardis, A. C. 374, it is decreed that no bishop shall be consecrated for a village where a presbyter shall answer; but a bishop may be appointed over a city, or to superintend many presbyters. A. C.

Patrick having established Christianity, and his own supremacy, on the most solid basis, nothing of moment was now done without his approbation. He even presided as chief of the clergy at a public examination of the national records; though it is doubted whether the monarch Laogaire was himself a Christian. A committee, consisting of three Arch-Druids, three chief antiquaries, and three chief bards, were appointed at Tara, every third year, to examine the national records, to expunge what seemed improbable or doubtful, and to transcribe into the Seana-chas-More, or Great Book of Antiquity, whatever seemed most worthy to be transmitted to posterity. On the present occasion this convention was honoured with the presence of the monarch, and the kings of Munster and Ulster. The bishops, who now succeeded the Druids, were Patrick Benin, and Cairnach; and the antiquarians Dubhthach, the monarch's prime Senachie; Feargus, and Rosa. This remarkable examination of the national records by St. Patrick is placed in the Annals of the Four Masters, in the year of Christ 438. But this cannot be; for Benignus, one of the assistant bishops at this meeting, was then but a youth; nor did the king of Munster even receive baptism till the year 448. So that by placing it in the year 450, as I have done, we fix it about the exact period. 450

We must suppose, and it is affirmed by the testimony of contemporary and succeeding writers, that in the present examina-

* Trias Thaumaturg. Vita Sancti Rumoldi, page 158, &c.

A.C. tion, the history and antiquities of the country underwent a very severe scrutiny; and this alone should entitle them to some degree of respect, even though they had wanted collateral proofs; which, as we have seen, is not the case. Such as I have delivered them, were they passed and approved of by the present committee; and could we suppose that they received any addition, it must be, *that of Patrick's making Phœnius, the son of Baath, the son of Magog, the son of Japhet*, in order to reconcile our history to that of Moses. For our heathen ancestors preserved their annals from the days of this Phœnius ONLY; and should we even suppose these predecessors, which Patrick gave to him, to be imaginary, yet it was one of those *pious frauds*, innocent in itself, and which helped more to reconcile the public to the new doctrine, than to mislead them. As for those writers who would make the son of Phœnius and Moses contemporaries, it is certain they had no authority, from the present reform, for such assertion. Had this been the case, Patrick's disciple and first biographer Fiech, when he mentioned Phœnius and Niulus, could not fail of mentioning a circumstance so flattering to the new Christians; but though he had omitted it, his scholiast, who was a century later, certainly would not. But no such thing: this great apostle was too good a scholar, and too well versed in sound chronology, to attempt so glaring an anachronism. Nay, though he had attempted it, the people were more knowing, and better informed, than to admit it on his bare *ipse dixit*.

C H A P. III.

The manner in which St. Patrick spread Christianity over Ireland—said to have been the first introducer of letters there—this charge refuted; and the great antiquity of our alphabet proved—origin of the celebration of Easter—the churches of Asia and Ireland differed from Rome in their time of celebrating this feast—Collumbanus and Colman, &c. zealous defenders of this mode of discipline—remarks on, and inferences drawn from, these disputes.

BY the prudence, moderation, and good sense of the apostle of Ireland, was the whole kingdom brought to acknowledge the doctrine of Christ; and this wonderful reform was conducted with so much wisdom, that it produced not the least disturbance or confusion. The Druids and their votaries were unmolested; and Christian bishops were appointed to succeed the arch-flamens, by those families only, who, being converted, had a right to such nominations. One thing more however Patrick did: the university of Tara, as being the residence of the monarchs, had, from time immemorial, a precedence over the other universities of the kingdom; and the Ollamhs or doctors of it held a rank superior to them. Patrick having made Ardmagh the primacy of all Ireland, and also founded here an university, was resolved that it should be the chief of all the Christian seminaries in the kingdom; and which rank it gloriously supported to the dissolution of our monarchy; having at one time no less

A.C. a number than 7000 students ! yet even this we see did not encroach upon the Druids, or their privileges.

I have not once hinted at any of the many wonderful miracles attributed to this apostle. If ancient facts, supported by the fullest evidence of history, cannot stand before modern critics, what chance can ancient wonders have to gain credit, where they have nothing but a lively faith to support them ? My opinion is, that, without recurring at all to miracles, the astonishing success of this apostle may be accounted for from natural causes. Preaching to a learned and polished people a doctrine so elevated and pure as that of Christ ; a doctrine which taught its votaries to rule and govern their passions, not the passions them, must have had great weight.—The highest perfection of former doctrines was—*ne alteri feceris, quod tibi fieri non vis*—but the new religion went further : it directed to forgive injuries, to do good for evil ; nor *let the sun go down on our wrath*. Such a doctrine preached, and by *religious*, whose lives and examples added new lustre to it, needed neither miracles from above, nor *restraining or penal laws* on earth to support it !

Bollandus, Tellemont, and even Fleury, in his Ecclesiastical History, have asserted that the Irish were unacquainted with letters till the days of St. Patrick ; nor should I attend much to these remarks of foreign writers, who, having no opportunities of consulting our annals, might be well excused for their mistakes, did I not see the same falshood roundly asserted by English, and even some modern Irish writers too.

To admit this is to annihilate all our pretensions to history and antiquity ; but it will be hard to reconcile it to the Christian preachers being at the same time the founders of seminaries for letters, and to this doctrine's blazing with such superior lustre amongst us. Besides, since we had Christian teachers from the first century, who founded churches, and made converts, must

we not suppose that they must have known the use of letters? A.C. we undoubtedly must. But to bring it to a point. If Patrick introduced any letters into Ireland, they must be the Roman alphabet. But will any one affirm that the Roman letters were in the same order or structure of the Irish? The Irish alphabet was arranged in an order peculiar to itself, beginning with the consonants. It consisted of but seventeen (though I think more justly but of sixteen, the F being an interpolation) letters; but will any scholar advance, that in the fifth century from Christ, the Roman alphabet contained no more? Will he be so hardy as to say, that even this number of letters (seventeen), were in the same structure with the Roman ones? If he does, Julius Cæsar shall be my witness of his deception; for he tells us*, that the British and Galish letters, in his days, were like the Greek; and such is the Irish at this day! Now if this letter was not totally different in figure from the Roman, where is the necessity for this remark of Cæsar's? But as a gentleman of great eminence in the republic of letters, though he admits the Irish to be as early in the possession of letters as any nation whatever, yet contends that St. Patrick absolutely destroyed their original letter, and in its place substituted the present one, which he brought from Rome: it merits some discussion, more from the reputation of the author, than the solidity of his arguments. He affirms, that Patrick gave them the same number of Roman letters which their ancient alphabet contained, and subject to the same rules. We have seen the Greeks, by degrees, reject the signs annexed to some of their original Cadmean alphabet for new letters, and it was an useful alteration; the Saxons did the same, and so did the northern nations of Europe, who, like them, took their original alphabet from Ireland. But to suppose a learned nation to substitute one alphabet for another, without

* Comment. lib. vi.



A.C. any visible advantages for the better, as in the present case, is absurd. Besides, by the testimony of Cæsar, the Gaulish and Irish letters must differ from the Roman, as in effect they did. But what confusion must not arise in the public records of the kingdom from such alteration? Would all the bishops in England prevail on the parliament to alter the present letter, without some uncommon advantages? In Ireland, by this hypothesis, none was pretended;—the great influence, the veneration for, and miracles of, St. Patrick, are held forth by our writers in a most conspicuous point of view: every thing relative to him has been preserved with uncommon reverence; the officers of his household, and even his meanest domestics, are on record; and yet not the smallest notice taken of this wonderful change, except the crude assertions of ill-informed foreigners! It is then an uncontrovertible fact, that our present letter is the same we had from the most remote antiquity; the same the early Greeks adopted; the same the Gauls used in the days of Cæsar; and what we find the oldest MSS. in Europe are wrote in.

Thus it appears to demonstration, that in the days of St. Patrick, first, the order of the Irish letters was different from that of the Roman; secondly, that our alphabet had seven letters less than theirs; and, thirdly, that in structure they differed totally from the Roman! It is indeed confessed, that, before the death of this apostle, the Christian bishops, in imitation of the Romans, altered the old form of our alphabet, such as we have exhibited in the second book of this history; and instead of beginning it with the consonants, like them commenced it with the letter A; and that in process of time, the whole nation adopted the same mode. It is not improbable but that Patrick introduced amongst us the Roman alphabet; and that he gave copies of it to different churches, in order to celebrate the rites of the church

in Latin; but it may certainly with as much propriety be inferred, A.C. that because the Jesuits in China made their converts, especially the clergy, acquainted with the Roman alphabet, that the Chinese were totally illiterate before this period, as that the Irish were so, before the days of St. Patrick!

My account of this great apostle shall close with some remarks on the celebration of Easter; because they are curious and historical, and display the genius of the people, the state of the Irish church at this time, and for many centuries after, and the great good sense and moderation of Patrick.

We have already noticed, that the first Irish converts were the disciples of St. John; at least that they received Christianity from the churches of Asia, and adopted their mode of tonsure, and time of holding the festival of Easter. The Jews had their Pascha, or passover, to commemorate their being unhurt on the night that the *destroying angels* killed the first-born of man and beast throughout the land of Egypt. The apostles, after the death of Christ, judged that nothing could be more expressive of our deliverance from sin, than the institution of a similar festival. The Jews were commanded to celebrate their passover the fourteenth day of the moon, of the first month, which corresponded with our March; this being the time of the vernal equinox, when the sun is in Aries, the days and nights of equal length, and the new year beginning to spring. They had put Christ to death whilst they were celebrating the feast of the paschal lamb; and this circumstance determined the Christians to celebrate theirs at the same time. St. Peter, and St. Paul after quitting Palestine, judged that the keeping this feast on the fourteenth day of the first moon, was rather adopting the Jewish, than forming a new festival; they therefore transferred it to the Sunday after, unless that Sunday fell on the fourteenth. But St. John and the churches of Asia and Africa, adhered to the first institution. It was how-

ever

A.C. ever a matter of mere discipline, in which Christians might differ without sin or schism.

St. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, and an immediate disciple to St. John, came to Rome, A. C. 158, on purpose to confer with pope Anacetus on this subject. He defended the Asiatic custom on the authority of that saint; and the pope defended the western church, on the general tradition from St. Peter and St. Paul. But though they did not agree in this matter, yet they remained in peace and communion as before *. In the year 196 this question was agitated with great heat between pope Victor and the Asiatics bishops. Several councils were held; and one by the bishops of Asia, at the request of this pope, at which Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus presided. But the result was, that they were more unanimous in adhering to the original institution †. The Asiatics and all the churches deriving under them, continued this practice of celebrating Easter, till the year 325, when the council of Nice issued a decree for observing this feast every where, on the Sunday immediately following the vernal equinox; and this decree was enforced by command of the emperor Constantine. But notwithstanding all this, numbers in Asia, and the *church of Ireland, with all these deriving under it, as the Britons, the Picts, and Dal-Riada*, adhered firmly to the discipline of St. John in this point.

What Patrick's opinion on this head was, does not appear. We do not even find any mention of it during his mission; and yet it is most certain, that the Irish did then observe this feast after the Asiatic manner, and did treat the decisions of Rome on this point with great respect. Not only this, but such of them as spread Christianity, and founded churches in foreign countries, strongly inculcated their mode of celebrating Easter. Such was

* Fleury Histoire Eccles. tom. i. p. 375.

† Ibid. tom. i. p. 518.

the great Columba, apostle of the Picts, Columbanus, in France, St. Aidanus, Finian, Colman, &c. in Britain, &c. The Venerable Bede * though he praises Columba, and his monks of Huy, as well as his successors to his own days, for their great piety and virtue, yet censures them for their obstinacy, in this point of church discipline. In France, Columbanus, with all the monks of his house, followed it. He was of the noblest blood of Ireland, and early dedicated to the service of God. Holy abbots at that time, and for centuries after, erected their retreats in the most sequestered places, that nothing might disturb their prayers and meditations. Scarce an istand, or solitary spot of ground in Ireland, that spiritual retreats were not already made in, and churches and abbies erected, the remains of most of which are yet visible, *exhibiting at once, the wonderful piety of our ancestors, and the degeneracy of their successors, at least of the present age.*

Collumbanus †, with a number of disciples, retired to France, and, in the year 590, founded, in the midst of a desert in Burgundy, an abbey for himself and his followers; but these became so numerous, that he was obliged to raise two others. The fame of his piety, austerity, charity, and miracles, drew after him numbers of followers; and this perhaps was the true reason, that persecutions were raised against him. He, with his monks, celebrated the feast of Easter, on the fourteenth day of the first moon, without at the same time pretending to stretch this custom beyond his own authority. The Gauls complain to Gregory the Great of this schism. Several councils are called, and Columbanus is cited to appear before them. He appeals to the pope, and, with great learning, sense, and modesty, defends his opinion, and those

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* Hist. Eccles. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 4.

† Fleury Hist. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 18, 19, 191, &c.

A.C. of his country and ancestors, on this head; and at the same time writes to the Gaulish bishops assembled on this occasion,

He observed, that it was established by St. John, Christ's especially beloved disciple, by St. Philip, and the churches of Asia; that it was proved by the calculations of Anatolius, confirmed by St. Jerome. That those of Victorius (employed by Leo the Great, in the fifth century, to adjust the lunations, and the exact time of the equinoxes) were vague and uncertain. He requests the holy father's decisions on this matter, but adds—"that who-
 "ever opposes his authority to that of St. Jerome, will be re-
 "jected as an heretick, by the *Western Church*, i. e. the church
 "of Ireland!" After all, he observes to the bishops assembled—
 "If I am in ignorance, bear it with charity, since I am not the
 "author of this discipline. Let me live in obscurity in this de-
 "sert, near the remains of seventeen of our brethren already dead.
 "We wish to adhere to the customs of *our ancestors*, to our deaths.
 "You should rather console than distress poor, aged, and afflicted
 "strangers. In a word, if it be the will of God, that you should
 "expell me from this desert, to which I came from so great a
 "distance, for the love of Jesus Christ, I shall only say with the
 "prophet, If I am the cause of this storm, let it cease, by my
 "being thrown into the sea."

In the year 664, a council was held in Northumberland, to withdraw the Saxons and Britons from this custom, which they borrowed from the Irish. St. Colman, at the head of his Irish clergy (as Columbanus did), defended this custom by the authority of St. John, and the churches of Asia; by the calculations of Anatolius, and by the practice of his ancestors, bishops and teachers, *who being pious, learned, and godly men, strictly adhered to the same.* In a word, finding the majority of voices against him, rather than swerve from the discipline of his ancestors, he resigned

his bishoprick, and returned to Ireland, bringing with him a number of Saxon monks, for whom he founded an abbey in an island, in the county of Mayo, which was in a most flourishing state in the days of the Venerable Bede, and for centuries after †. A.C.

From the remarkable attachment of the Irish to this custom, we have still stronger proofs of the uncommon wisdom of Patrick. He probably endeavoured to reconcile the Irish clergy, to the practice of the universal church; and very likely laboured also, to make them acknowledge the supremacy of Rome. But he saw clearly by their firmness in these matters, that should he insist much on them, he would endanger his own authority. His silence on these points accounts for his journey to Rome, after his establishment of Christianity here. He laid before the consistory, the dangers that he apprehended, from insisting on these heads; and we must conclude, had the pope's approbation of his conduct; since we see, upon his return, that the pope presented him with a pallium, and that he observed the same prudent silence on these matters, that he did before.

I as freely censure my countrymen for their obstinacy on this occasion as any man can. We plainly see, that the custom was not peculiar to them; and that they defended it from its antiquity, the practice of many of the disciples, the authority of the churches of Asia, the astronomical calculations of Anatolius, *and from its being the constant usage of their ancestors.* They were the last to submit to the decisions of Rome on this head; but they submitted from conviction. These points of the Irish church discipline, which, before me, no one has attempted to explain, convey facts of the utmost consequence to Christianity. They prove to demonstration, that the church of Christ, as established

† Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 25.

A.C. by his disciples, immediately after his crucifixion, and before they dispersed themselves into the different quarters of the globe, remained invariably the same, in the different succeeding ages! We have seen in the second, third, and fourth centuries, no differences whatever between the church of Rome and the Asiatic churches, save about discipline; and this was confined to the tonsure, the celebrating of Easter. The Irish, from political interest, and their dread of a foreign yoke, were the *eternal and avowed enemies of Rome*. This hatred was as conspicuous in the days of Christianity, as we have seen, as in those days of Paganism; and it will not be now controverted, that they owed not the seeds of Christianity to Roman missionaries. Yet—and indeed it is wonderful to be told—we plainly see, that in the fifth century, in articles of faith, the churches of Rome and Ireland were in perfect *unison*, though it was the first time they met! We see the same miraculous conformity—I think myself justified in the expression—in the beginning, and beyond the middle of the seventh century, when, for the second time, they met, and not in the most friendly manner. The question about Easter was agitated at this time, both in England and France, with great warmth. The Irish are charged with perverseness and wilfull obstinacy, in this matter of discipline, but not the least hint at holding heterodox opinions, either in themselves or in their ancestors. “If it be
 “thought (says St. Colmanus, the Irish bishop of Northumber-
 “land, in his defence of his country) that our most reverend fa-
 “ther Columba, and his successors, virtuous and godly men, who
 “kept Easter after the same manner, either believed, or lived
 “contrary to the scripture; especially their piety being so con-
 “spicuous, that God confirmed it by miracles ||.” From this period to the middle of the twelfth century, Rome and Ireland

had no connection or correspondence; and yet upon the landing of cardinal Papiron at that time, the most exact conformity in faith and discipline was found, between both churches! Facts highly meriting the attention of every reflecting Christian. But whilst I remark this correspondence between the different churches of the Christian world, let me not be supposed to contend, that there never were heterodox opinions advanced and opposed to the sentiments of the universal church. Every age proved there were; but then these visionaries were but a few, from whose enthusiasms the flock was carefully guarded. A.C

C H A P. IV.

Civil history of Ireland resumed—Britain continues to be ravaged by the Irish, who thereby make a diversion in favour of the Gauls and Germans, engaged against the Roman power on the continent—Vortigern elected chief of the Britons, after they were deserted by the Romans—calls in the aid of the Saxons; who soon make a treaty with the Irish, and establish themselves in Britain.

ABSORBED in ecclesiastical history and church discipline, the civil history of Ireland seemed for a good while forgot; but these matters being now I hope satisfactorily elucidated, we can with more pleasure return to our main pursuit. Notwithstanding the rapid progress of Christianity, the lust of conquest did not totally subside. New troops from time to time were pouring

A.C. pouring into Britain, as well to subdue the country, as to make a diversion in favour of the Gauls and Germans, with whom our monarchs had been long in confederacy, to limit the bounds and conquests of the Romans. At this time, the superior abilities of Aëtius restored in a good measure, the Roman affairs in Gaul. It was a most alarming circumstance to Ireland. Three times had the Romans been beaten out of Britain by the Irish and their Pictish allies. To prevent another visit, they exerted their utmost efforts. So devoted to Rome were the Britons, that upon the least appearance of domestic tranquility, their youth repaired to the Roman standards in Gaul, at the same time adding to their power, and improving themselves in military discipline. The Irish councils had two objects in view; the causing such a diversion in Britain, as would render them incapable of recruiting the Roman armies, and, at the same time, sending such a force to the continent, as would, in conjunction with their allies, afford sufficient employment to the Romans there, without thinking any farther of Britain. That their troops did really join Attila against Rome, Usher I think clearly proves*.

How successful their irruptions into Britain were, need not be told: suffice it, that it gave rise to that remarkable British address to Aëtius in Gaul. “We know not (say they) which way to turn. The barbarians drive us to the sea, and the sea forces us back to the barbarians, between whom we have only the choice of two deaths: either to be swallowed up by the waves, or butchered by the sword†.” But this general, so far from being able to afford them relief, sent them word, to make the best terms for themselves, for so distracted were his own affairs, that they must not expect from him the smallest assistance. In this situation, they, partly by money, and partly by the sword,

* Primord. Eccles. Brit. p. 406—1108.

† Ibid. lib. i. cap. 13.

got rid for the present of these daring invaders. Aetius, still enterprizing and persevering, gained fresh advantages over the Gauls, and a complete victory over Gondecaire. A.C.

The incursions into South Britain again recommence, and numbers fly to Armoric Brittany, and the coasts of Flanders. The remainder in this extremity proceed to the election of a chief, whose authority in time of war should be absolute. Vortigern is chosen to this high command. Some place his election in the year 436; Rapin, in the year 445; I think it may be reasonably fixed at 439. But be this matter as it may, his abilities as a general, were not equal to public expectations; and if, from time to time, he procured some relaxations to his poor distressed country from these cruel invaders, it was owing more to the force of gold than iron. The people at length growing desperate, exclaim against his timidity; and, in this dilemma, he recommends to them the calling in of the Saxons. Assisted by these new allies, the Britons successfully make head against their oppressors, and by degrees clear the country of them. Need it be told, the Saxon auxiliaries, seeing the effeminacy and cowardice of the Britons, formed the design of possessing the whole country, and certainly with the advice and concurrence of the Irish, as history proves. 436 439 449

Mindful of the close affinity between the two nations, and of their ancestors having frequently in conjunction invaded Britain when the Roman power was in its greatest splendor there, they soon agreed to a private treaty*. This was most probably accelerated by the defeat of Attila in Gaul, by Aetius. The Irish wisely considered, by promoting this treaty with the Saxons, that they laid the seeds for constant dissensions in Britain; and should the Romans again attempt to invade it, they added, by the success 451

* Bede, Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 15.

A.C. of the Saxons, a new and a more powerful barrier to their own frontiers. For their constant policy was, to keep the war out of their own country as long as they could; justly concluding, that the moment the Romans re-established their power on the continent, their whole force would fall heavy on them. Of what importance the acquisition of Ireland would be to them, is evident by what Tacitus observes of it: *that by its situation it would wonderfully facilitate the preservation of their conquests in Spain and Gaul* *.

By this treaty between the Scots or Irish and the Saxons, and the union of their armies, the poor Britons felt greater and crueller misery than they had ever experienced before; and the Saxons soon cut out for themselves, by means of the Irish, lasting settlements in Britain. This accounts for and explains the constant predilection which the Irish ever after had for the Saxons; the care they took to reform their rude manners; to instruct them in the principles of Christianity, and in letters; to ordain bishops and priests on purpose for the Saxon mission; and to found schools and seminaries for them in different parts of the kingdom; all which the Venerable Bede, a Saxon born, fully proclaims, by a variety of passages in his Ecclesiastical History of Britain.

After a glorious reign of thirty years, Laogaire was killed by lightning. Contemporaries with this prince were, Blood, the son of Cas, king of Leath-Mogha; but he dying soon after, Aongus, the son of Nafraoich, of the Eugenic line, was elected according to the rule of alternate succession; and Carthan-more succeeded his father Blood as king of North Munster. These two last princes were baptized by St. Patrick. Dungalach was king

* Vita Julii Agricolaë.

of Conaught, Criomthan, the son of Eana, ruled Leinster, and A.C.
Muireadhac Mimgdearg succeeded to the kingdom of Ulster.

C H A P. V.

Oilioll-Molt elected monarch—the Druids removed from the assemblies of the states, and the Christian bishops, succeed them—the assemblies of Emana and Cruachan, for the regulating trade and commerce, frequently called together—St. Patrick returns from Rome—Lughaidh claims the monarchy, and raises an army to depose Oilioll, who is slain in the battle of Ocha.

THE estates of Ireland are immediately convened at Tara, 458
to elect a successor to Laogaire; and Oilioll Molt, the son of the hero Daithi, was, by a plurality of voices, declared and saluted monarch. His queen was daughter to Aongus, king of Leath-Mogha, a circumstance which hastened his election. His cousin Amalgaidh, was king of Conaught, and is celebrated for his courage and success, having triumphed in nine sea-fights, and in as many engagements by land; but fell himself in the tenth battle *. The same authority tells us, that Oilioll exacted the Leinster tribute, three times without a Cath, or battle; owing chiefly to the influence of Aongus over that people.

He is highly praised for his frequently assembling the national estates at Tara. Being himself a Christian, and almost all the

* Lecan, Book i.

A.C. princes and nobility of the kingdom, it was decreed, that at these meetings for the future, the Christian bishops should fill the seats of the Druid flamens; and that three bishops should always compose a part of the committee, for inspecting the different provincial histories, instead of the three Arch-druids. For this committee was appointed by the national assembly every three years, and was heretofore composed of three Arch-druids, three of the imperial antiquarians, and three bards. The monarch or his delegate always presided at these meetings, which were held in a house erected for that particular purpose. These meetings, after the reception of Christianity, were more regularly convened than before. By the wisdom of St. Patrick, we see this change in religion produced not the smallest convulsion or confusion in the kingdom; every engine of the state moving as uniformly, as if no such alteration had ever happened. We should suppose that the bishops were particularly attentive to the national records; nay, that could they have found any impositions introduced into them, or false chronology foisted up, they would be glad to detect them, in order to throw an odium on the Druid order; but no such thing has ever appeared! and this single consideration I apprehend ought to have, and no doubt it will have, greater weight with the impartial public, than the crude conjectures of fastidious moderns, too frequently opposed to ancient history.

Besides the meetings of the estates at Tara, the conventions of Emania and Cruachan, were frequently assembled in this reign, as they were in the days of Tuathal, and other great princes. These two last Aonachs, or assemblies, had for their objects a close inspection into the state of trade, commerce, and mechanic arts. They assembled by particular proclamation from the monarch, and made their report of the commerce and manufactures of the kingdom. Sixty of the best informed in these

matters were ordered to disperse themselves into the different great cities and manufacturing towns, to see if the exclusive privileges granted to them were in any manner abused; the monarch or provincial kings defrauded in the duties imposed; or if persons not properly qualified were permitted to carry on trade or manufactures, to the dishonour and injury of the kingdom. In all, or any of the above cases, on making report to these conventions, which were adjourned from week to week, they had immediately full power granted them to prohibit unqualified persons from meddling in trade; and to make what other reforms they judged would best promote the general good of the nation. Such were the wise methods by which our great ancestors preserved their country free, powerful, and independent, whilst they beheld every other part of Europe reduced to the greatest distress and confusion, owing to the want of sound legislation!

How differently have affairs been conducted in modern times! Though there is not a nation at this day in Europe that has not judged the state of commerce and manufactures of the highest consequence; though, to promote this great object, Great Britain has her board of trade, founded indeed no earlier than the reign of Elizabeth; though France, Spain, Holland, Germany, Sweden, and Denmark, have their respective chambers of commerce;—even the Hanse-towns, such as Hamburgh, Dantzic, Bremen, &c. direct their sole attention to trade; yet with all these *living examples*, no such institution prevails in modern Ireland; and by this means our poor, in the most fertile and beneficent soil under the sun, are reduced to such wretchedness as humanity ought to blush for!

We have noted, in the last chapter, the alliance formed between the Irish, Picts, and Saxons, to distress the Britons. These last, aided by their brethren in Brittany, and led on by Ambrosius Aurelianus, the last chief of the Roman blood, says Venerable

A.C. Bede *, had many bloody encounters with the Irish and Picts in Britain †, being the allies of the Saxons; but in general to their loss, as the event proved.

463 About this time St. Patrick returned to Ireland from Rome, whither he went to give an account of his mission, and where he remained since the year 461. The pope, Hilarius, received him in the most affectionate manner, presenting him with a pallium, and highly applauded every thing he had done: on his taking leave, he gave him many valuable presents, amongst others, some
464 church reliques ‡. Aongus, king of Munster, died; and Eocha Baildearg, of the Dal-Gas line, succeeded him in that title, according to the law of succession. Aongus was a prince of great piety and learning, and a great patron of letters. His son Feidhlim was king of Desmond, or South Munster.

The attention and care taken by this monarch Olioll, to whatever regarded the good of the nation, deserve highly to be applauded. Whilst with a fostering hand he encouraged trade and manufactures, things of greater moment were not less objects of his care. He kept up a large body of troops in Britain, in support of his allies; but the immature death of Aongus deprived him of a powerful ally. This appeared clearly by the Lagenians refusing to pay the famous Leinster tribute, the cause of so much bloodshed, and by their arming themselves to oppose his pretensions by force. Battles were fought with various successes; and it was sometimes paid, and at other times refused, according as the force of arms prevailed, and this for some years.

The son of the monarch Laogaire, the son of the hero Niall, whose youth prevented him from appearing as candidate for the monarchy on the death of his father, had now passed the year

* Lib. i. cap. 16.

† Keating's History, page 2.

‡ Vita Sexta Santi Patricii, page 101.

of probation, (twenty-five). He was possessed of the same great A.C. qualifications as his ancestors. The love of dominion and glory fired his breast; and he resolved to seize on the monarchy, or die in the attempt. He leagued with his cousin Murtough, the son of Earca; with the king of Leinster, the Irish Dal-Riada, and other princes; and soon appeared at the head of a most numerous and powerful army. The monarch was not behind-hand with him in his preparations. It was then the custom in Ireland, as it was at all other times, both before and after it, when a prince was resolved to lay claim to the monarchy, and found himself powerful enough to support his pretensions by the sword, to send his ambassadors, demanding a formal renunciation of the crown, or to put the merits to the issue of a general battle; on which occasion the time and place of action were agreed upon. Oilíoll summoned all his friends and dependents; and on the plains of Ocha, in Meath, the two armies met. Dreadful was the conflict, and great the slaughter on both sides; but Oilíoll seeing the success leaning to the side of his adversary, with a chosen corps rushed into the midst of the battle, to single out his competitor, by whose hand he fell in single combat. The carnage in this 478 engagement exceeded by far any that happened in any preceding battle for many years, very many of the slain being of the prime nobility of the kingdom. On this account our Senachies began to reckon a new æra from it, as was their custom from all uncommonly remarkable events.

During this reign Ulster had three succeeding kings; the above Muireadhac, Cairé Cosgrach, and Eocha, son to Muireadhac. Munster had Aongus, of the Eugénian line, for king; whilst Carthan, of the Dal-Gas race, ranked as king of North Munster. On the death of Aongus, Eocha, the son of Carthan, was saluted king of Leath-Mogha, whilst Feidhlim, the son of
of

A.C. of Aongus, was king of South Munster; Breasil Balach was king of Leinster; and Dungalach, and after him, Eogan Bel, were successive kings of Conaught.—Leo the Great, Hilarius, and Simplicius, were popes.

C H A P. VI.

Lughaidh raised to the empire—his transaction on taking possession of the throne—death of St. Patrick—invasion of Albany by the sons of Erc, who establish a new monarchy in North Britain—account of the seminaries of learning, learned men, and religious foundations in Ireland—death of Lughaidh.

478 **L**UGHAIDH, the son of Laogaire, the son of Niall, the son of Eochaidh, of the royal line of Heremon, by gaining the bloody battle of Ocha, gained the monarchy also, and was accordingly saluted emperor.

His first care was to reward his friends and associates. Mortough, the son of Earca, who brought a large body of troops into the field to fight his battles, had a principal lead in his administration. The sons of Luig, of the Dal-Gas line, and race of Heber, got new acquisitions by this revolution. In the reign of Laogaire we observed that this Luig got several considerable lordships in Leinster, which, from his surname, were called the Dealbhnas. To these now were added Delvin Nugad, in the county of Roscommon; Delvin Culfabhar, and Delvin Feadha, in the county of Galway. The O'Conrics of this race (so called from Conraoi, one of their ancestors), were proprietors of part of
this

this last tract, till dispossessed by the O'Flaherties and O'Hallorans, descendants of Brien, eldest son to Eochaidh, monarch of Ireland in the fourth century.

A.C.

We find this prince to be deeply engaged in war, and to have fought several bloody battles; but though several Christian seminaries were founded during this century, and that the Druids still exercised great power, yet we are left shamefully in the dark with respect to the causes of these bloody contests; whilst religious transactions, the numbers of saints, and pious foundations are carefully attended to! But the present monarch, if ever a Christian, certainly apostatized; and this I think will explain the shameful inattention to the political transactions of his reign. We shall represent them in the best manner we can.

It is recorded that he fought a most bloody battle against the Lagenians at Cill Osnach, in the county of Carlow, in which Aongus, king of Munster, fell: but this last is a mistake, as he died some years earlier, as the Book of Lecan testifies; it must be therefore his son Eocha, and he fought in defence of the Lagenians. A party war soon after broke out in Leinster, in which Fraoch, the son of Fionachda, fell by the sword of Oilioll, the son of Dunluing, who succeeded him. Conaught was invaded by the monarch, or rather by Mortough, who seemed to project these different wars, the better to pave the way to his own advancement. Three very bloody battles were fought here; in the first fell Eogan-Bel, in the second his son Oilioll, and in the last his successor, a very warlike prince, by name Duach-Teammaigh. Eochaidh, the son of Cairbre, the son of Niall, engaged the Lagenians in several battles.

In the midst of these bloody dissensions died the great St. Patrick, apostle of Ireland, in the 121st year of his age, after governing the Irish church with unexampled wisdom, piety, and moderation, for sixty-one years. He died on the 17th of March,
in

A.C. in 493, which day is still held as his festival, and was interred in the city of Down; where, under the same monument, were afterwards placed the bodies of St. Bridget and St. Columba, as these verses note:

“Hi tres in Duno tumulo, tumulantur in uno,

“Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pius.”

This monument was constantly visited, to the time of the Reformation, by pious Christians from different parts of Europe; and large presents were made, and new decorations constantly added to it. The fame of its riches inspired lord Grey, deputy of the *English Pale*, in the reign of Henry VIII. to make an incursion into this country, in which this noble remains of piety and antiquity was defaced, and plundered of all its most valuable effects. The cathedral of Kildare, where the body of St. Conlaith was interred, to whom and to St. Bridget superb monuments were raised, highly ornamented with gold, silver, and precious stones, suffered the same fate, as did every other religious foundation, within stretch of his sacrilegious power.

The minutest circumstances relative to this great apostle, are still preserved amongst us, even to his private œconomy, and to the officers of his household. With the greatest piety, moderation, and wisdom, he still preserved the archiepiscopal dignity with great eclat. The names of his secretary, the intendant of his household, his librarian, the master of his wardrobe, and of his ecclesiastical dress, are preserved; the hermits who entertained the poor, the physicians of his household, and even the ladies who superintended the lace and embroidery of the sacred vestments, are handed down to us. Every person who acted under him was looked upon with an eye of respect. The names of his

his charioteer, his page, his goldsmiths and jewellers, his workers in iron and wood, and his chief masons and architects, &c. are still on record * ! A.C.

In the year 498, exactly twenty years after the bloody battle of Ocha, is marked down as the period when the six sons of Erc, the son of Eocha, called Muin-ramhar, or of the Fat Neck, invaded Albany, repossessed themselves of the seats of their ancestors, and established a new monarchy in North Britain. But as this regal settlement did not commence till the beginning of the next century, we shall close this chapter and book with an account of the seminaries of learning, the learned men, and religious foundations of Ireland in this age.

St. Ailbe founded schools for instruction, as well as the church, at Emily, in the county of Tipperary, about A.C. 416. This school was in great esteem; and amongst other great luminaries it produced were St. Colman and St. Molua; this last, son to Eocha, king of Munster, and who founded the church of Killaloe, but more properly Kill-Molua, Kail being Irish for a church. The church and schools of St. Declan were about the same time erected in the Deasies in the county of Waterford. St. Patrick held these two prelates in such high esteem, that he calls the first "the Patrick of Munster;" the other "the Patrick of the Deasies." St. Kieran's college was opened at Sier-Kieran, in the King's county; and that of St. Ibar, in a sequestered island, in the county of Wexford. To these schools, as Usher † and Colgan ‡ affirm, numbers not only of natives, but even of foreigners resorted, to be instructed in religion and letters. St. Patrick himself founded the university of Ardmagh, which preceded all others for extent, magnificence, and endowments; 445

* Lecan, book i.

† Primord. Eccles. Brit. p. 1062, 3.

‡ Colgan Vita St. Abban. &c.

A.C. and we may reasonably suppose, that to every episcopal church he founded, he annexed a school for public education, as his precursors did. It is worth while to attend to the reason, why religion and letters went hand in hand in Ireland. By the Irish constitution, doctors in science not only preceded the nobility, but were exempt from all temporal laws, and their persons and possessions unmolested in wars. What greater security could the early Christians have, to promulgate their religious tenets, than the sanction of public schools? we see these schools at this time resorted to by foreigners as well as natives; a demonstrative proof, that the crowds of strangers who flowed from all parts of Europe to us, were not confined to the days of Christianity *only*, else what would have brought them then here?

These precursors of Patrick, to wit, Ailbe, Declan, Kieran, and Ibarus, we may suppose were eminent writers as well as preachers. Ailbe, wrote "a Rule for Monks." Dubthach, arch-poet to the monarch Loagaire, was a man of great learning, and an early convert to Christianity. His poetic talents, which he before often employed in praise of Bel, Crom, and other heathen gods, he now converted to the adulation of the great Creator, by whom only these planets act. Colgan affirms * to have had several works of this poet in his possession.

St. Patrick himself was not less eminent for letters than for preaching and converting. He is said to have been a master of the Irish, British, Gallic, and Latin tongues, and also of the Greek. His writings are very many; they are too numerous to be here inserted; but in Colgan you will find an ample detail of them †. St. Fiech, bishop of Sleibhte, or the Mountains, in the Queen's county, was a disciple of St. Patrick, and wrote his life in Irish metre, extant in the Trias Thaum. Harris, attri-

* Trias Thaum. p. 8.

† Ibid. p. 214.

butes another work to him ‡. Binin, a disciple and successor, A.C. or rather Cobharbhar, to St. Patrick, wrote his life, partly in Latin, partly Irish. This Binin has been supposed to be the author of the famous *Leabhar na Guart*, or Book of Rights, by which the subsidies paid to the kings of Ireland by their subjects, were stated. For my part, I think it the work of different writers, and in different ages. For in it, we find amongst the presents which the kings of Munster, in their royal tours through Ireland, offered at the different courts they visited, that they presented the kings of Emania with seventy steeds, seventy suits of armour, and eight corslets. Now it has been already observed, that this royal fabric was destroyed in the beginning of the fourth century, and of course near a century earlier than the birth of this writer. Again, mention is made in another part of this work, of the dues to be paid by the Danes to the kings of Leinster; which proves, that this last part must have been wrote some ages posterior to the present æra. It is however partly a very ancient, and upon the whole a very well preserved piece of Irish antiquity. St. Mel, St. Luman, and his nephew St. Patrick wrote also, part Latin, part Irish, the life and miracles of our great apostle. From these works Jocelyne, the monk (who was employed by the famous John de Courcey, in the twelfth century, to write the life of the Irish apostle, and which he finished about A. C. 1185) acknowledges to have received great lights on this subject *. The celebrated bishop Sedulius flourished in this century, whose works, particularly his hymns and sacred poems, have been much admired. Harris is minute in his account of them †. Frideline, an Irish prince, devoted himself to a monastic life, and travelled into Germany and France, where he built many monasteries, and

‡ Writers of Ireland, p. 6.

† Writers of Ireland, p. 7.

* Vita sexta St. Patrieli, p. 106.

A.C. converted numbers to Christianity. He is said to have published some religious tracts †. The celebrated St. Cathaldus, bishop and patron of Tarentum, the writer of some remarkable prophecies, is placed by Harris in this century; but from the authority of Mac Bruodin's Book of Munster, and that of the two Moroni, both brothers and Tarentines born, I have already placed him in the second century. St. Kienan, first bishop of Duleck, was christened, instructed, and educated by St. Patrick, and wrote his life *.

Long before the arrival of St. Patrick, Christianity was in a most flourishing condition in the province of Munster; so much so, that though he landed in Ireland in 432, yet he did not visit this province till 448. There he met St. Ailbe, their archbishop, with several of his disciples, and found many churches and monasteries erected. Those of greatest note were the abbies of Inis-Catha, or Scatterry, and Inis-Lua, both islands in the Shannon, and founded by St. Senan, of Corea Bavisein. The abbey of Muingarid, near Limeric, being erected in the fourth century, as was another near Adare, in the said county, to this day called Ceil-Dimma, from Dimma, a Christian priest, and to whose care St. Declan was committed, when a youth, for instruction. St. Endeus, founded the monastery of Aran, called Arra na Naoimh, or Aran of the Saints, on account of the amazing number of saints who lived and died in this famous retreat; St. Maidoc, another, at Disert Nairbre, in the county of Waterford. The principal monasteries founded by our apostle, were those of Slane, Trion, and Domhnach-Phadraig, in Meath; Kill-Auxille, near Kildare; Finglas, near Dublin; Achad Abla, in the county of Wexford; Galen, in the county of Carlow; Ardah, in the county of Longford; Inis bo Fion and Inis Cloghran, in

† Writers of Ireland, p. 9.

* Trias Thaum, p. 217.

the said county; Louth and Druim-inis-gluin, in the county of Louth; St. Peter and Paul's abbey, at Ardmagh; Saul and Nen-drum abbies, in the county of Down; Rath-Muighe, in the county of Antrim; Coleraine abbey, in the county of Derry; Louch-Dearg, in the county of Donnegal; Clogher, in the county of Tirone; Inis Muigh-Samh, in the county of Fermanagh; Cluan-Feis, Tuam, and Kill-Chonal, in the county of Galway; Inis-More, in the county of Roscommon; Druim-Lias, in the county of Sligo, &c.

The first monastery of females on record in Ireland, is that of Kill-Liadan, in the county of Carlow, founded by St. Kieran, before the arrival of St. Patrick. St. Patrick, founded those of Cluan-Bronach and Druimches, in the county of Longford; of Temple-Bride, and Temple na Fearta, or the Temple of Miracles, in the county of Ardmagh; the abbey of Lin, near Carrickfergus; of Cluan-Dubhain, in the county of Tirone; of Ross-Oirther, in the county of Fermanagh; of Ross-Benchoir, in the county of Clare; and Killaracht, in the county of Roscommon! Besides these, St. Bridget founded her famous monastery in Kildare, A. C. 480, for which she formed particular rules, and which was the head of her order. Upon the whole, it is agreed on, by the early writers of his life, that no less than 700 religious houses were built and consecrated during the mission of this apostle. An amazing number truly at any time; but more particularly, when two out of the three monarchs of Ireland, who succeeded each other in this period, were unbelievers! If any of them were ever Christians—which I much doubt—they certainly apostatized. To this cause, or their want of faith, the pious Christians charitably resolved their violent deaths; Laogaire and Lughaidh, being destroyed by lightning.

There cannot, in my opinion, be a stronger proof, of the civilized state of the nation, than the adverting to this circumstance.

These

A.C. These early Christians were no doubt highly eminent for letters, and greatly cultivated the fine arts; and these monarchs, endued with a truly great and philosophic spirit, considering their religion as no way dangerous to the state, gave not the least check to it. Like the emperors of China in our days, and for above a century past, though greatly attached to the religion of their ancestors, yet, far from prohibiting the preachers of Christianity from spreading their tenets through the empire, they granted both liberty and protection to the Jesuits and Dominicans, not only to convert the people, but to erect churches for the use of these votaries.

503 After a reign of twenty-five years, this prince, Lughaidh, was killed by lightning. Eocha Baildearg, of the Dal-Gas line, continued for some years king of Leath-Mogha, and Feidhlim, the son of Aongus, king of South Munster. On his death, and during the administration of Lughaidh, Criomthan, the son of Feidhlim, was saluted king of Leath-Mogha, and Cormoc Coichin, succeeded his brother Eocha, in the sovereignty of Thomond. Two kings of Ulster, Eocha, and Fergus. Three kings in Leinster, Fraoch, the son of Finachda and Oilioll, and Illan, the sons of Dunluing. Three in Conaught, Eogan, Bel, Oilioll, and Duach-Teannaigh.

B O O K VIII.

C H A P. I.

Of the monarch Mortough, and his wars—an Irish government erected in Albany—nature of the connection between the Irish and Picts explained—of the first and succeeding Irish, who emigrated to Albany, to their erecting of a monarchy, and reducing of the Picts—their successors loose the arts and letters, which they possessed—the use made of them, on their revival, to establish an high antiquity in Britain, and the reason.

MORTOUGH, the son of Muireadhach, the son of Eogan, the son of the hero Niall, was unanimously saluted monarch of Ireland. He is generally called the son of Earca, from his mother's name, who was the daughter of Loarn, of the Dal-Riada race. 503

He is the first Irish monarch who lived and died in the Christian faith; notwithstanding that most of the provincial kings publicly professed this doctrine, for above half a century earlier. He is highly celebrated as well for his piety as his intrepidity. His empress Sabina lead so exemplary a life, as to be ranked amongst the saints of Ireland *. This prince met with great disturbances in his reign. It is recorded that he fought no less than

* Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 679, 690.

A.C. seventeen bloody battles †, five of which were in the course of one year ‡! But, notwithstanding that this was an age in which letters flourished in an eminent degree amongst us, yet it is not a little surprising, that we find no accounts preserved of the cause of these fatal dissensions; whilst pious foundations, and genealogies of saints are recorded with a scrupulous nicety. But, wrapt up in holy importance, our Christian senachies, in all probability, thought nothing else worth recording.

We shall now return to a most remarkable æra, namely, the establishing a new monarchy in North Britain. We have already observed, that in the year 498, the six sons of Erc, aided by the monarch Lughaidh, invaded the modern Scotland. They were called the two Larns, the two Aonguses, and the two Fearguses. But as Irish and North British writers differ materially, with respect to the period when this regal government began, and that volumes have been wrote on the subject, to enable the reader to form a clear judgment of the whole, it will be necessary to take a short retrospective view of the early state of this country.

In the infancy of the Milesian government, we have seen the Picts established in North Britain. We have there remarked the uncommon wisdom of Heremon, when he vouchsafed his protection to this people, in unalterably fixing them attached to the Irish monarchy, by the simple bonds of wedlock! a circumstance which may furnish some hints to modern legislators, to secure the fidelity of their colonies. But though from time to time, this country was invaded from Ireland, yet it was rather to punish them, for their too great attachment to one party of the Irish, than from any suspicions of their ever aiming to disturb, much less overturn the Irish constitution. It was impossible in the frequent contests about the monarchy, but that they must have a

† Grat. Luc. p. 74.

‡ Keating, p. 2.

greater desire to support the interest of one party, than that of another. The proximity of Ulster, and their more frequent alliances and intercourses with the Irian race, than with the other septs of Ireland, attached them more strongly to them. For this reason, the other two houses, particularly the Heberians, laboured to lessen their power, as the surest means of reducing the northern line of Irish. This I thought necessary to remark, as all the Irish writers I have met with, regard these invasions of Albany as so many conquests. Plain sense points out the fact, as I have noted; for had it been otherwise, they would necessarily form alliances with the Britons, and other enemies of Ireland, and either shake off their dependence entirely, or become a real conquered people; neither of which was the case. Their predilection for the Irish, arose from the strongest ties. Their wives being mostly Irish, infused this love into their husbands and children. The next race caught the same infection from the same cause; and this cause constantly acting, the effect could not cease. When the Romans over-ran all South Britain, they could not shake off this attachment of the Picts. Even their invasion of Scotland produced no alteration in their sentiments. In the days of Agricola, it is evident that the Romans meditated a descent on Ireland, the great utility of detaching the Picts from their connections with the Irish must have struck so eminent a commander as Agricola; and I make no doubt but he laboured—though in vain—to bring over these people to the interests of Rome.

Thus we see from very obvious causes, that there was a constant intercourse between the two people; but the moment the Romans entered Britain, their mutual interests demanded the strictest alliance. The Irish, from this time forward, kept legions in Britain, which, as the Romans did, they called after the country, Fine Albin. Their numbers by this means, in North Bri-

A.C./ tain became considerable; but still without any fixt order or legislation, till about the end of the reign of Conaire the Grand, or the beginning of that of his successor Art. Carbre, the son of this
 193 Conaire, made a regular settlement in Ardgile, whose posterity after him were called Dal-Reudini, as Bede * declares; from his surname Riada, or of the Long Arm, to which the word Dal, which denotes a sept or family, was added. Mac-Con, who succeeded Art in the monarchy of Ireland, had also a considerable property there, which his son Fatha-Conan greatly enlarged. From Mac-Con, the house of Campbell, the Mac Allens, &c. claim their pedigree; and to this day the first are called Siol Mhic-Cuin, or the posterity of Mac-Con. Aongus-Fer, grandson to Carbre-Riada, greatly enlarged his family possessions in Albany, and from him the shire of Aongus took its name. About the year 331, the Collas, grandsons to Carbre-Liffecaire, fled to Scotland for rebellion, and were graciously received by their uncle, the Pictish king, who assigned them lands, and at length procured their pardon. From these the Mac Donnells of Scotland are descended; and to them are they indebted for their possessions, as well there as in the isles. Some time after, Maine, called Leamhna, (from a river of that name in the county of Kerry, near which he was nursed) the son of Core, king of Munster, repaired to Albany, that theatre of glory to the Irish nation, in those days of heroism; and after exhibiting prodigies of valour against the Romans, gained a principality there, from him called Leamhna, pronounced Leavna. He got the title of Maor-More-Leamhna, or the Great Steward of Leavna, Maor, being Irish for a steward; from which title his successors assumed the name of Steward. His brother Carbre, called Cruithniach, or the Pict, gained also large territories in North Britain. Erc, the son of Eocha, the son of

* Hist. Eccles. Brit. lib. i. cap. 1.

the above Aongus, the descendant of Carbre-Riada, repaired to North Britain, to possess himself of the territories of his ancestors there, soon after, i. e. about A. C. 440, and died, according to Usher, and the book of Lecan, A. 474. His eldest son Loarne, in 478, raised the entire clan of Dal-Riada, as well in Ireland as Britain, to fight the battles of Lughaidh, influenced thereto by his son-in-law Mortough, then very young; by which timely assistance Lughaidh gained the monarchy. From this prince the country of Lorn took its name. Indeed, the possessions and pedigrees of the Albanian Scots, in North Britain, are preserved with wonderful accuracy, in our books of antiquity. O'Duvegan in particular notes the subdivisions of their families and patrimonies, their different chiefs, their power by sea and land, &c.

From this account it appears, that though the possessions of the Irish in Albany were considerable, yet that they were *there* neither a united or a powerful people. For the great chiefs, being, some of the line of Heber, others of that of Heremon, or Ith, residing mostly in the mother country, and engaging in their different family-disputes at home, attended not sufficiently to their mutual interests in Albany. Mortough, sensible of this, prevailed on his uncles in 498 to return there, and strengthen their family-interest as much as possible. Soon after he was called to the Irish monarchy, he caused Fergus, the youngest brother, to be proclaimed king of the Albanian Scots, or Irish; and to add greater solemnity to his inauguration, he sent over the famous marble chair, on which the monarchs of Ireland were enthroned. This was the first prince of the Irish race, who was proclaimed or acknowledged as a king in Albany. He united the different jarring interests of the colonists, compelling such as refused to recognize his title, to make their submissions, and formed from this union a respectable power, subordinate however to the mother country. His

A.C. successors, warlike and enterprising princes, gradually extended their frontiers, enabled so to do by the constant assistance sent them, from time to time, from Ireland, till at length in the ninth century, Kenneth, the son of Alpin, completely destroyed the Pictish empire, and instead of king of the Albanian Scots, as his ancestors were styled, he was saluted king of the Albanies, i. e. of the Picts and Scots. This explains the following lines of Fordun on this event.—

“ *Primus in ALBANIS, fertur regnâsse Kenethus*

“ *Filius Alpini, prælia multa gerens.*

“ *Expulsis Pictis, regnavit is octo bis annis.*”

Though to this time the Albanian Irish had undoubtedly arts and sciences amongst them ; yet, in the reign of his successor Constantine, the remains of the vanquished Picts inviting the Danes to their assistance, the whole country became soon one scene of desolation, from which fair science fled ! Ireland too being about the same time invaded, could not afford them those supplies she formerly did. Add to this, that the Albanian Irish no longer paid tribute to the mother country, as we shall note in its place ; so that what between their wars with the Danes, the Saxons, and Normans, history and chronology became totally lost there. These events were not nevertheless, nor could they in the nature of things, be totally forgot. The only piece of Albanian Scottish antiquity extant, is a regal poem, much like ours, of Giolla Caomhain, in which is contained a list of their kings, beginning with Loarn, brother to Fergus, and ending with Malcolm, the son of Donchadh, confirming word for word our accounts *. Add to this, that Scotland, STRICTLY SPEAKING, comprehended only that part of North Britain possessed by

* Trias Thaumaturg. fol. 115.

the Scots or Irish. This is acknowledged by all their writers. A.C.
 To this purpose Hume tells us—"It is certain *that in very an-*
cient language, Scotland means only the country north of the
 "Firths of Clyde and Forth. I shall not make a parade of lite-
 "rature to prove it, because I do not find the point is disputed
 "by the Scots themselves *."

In the days of the Venerable Bede, who died A. 737, and constantly resided at his monastery at Weymouth, on the Pictish borders, we find the Albanian Scotch or Irish distinguished from the other clans of Irish, by the name of Dal-Reudini, which he justly explains into the posterity of Riada. This proves that they were even then looked upon as an Irish colony ONLY, not as a distinct and independent body of Irish.

The Albanian Irish, as I observed, engaged in constant wars with different invaders, soon lost whatever arts they had been in possession of. An event however pointed out to them the necessity of history and chronology, which they availed themselves of. The immature death of Margaret of Norway, in the decline of the thirteenth century, leaving the kingdom of Scotland exposed to the pretensions of different competitors; Edward I. of England assumed to himself the right of judge, affirming that both Scotland and Wales were but fiefs to England; for that Brutus the Trojan, who subdued all Britain, had three sons, Laegrus, Camber, and Albanctus, between whom he divided his territories. To Laegrus he left Laegria, or England; to Camber, Cambria, or Wales; and to Albanctus, Albany, from him so called; but still as fiefs from the eldest son. In 1301, a memorial to this purpose was delivered by his ministers to pope Boniface VIII. but the Scots were determined not to be behind hand with him in point of antiquity, or forfeit their title to in-

* History of England, vol. II. page 258.

A.C. dependency for want of invention. Their countryman Hume, treating of the æra in question, has these remarkable words :
 “ *If the Scots had before this period any real history worthy of the*
 “ *name, except what they glean from scattered passages of the*
 “ *English historians, these events, however minute, YET BEING*
 “ *THE ONLY FOREIGN ONES OF THE NATION, might deserve*
 “ *a place in it*.*” The English memorial to this pope traces their government to above 1100 years before Christ ; but the Scots make theirs coeval with Moses ! They affirmed that Eric, the son of Gathelus, who was contemporary with Moses, sailed from Ireland to Albany, and there founded a monarchy, which continued uninterrupted to that time ; and which, from these two commanders, took the name of Eric-Gathel, or Ardgile ! Here we plainly see a confused memory of their original, much like what we have remarked of the early Greeks, but replete with absurdities and anachronisms. In 1320 another memorial was addressed to John XXII. pope of Rome ; in this they assure his holiness that their Eric was the son of Gathelus, and Scota, queen of Egypt, who were contemporaries with Moses. But Scota, as we have seen, was the mother, not the wife, of Gathelus ; and the son of this last was named Easru, not Eric. Nor was it for many generations after, that the sons of Milesius, not Gathelus, landed in Ireland ; 1800 years after which period, not sooner, an Irish colony formed a regal settlement in Albany. Yet even at Rome we have reason to think that this pompous parade of antiquity met with some censure ; because, in a very few years after their second memorial, John Fordun, a Scotch priest, was employed to write a history of Scotland ; and this is the first historian their country produced. That this work was undertaken soon after, is manifest from this, that he speaks of the

* History of England, vol. II. page 255.

year 1341 in it as a present one ; and that it was occasioned by the strictures on their former assertions must be admitted, because he lops off at once from their antiquity above 1500 years ; a great falling off truly ! For instead of making the father of Eric coeval with Moses, he admits his reign to have commenced about 330 years before Christ ! Need I dwell long on the subsequent forgeries of Boetius, Dempster, &c. to support this imaginary antiquity. Their affirming that the Scotia of Hegisippus, Claudian, Marcellinus, Gildas, Bede, and other writers to the eleventh century, meant modern Scotland ; and because it was found that this Scotia was also the Ierne of Orpheus, and the Hibernia of Cæsar and Tacitus, they at once find this Ierne to be Strathern ; and instead of a large and potent island, to be but an obscure part of Perthshire ! Such flagrant insults on truth, history, and reason, roused up the indignation of the most passive ; and White, Fitz-Simmons, Routh, Usher, Ward, Lloyd, Stillingfleet, &c. &c. soon proved to all Europe the impositions of these writers.

A.C.

A.C.

C H A P. II.

The same subject continued—a new system of Scottish history and antiquity—Mac Pherson's Ossian replete with anachronisms, and the pains taken to impose it on the world for a genuine performance—Dr. Mac Pherson's Dissertations—Ireland the ancient country of the Albanian Scots; and these last and the Picts always considered as different nations.

IT is a remark of the learned Dr. Johnson's *, that “a Scotch-
“man must be a very sturdy moralist indeed, *who does not love*
“*Scotland better than truth.*” In no instances can this assertion be fuller proved, than in their labours to gain an high antiquity in Britain. Their imaginary history being exposed; their generals, saints, and literati reclaimed; and the conversion of countries, and many pious and literary foundations on the continent being acknowledged to be the works of the only people then known as Scots in Europe, i. e. the Irish, their inventive faculties soon planned a new mode of antiquity. The Picts, it is agreed upon all sides, were early inhabitants of Britain. To make these and the Scots one people, would at once secure to them a remote antiquity, and destroy all their connections with Ireland. What availed it to them, that in so absurd an attempt they went retrograde to every evidence of Albanian, Irish, British, and even Roman history? The object was, the honour of the North Britons, and truth itself must give way to this! To this glorious undertaking their different writers are called out; for,

“Græculus esuriens ad cælum jufferis, ibit!”

* Tour through Scotland.

The attack commenced by the publishing of different detached pieces, under the title of *Fragments of Highland Poetry*. Never did time seem so favourable for the advancement of their cause! The great check to all their former attempts—**IRISH HISTORY**—seemed now totally forgot. The principal nobility and gentry of Ireland, since the Revolution, with the history neglected the common interest of their country. The most violent outrages offered to truth and this lovely island, were unnoticed; and writers of all denominations, domestic as well as foreign, seemed to have a *charte blanche* for every thing said or done. These Fragments were succeeded by regular epic poems, published under the auspices of Lord Bute, and countenanced by the whole Scottish nation. The main design of these and of the *Notes*, for which they were intended, was to prove the Scots and Picts but one people; though distinguished by different names, and speaking different languages; that they were the aborigines of Britain, who, giving way to new invaders, retired more northerly; that here erecting a new monarchy, and encreasing in power, they sent colonies to Ireland, by whom the country was in time conquered. The curious reader will probably demand what farther proofs were offered in support of this curious hypothesis? The immaculate James Mac Pherson, and his worthy fellow labourer the pious Doctor, (who only could determine this question) tell us **NONE!** they were totally illiterate, (notwithstanding the pains of Dempster and others to prove the contrary); and from Irish and Saxon ecclesiastics they first learned that they were but a colony from Ireland; which from the authority of Bede, and their great veneration for these holy priests, they then first adopted. These poems were succeeded by *Critical Dissertations on the Poems of Ossian*, in which every nerve is stretched to prove them authentic. But that the remark of Dr. Johnson should be verified in every sense, soon after ap-

A.C. peared the public affirmations of different Pictish gentry; one in support of one part; a second, of another; and so on of the rest; by which means the whole of James Mac Pheron's poems were declared to be the genuine and pure productions of Ossian!

No doubt too much pains could not be taken to establish their antiquity, and depreciate the annals of Ireland, so hostile to Caledonian vanity. It is but common justice to declare, that all that could be done was done on this occasion; and that Jemmy Mac Pheron might cry out with Æneas:—

“ ————— si Pergama dextrâ

“ Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent!”

But though a Scot, for the honour of his country, might well conceive that regular epic poems, composed by an ignorant bard, might be preserved by tradition *only* for 1500 years; though the bard of one family could recite but a certain part of them; a second bard, another; and that it appears that a great number of these were consulted;—in short, that Mac Pheron went from bard to bard, to collect from each his portion of this mighty whole; which parts he threw into the same exact order in which they were delivered by Ossian himself—yet others, no so closely interested in their success, might doubt their authenticity. But to attempt establishing a new system of history, in opposition to all antiquity, on the authority of these poems, after so many former unsuccessful attempts, proclaims highly the modesty of the author and of his associates. It is no wonder that the North Britons should eternally rail at Irish history: it has been a constant obstacle to their visionary schemes, and, in all appearance will ever continue so to be;—thus in the present poem, Ossian has with wonderful judgment synchronized Cucullin, Connal Cearnach, Morni, his son Gall, his own grandfather Cumhal, and

and his father Fion, with the Danes; though the two first were contemporaries with Cæsar; though Morni figured in the first century; and that Cumhal fell by the sword of Goll, in the next age! Though Fion and himself lived in the third century, and that the Danes were not heard of till the ninth! But what of all this? the author, endued with *second sight*, could easily pry into futurity. He was a Pythagorean, and of course could tell what bodies the souls of ancient heroes would reanimate, and probably what prodigies of valour they would perform! Mac Pherfon has declared this a genuine poem; and my Lord Kaims* as zealously contends for its authenticity as Blair, or any other of the coalition. However he repeatedly attributes its preservation to nothing less than a *miracle*! a miracle then let it be. But, instead of flying to Scandinavia, as the poem was confessedly wrote in Irish; that Ireland was the scene of action; and that by Caledonian accounts the Irish were descended from them, had Lord Kaims consulted Irish history, to illustrate this poem, as he certainly ought, he would perhaps be better enabled to form his judgment; for all the above heroes were the real sons of Ireland; and their ancestry, exploits, and the different periods in which they flourished, are as well known at this day, as any facts in ancient history. Even in the twelfth century, Cambrensis remarks how full the common people were here of their fabulous stories of Fion Mac Cumhal, or Fingal, of Oissin, and Oscar, &c.

But notwithstanding all the human endeavours of the Caledonians, aided by the supernatural interposition of Lord Kaims, these precious poems have by no means answered the proposed design; yet the persevering sons of *imposition* could not think of relinquishing the cause. John Mac Pherfon, D. D. minister of

* History of Man, vol. II. § 7.

A.C. Slate in the isle of Sky, devoted the leisure of some years from the care of souls, to that of his country. His works were published in London in 1757. He took up this subject on a more extensive plan than his friend James. In vain has he laboured, (*animated more by his love of Scotland than of truth*) by specious arguments, by sophistry, by false quotations, by misrepresentations of facts, and by a smattering in the Erse, (a kind of Patois Irish), to invalidate the force of Irish history, and to prove that the Picts and Scots were really one people. But, as I have already examined this curious work, I must refer such as think the subject worth enquiry, to that criticism for further information*. Too many props no doubt could not be demanded to support so tottering a structure; and Jemmy Mac Pherson sallied forth once more, armed with his Murus Aheneus, in defence of his darling historical hypothesis. If we are astonished at the easy confidence with which he misquotes authors, and misrepresents facts, since then so fully proved, that he himself has been obliged to acknowledge both†; we are not less so, to see him in this same work, (*Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*), fairly give up his beloved Ossian, notwithstanding the labours of Mr. Blair, the declarations of the Highland chiefs, and the miraculous interposition of Lord Kaims in its favour; for, says he, page 150: “In the present state of the argument, there is no need of his (Ossian’s) assistance; the fabric we have raised, *needs no collateral proofs.*”

This short sketch of the different opinions on Caledonian history, I thought proper to lay before the public. Many volumes have been wrote, and much more learning displayed on the subject than it merited. That the Scots of Albany were originally

* Introduction to Irish History, part III. cap. viii.

† Whitaker’s History of the Britons.—Appendix to the Introduction to Irish History.

a colony from Ireland, the proximity of their country, their language, their surnames, and even their own confession, declares. For a Highlander to this day, in the Erse, calls himself an Albanian Scot; and it cannot be denied but that the only name in Latin for a North Briton is Scoto-Britanus; expressions which evidently point them not the original issue of the country, but derived from some other Scots; and where can we find these but in Ireland? That Fergus was their first acknowledged king, and began his reign A. 503, all our historians declare; and though his brother Loarn was probably possessed of as much power there, yet to Fergus only was the inaugurating chair first given. There is a very valuable old MS. quoted by the learned Usher, and other Irish antiquarians, synchronizing the provincial kings with the respective monarchs of Ireland, (a copy of which I have in my possession), in which Fergus is declared the first king of the Albanian Scots, and to be contemporary with the present monarch. Upon the whole, that the Scots of North Britain were colonies from Ireland, and a people totally different from the Picts, will not I believe be now doubted; that by the wisdom of the monarch Mortough, they were first united under one head, all our antiquities declare; and so far from being known as a distinct body of Scots, even in the eighth century, the Venerable Bede then called them Dal-Reudini, just as other tribes were distinguished at home, into Dal-Fiathach, Dal-Gas, &c. from the names of their first founders. This prince Mortough, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, lost his life at an entertainment at Mullach-Cleatach, near the Boyne; the house being intentionally set fire to, and he perishing in the flames.

Aodh Caomh, the son of Connal, the son of Eocha Baildearg, a Dal-Gas, was king of Munster. The Psalter of Cashill gives a large account of this prince. It appears that Aodh-Dubh, the son

A.C. son of Criomhthan, last king of Munster, would not consent to his investiture, till he delivered to him hostages, to secure his own succession, or that of his sons, after the decease of this Aodh. This was agreed to; and Breanuin, abbot of Clonfert, and Mac Lenin, his chief poet, the father of St. Colman, were delivered up as sureties to Aodh-Dubh, for the performing this covenant. This last Aodh, or Hugh, of the Eugenic line, was king of Desmond, or South Munster. Fergus and Scanal, or Scanlan, his brothers, succeeded him in this title, according to the Psalter of Cashill, and Book of Synchronisms; so that he died before his name-fake Aodh-Caomh. Feargus, continued king of Ulster, and Illan, king of Leinster, who was succeeded by Cormoc, the son of Oilioll. Duach, in Conaught, and after him Eocha. Feargus, after him his brother Aongus, and son Domhangard, are marked as kings of North Britain, of the Irish race.

C H A P. III.

*Tuathal Maolgarbh chosen monarch of Ireland—is assassinated—
 Dearmod elected to the throne—inquiry into the origin of the
 ceremony of anointing the monarchs at their inauguration—and
 Ireland's claim of precedency before any other nation of Europe.*

TUATHAL Maolgarbh, the son of Cormoc-Caoch, the son of Carbre, son to the hero Niall, (as had been prognosticated by St. Patrick, even when in his mother's womb) was elected monarch. Barring the lives of saints, and foundations of churches, we find in this reign also a great inattention to public
 528 and political events. We read indeed of a fierce war carried on

by Earca, the son of Oilíoll-Molt (from whom the tribe of Fir-earca) and the Lagenians, and of a general engagement ensuing at Tortan, in which this prince lost his life; but are totally ignorant as to the cause of it. Feargus and Domhnal, sons to the deceased monarch, waged also war with the Conacians; a battle was fought, in which the Conacians were defeated, and their king was slain. But what gave rise to this war, must remain for ever a secret.

The deceased king of Conaught had a son, called Ceallach; but he having devoted himself to a monastic life, the friends of Guare, the son of Colman, caused him to be proclaimed king of that province. In most countries, and on most occasions, there are seldom wanting factious and seditious people, ready to fish in troubled water, and engage in any desperate enterprize, to promote their private interests: though Ceallach had long before the present event, solemnly renounced the world, yet partizans were not wanting to stimulate him to quit his monastery, and proclaim his pretensions to the throne. To gratify their solicitations, and his own ambition, he privately quits his cloister, and, at the head of a considerable party, proclaims his right to the crown. But the holy abbot Ciaran, (who should by no means be confounded with St. Ciaran, of Saigir, a precursor to St. Patrick) hearing of this great defection in a subject of his house, pronounced a solemn malediction on him, if he did not immediately return to his cell, and make public reparation for the profaning the clerical habit. The poor affrighted monk immediately retires to his monastery, prostrates himself at the feet of the saint, acknowledges his crimes in the most humiliating manner, and earnestly intreats pardon and absolution. We are told, that Ciaran vouchsafed him his benediction; but at the same time assured him, that a violent death could only expiate his crime. It would not, we may suppose, require any great gift in prophecy to foretel,

A.C. foretel, that the life of a person who once proclaims his pretensions to a throne, especially if well founded, is an object of great consequence to his competitor. Guare (though in a monastery) deemed the crown tottering on his head, whilst his rival lived; and found means, even in that sacred place, to have him made away with; and thus the prophecy was probably proclaimed after the fact was committed. After a reign of eleven years, Tuathal was assassinated by the foster-brother of his successor, to pave his way to the throne; but the regicide suffered the punishment due to so atrocious a crime, being immediately cut to pieces by the monarch's guards.

On the death of Aodh-Caomh, which happened in this reign, Finghin, the son of Aodh-Dubh, an Eugenic, and ancestor to the O'Sullivans, by the law of alternate succession was proclaimed king of Munster; and Forranan, a Dal-Gas, king of Thomond. Finghin, was a prince of uncommon intrepidity, as terrible in wars as aimable in times of peace. To the gallantry of the soldier he added the politeness of the courtier, and was particularly attentive to the fair; all which are comprised in the following, beautiful lines in the Psalter of Cashill;

“ *Finghin, bugh garg, ba gniomhach,*
 “ *Bo baoith, ba gaoth, ba brioghach;*
 “ *Bo min, ba miochair re mnaibh;*
 “ *Bo truadh a geath dha Congmail.*”

Deman, son of Carril, succeeded to the crown of Ulster; Oilíoll, and after him Guare, kings of Conaught; Cormoc, king of Leinster; and Combghall, the son of Domhangard, was king of the Albanian Scots.

Boniface II. John II. Agapetus, Silverius, and Vigilius, were successive popes of Rome in this reign. Justinian, continued emperor

peror of the East, Childibert, king of France, and a great part of A.C.
of South Britain was now possessed by the Saxons.

Dearmod, the son of Fergus-Kerbheol, the son, or indeed I 538
think more properly the grandson, of Conall, son to the hero
Niall, was proclaimed monarch. Adamnanus calls him—"King
"of all the Scots ordained by God's appointment." "Totius
"Scotiæ regnator Deo authore ordinatus est *." And as this
holy abbot of Huy flourished in the next century, it merits some
attention. In the present reign, and for a century preceding it,
Christianity was in the most flourishing condition in Ireland.
They had, as we have seen, received this doctrine from the Asi-
atics. These last, in many instances, adhered more closely to the
Jewish customs than the Roman Christians did. Though, from
Constantine the Great's time, Rome had many Christian emperors,
yet the first instance on record, of a Christian prince's receiving
the crown by the hands of a bishop and the chrism, (as the Jew-
ish princes were inaugurated by the hands of the high priest), is
that of Justinian, who was crowned emperor of the East by the
patriarch of Constantinople †. The story of the inauguration of
Clovis, king of France, in the preceding century, and of the
holy oil sent from heaven to St. Remy for that purpose, have
been long since justly exploded. Pepin, of the Carlovingian
race, is the first prince in France, at whose coronation unction
was used. As our countryman Virgilius, was at this time in
France, and in great friendship with Pepin, it may perhaps ac-
count for its origin there.

As then the use of the chrism was so much more early intro-
duced into the churches of Asia, than into that of Rome, we may
reasonably presume that the monarchs of Ireland, where Chris-
tianity was so highly cultivated, would not want a ceremony

* Vita St. Columb. lib. i. cap. 36.

† Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 110.

A.C. deemed so essential to sovereignty; and that at their coronations they were anointed; at least that this Dearmod was. And this will explain the remarkable words of Adamnanus. But we have something more than bare presumption for what has been advanced. For in the reign of Aodh, and not very many years from the period in question, Adamnanus tells us ‡, “that by direction of an angel, Columba was charged to consecrate Aidan, king of the Irish, or Scots of Albany. That he had a book containing the form of ordination, which he directed Columba to read, and also a bottle (I suppose of holy oil). That he appeared to the saint three succeeding nights in the same manner; after which Columba proceeded to the isle of Huy, sent for Aidan, the son of Guaran, *consecrated him king; and, in the words of consecration*, foretold the flourishing state of his successors, whilst they continued friends to the family of Columba; after which laying his hand on the head of Aidan he blessed him.” In my opinion a much stronger testimony cannot be demanded, of the consecrating our Christian monarchs than this. If to a petty prince of the royal line of Ireland, and a tributary to our monarchs as Aidan was, consecration was deemed necessary, and by the hands of Columba too, who, as Bede observes, though himself but an abbot, yet preceded all the bishops of Albany, it must certainly follow, that it was used by our provincial kings, but especially by our monarchs. Nay from the words of Adamnanus, we may pronounce that consecrating our monarchs was before that time in use. Crowns of gold and scepters (other ensigns of royalty) were used by our princes and princesses long before this period; nor did our monarchs appear in public, without these ensigns of royalty.

* Vita St. Columb. lib. iii. cap. 5.

About thirty years before the Christian æra, when Maud, queen of Conaught, invaded Ulster, she appeared amongst her troops in her chariot, with a crown of gold on her head *. In the second century, the Afion or crown of the empress of Cathaire-More, was stolen at Tara. Should any now doubt the existence of such crowns, I am to inform the reader, that no less than three such have been found in bogs in this century. Two to my own knowlege, and both sold in this city : the first found in the Bog of Cullen in 1744, in the county of Tipperary ; the other in six years after, at Cathir Mechil, near Newcastle, in this county, in none of which was the cross found, and all were formed like the close crowns of the eastern princes †.

The original meaning of the word Imperator or Emperor, denoted no more than a general, or the commander of an army ; and if Cæsar and the other emperors retained it, it was not but they knew and thought the name of King more honourable ; but they declined assuming it, as it was a title odious to the Roman people ‡. In the Eastern empire, where monarchy was highly revered, the ruler of extensive kingdoms was styled king of kings. When Artaxerxes, king of Persia, enjoins the restitution of the temple to the Jews, he directs his commission thus—“ *Artaxerxes, king of kings, to Ezra the priest ;*” and Cyrus is called βασιλεὺς βασιλῶν, i. e. king of kings. The title of Ard-Righ, or chief king, constantly used by all our monarchs, imports exactly the same, and proves how well their pre-eminence was distinguished.

It is a matter universally agreed on, that princes should rank, not according to the extensiveness of their states, but to the antiquity of their countries. Thus, in the contest in Lucian for

* Tain bo Cualgne. † Harris's Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 95.

‡ Titles of Honour, p. 11, &c.

A.C. precedence, even in heaven, between Hercules and Esculapius, Jupiter adjudges it to Esculapius, as having died first. Considered on this ground, Ireland should have the precedence of every other nation in ancient Europe: first, because it is the most ancient kingdom; secondly, because it has been governed by a regular hereditary line of princes (one instance only excepted) for above 2400 years; thirdly, its monarchs may truly rank as emperors, being the sovereigns of kings; and fourthly, it was the only kingdom in Europe which preserved its independency when the rest were enslaved by Rome. Add to this, the extensiveness of her dominion; *both Britains, the adjacent isles, and part of the continent*, for a considerable time confessing her sway. To this let me add *even* a Roman evidence in support of the rank and dignity of Ireland, namely, Celestin's creating her great apostle a *Patrician*; for a title it undoubtedly was, not a name; and a title which preceded all others but that of emperor, and which *was never conferred on any other missionary.*

It must be confessed that Mr. Selden, in his *Titles of Honour*, scarce vouchsafes any notice of Ireland, except when he can shew its great inferiority. Not content to make its kings subservient to those of England, he even asserts that they paid homage to lords of English creation! However, the learned of Europe have by no means considered this kingdom in so humiliating a light; for near 200 years later than the period he points out for this epocha, the ambassadors of England owed their rank and precedence in the Council of Constance to the title which the popes conferred on their sovereigns as lords of Ireland. As representatives of the king of England, they would not be allowed to take place or rank as the ambassadors of a NATION; the advocates of France insisting, that, as being conquered by the Romans, again subdued by the Saxons, who were tributaries to the German empire, and never governed by native sovereigns, they

they should take place as a branch of the empire only, not as a *free nation*: “For, (added they) it is evident from Albertus Magnus and Barth. Glanville, that the world is divided into three parts, Europe, Asia, and Africa, (for America was not then discovered); Europe was divided into four empires, the Roman, the Constantinopolitan, the Irish, and the Spanish.” But the English advocates, admitting the force of these allegations, claimed their precedence from Henry’s being monarch of Ireland only; and it was accordingly granted *.

C H A P. IV.

Dearmod convenes the estates at Tara—invasion of Conaught by the sons of Mortough—Battle between the Eugenians and Clan Breogan—another meeting of the estates at Tara; fatal effects of a private quarrel there—Dearmod makes war upon the king of Conaught; defeats him, and imposes a humiliating ceremony, on making peace—character of Dearmod—death of his son—great pestilence in his reign—Dearmod is slain by the king of Ulster.

THE first act of Dearmod’s administration, was the conven- 539
ing the estates at Tara, where the laws were revised; some rejected, others amended, and new ones added: the national history was also closely inspected into. Soon after Fergus and Daniel, the sons of the deceased monarch Mortough, again invaded Conaught; engaged in battle with Oilíoll, a prince of 540
that country, in which action that prince and his brother fell, and their army suffered a complete defeat. From this, and numberless other instances in this history, it appears evident

* Acta Conf. Const. See also an English translation, vol. II. page 42, &c.

A.C. that the subordinate princes of Ireland made war upon each other without consulting the monarch; that his power was greatly limited; and that he took not a general active part, but when applied to by the national voice; or that an aggrieved prince, preferring the way of negociation to that of arms, applied to him for his interposition. In this case he summoned the states; the affair was laid before them, and which ever party proved refractory, was compelled by force of arms to submit: each prince being *then* obliged to furnish a certain number of troops to the
 541 monarch, to enforce the *national decree*. The next year a bloody battle was fought in the county of Cork, between the Eugonians and Clana Breogan, with great slaughter on both sides; for it was but too common for different petty states to determine by a general engagement, disputes, often in themselves trifling. The day of battle was appointed, perhaps at the distance of six, nine, or twelve months; in the mean time the parties on both sides met, and transacted business in the most amicable manner; and the honour of the day was all the victor required.

549 In the year 549 Dearmod summonses the national estates to meet him at Tara. What the particular object of this congress was, we are not told, but the fatal effects of a private quarrel there, is handed down to us. Cuornane Mac Aodh had in some private dispute killed another gentleman, who like him was a Brughadh, or representative for a borough. To raise up the hand to strike, much less to kill any person at Tara, during the sessions, was from the earliest period decreed to be punished by death, even out of the power of the monarch to pardon; nor was there to this time a single instance of the infraction of this law. A most useful law it surely was, especially amongst a proud, warlike, and independent people. Cuornane, sensible of his crime and his danger, immediately flies to Feargus and Daniel, princes of great power, the sons of Mortough. But these
 princes,

princes, however well inclined, saw it vain to attempt to shelter him; and therefore dispatched him to their cousin, the great Columba, imploring his protection, and that he might afford him an asylum in his monastery. But a national outrage of this kind was not to go unpunished, and Dearmod had the murderer seized and put to death, notwithstanding the entreaties of the brothers, and the ecclesiastical privileges claimed by the saint. A.C.

No people are so dangerous to offend as churchmen. Sequestered from the world, having no other employments but their breviaries and conventual duties, they have greater time for recollection, and brood over injuries, if not endued with uncommon grace. Columba deemed the violating his asylum the cause of God. High in blood, and greatly revered, he could not brook this insult. He therefore applies to his relations, the northern Clana Neill, and Fergus and Domhnal, at the head of a mighty army, bid defiance to the monarch. A most bloody battle is fought at Cuildreimhne; the imperial army is defeated with great slaughter; with difficulty the monarch himself escapes with life; and more of the credit of this victory is attributed to the prayers of the saint, than the courage of the soldiery! 543.

Scarce had the monarch recruited the loss of this battle, when we find him involved with Guare, king of Conaught, a prince whose uncommon liberality, munificence, and courage, are highly celebrated in our annals. The cause of this war is said, in some chronicles, to proceed from Guare's taking from a sequestered religious a cow, which was her only support. She prefers her petition to the monarch, who immediately takes fire at the outrage. An assertion so ridiculous carries with it its own refutation. The event of this war proves sufficiently that its cause was an object of much greater consequence—the not paying the provincial tribute, or acknowledging Dearmod as monarch.

A.C. narch. To enforce both he raises a potent army, and marches along the side of the Shannon, we should suppose to a little above Killaloe; because the holy Comin, who about this time founded the churches and tower at Inis-Cealtra, on the Shannon, laboured as mediator between these princes. The endeavours of Comin to prevent this war were fruitless; and as Guare rejected all his remonstrances, he predicted to him that his army would be defeated. The imperialists plunge into the Shannon, horse and foot, and gain the opposite shore in spite of all the efforts of the Conacians; and now engaging them on a greater equality, they were soon compelled to give way on every side. Though their retreat was precipitate, yet they formed again the following day; but, considering the inequality of the contest, and dreading to make his country the scene of war, Guare, by advice of his council, surrenders himself to the mercy of the monarch. The ceremony on this occasion is singular, and deserves to be transmitted to posterity, as I take it for granted to be what was usually practised on rebellious chiefs; because the intrepidity of Guare, and the acknowledged bravery and humanity of the monarch, leaves us no room to think that the last would commit, or his antagonist submit to, too degrading a submission. But be this as it may, Guare approaches the monarch's tent, and falling on his knees, presents to him his sword, acknowledging his crimes, and begging forgiveness. The monarch rises, draws it, and commands him to lie on his back; he then places one foot on his breast, and the point of his sword between his teeth; on which the other in this posture acknowledges his disloyalty, and swears fidelity and obedience during the residue of his life. This ceremony performed, he was elegantly entertained; and the closest amity subsisted between these princes ever after. Far from injuring a poor helpless woman, the hospitality, humanity, and charity of Guare are proclaimed, and the facts

facts attested in the fullest manner; as well as the great encouragement he vouchsafed to men of letters. Like a second Titus, he thought the *day lost*, which did not afford him an opportunity of displaying some of those virtues; and as the fullest proof of his munificence and liberality, *to be more generous than Guare*, became a common proverb in Irish to express a prodigy!

Guare, now reconciled to the monarch, thought the opportunity favourable to recover from North Munster a considerable tract of territory, severed from the province of Conaught by the brave Luigh Laimh-Dearg, in the fourth century. Finghin, of the Eugenic line, did not long enjoy the throne of Munster. On his decease, Dioma, great-grandson to Carthan, a Dal-Gais, should have succeeded to that crown; but it seems he had not arrived at the age required by the laws to govern, and was therefore laid aside for the present, and Failbhe-Flan, brother to the deceased, was declared his successor. This was certainly contrary to the will of their common ancestor Oilliol; however the northern line gained considerable advantages by this concession; for the archbishop and clergy of Munster seasonably interposing their good offices, it was agreed, that as soon as Dioma was of the age of twenty-five, he should be associated with Failbhe in the command of the whole province. But the territories of North Munster, from Sliabh-Dala, in Ossory, to the west of Ireland, on both sides the Shannon; and from Sliabh-Eibhline, Cashil, Cnoc-Aine, and the river Feil, its southern limits, to Galway, and the isles of Arran, were to acknowledge no superior, or pay chief rents to any other but their native princes. Besides this exemption, the Eugenic line were for ever to renounce any pretences to tribute, or sword-land, over these septs of the race of Ith; and even of the Eugenic line, which the ancestors of Dioma had formerly bestowed lands on, in Desmond, or South Munster. These were to be paid in to the kings of Thomond; and as an

A.C. invasion was expected from Conaught, Failbhe also engaged to
 550 assist the Thomonians with all his power. I know that it is asserted by Keating, and even in the late translation of the *Book of Munster*, that Dioma was absolute king of Munster when Guare invaded Thomond; and of course that Failbhe must have died: yet in my copy of this work it is *positively asserted* that Failbhe, in conjunction with Dioma, successfully attacked the Conacians at Carn-Fearadhe, or Cnoc-Aine, in the county of Limerick. That the army of Guare consisted of three *very large and powerful legions*; (by these expressions we should infer that each Cath, or legion, exceeded the usual number of 3000;) that very few escaped the battle; and that amongst the slain were six princes of Conaught. It is probable that soon after this battle Failbhe might have died, and Dioma continue king of Munster.

This monarch is highly praised for his great attention to strict justice, and for supporting the laws of his country. His piety and munificence are not less celebrated; nor would he suffer the smallest act of oppression to go unpunished; of this we are furnished with a melancholy instance in the death of his own son. Breasal, his eldest son, had prepared a most magnificent entertainment at his palace at Kells, to which the monarch and the principal chiefs of his court were invited. No expence was spared on this occasion; a beef of uncommon fatness, amongst other things, was wanting; amongst his numerous herds none was found in the order his purveyors could wish: a recluse in the neighbourhood had one exceedingly large and fat; she was applied to on this occasion, but she could not be prevailed upon to sell it; she even refused in exchange seven cows and a bull, expecting no doubt still greater offers. Finding her so very unreasonable, Breasal's people drove the beast off the land without any ceremony, and dressed it for the entertainment. In the height of their mirth, when their retinue had withdrawn, this wretched

wretched woman forced herself into the royal presence; exclaimed against the young prince's injustice, and deplored her own defenceless situation in the most pathetic terms. The monarch, shocked at the recital, without vouchsafing to hear the defence of his son, ordered him to be instantly put to death. But in his cooler moments, and better informed, reflecting on what he had done, he grew melancholy, and had recourse to St. Columba for advice; the saint recommended him to confess himself to St. Beacon, a celebrated penitentiary of Muskery, in Munster, and to submit to whatever penance he would impose.

The reign of this prince was marked by a most dreadful pestilence, which overspread the kingdom; and from which the religious, sequestered in their cloisters, were not exempt. It is remarkable that the plague prevailed much about the same time in Gaul and Italy; and it is from a remarkable expression of this plague in Jornandes, that Vossius has fixed the time of his publishing his works to 552. He at length fell by the sword of Aodh-Dubh Mac Suine, king of Ulster, and was interred in the church of Cluan Mac Noise, which he himself had founded, after a reign of twenty years.

Contemporaries with this prince, in Munster, were Finghin and Failbhe, of the Eugenic line; and Forhanan and Dioma, of the Dal-Gas race; Guare and Feargus Mac Rossa, in Conaught; Carbre, son to Cormac, in Leinster; and Betan, and after him Dimhan, kings of Ulster. Comhghall continued king of the Albanian Scots, or Irish, and was succeeded by his brother Gabhran.

HISTORY OF IRELAND.

C H A P. V.

Fergus and Daniel monarchs—of Eochaidh and Baodan—of Airmheric—of Baodan—is defeated in battle, and flies for refuge to St. Columba—an account of this famous apostle of the Picts—of the monarch Aodh—the parliament of Drom-Chette—the objects of its deliberations.

559 **F**ERGUS and Daniel, the gallant sons of the monarch Mortough, were next called to the throne. Enterprising and warlike, they commenced their reign with the invasion of Leinster, to enforce the payment of their famous tribute. The Lagenians and they engaged in battle on the borders of the Liffey, in which the provincials were defeated with great slaughter. Some time after these princes departed this life, but whether by the sword or not is uncertain. They were peaceably
560 succeeded by Eochaidh, the son of the above Daniel, who associated his uncle Baodan with him in the command of the empire. In this reign Cairbre-Crom, the son of Criomthan, of the Eugenic line, was a prince of great power in Munster. He engaged in the battle of Feimhin with Colman, the son of Dearmod, and gave him a complete overthrow. He it was, says the Psalter of Cashill, who founded the bishoprick of Cloyne for St. Colman. Cronan, prince of Kienachta, on some private quarrel, attacked the troops of the associated monarchs, and gained a signal victory, these princes themselves being amongst the slain.

563 Airmheric, son to Seadhna, the son of Feargus, the son of Conall-Gulban, son to the hero Niall, was the next monarch. He is celebrated as a prince of great learning ; but nevertheless
fell

fell in battle by the sword of Fergus Mac Neill, who joined his competitor and successor. A.C.

Baodan, the son of Nineadhadh, son of Feargus, and cousin-german to the deceased, was also his successor. Being defeated in battle in the first year of his reign, and closely pursued, he applied to St. Columba, who was his relation, requesting an asylum in his monastery, which he granted; but his enemies, regardless of this sacred retreat, had him dragged out and murdered. Columba, enraged at this profanation, incited his relations and the whole northern Hi-Neill race to revenge this outrage. A bloody battle was fought against Colman, the son of Dearmod; with what success we are not told, but we must suppose to the disadvantage of the latter, since he did not gain the monarchy, which was the great object of his pursuits. The violence of Columba's temper involved his country in great distress, about three years before the present period. Comhghall, the renowned abbot of Benchoir, of the royal line of Ir, had some dispute with Columba, of what nature we are not told; but history seems to point out this last the aggressor: he calls his brethren and kindred to his assistance; the Dal-Araidhe rise in defence of Comhghall; a bloody battle is fought, much blood spilt, but which side prevailed we are not told. As this Columba cuts a conspicuous figure in our history, and that, next to St. Patrick, he was the greatest apostle on this side of the Alps, we judge a more particular account of him necessary. 566

He was the son of Feidhlim, the son of Feargus, the son of Conall-Gulban (from whom to this day the country is called Tir-Conall), son to the hero Niall. Great controversies have arisen as to the time of his birth, and when he first landed in Britain. Without entering deep into them, both I think can be easily cleared by attending to acknowledged facts. He died at the age of seventy-seven, and remained thirty-three years in Britain.

A.C. Britain. It was not in the reign of Dearmod he went there, as most of our annalists assert, but in the third year of the reign of Aodh, i. e. A. C. 569. For the cause of it is agreed upon on all hands to be this :—the quantity of innocent blood he caused to be shed in the above battles, gave great scandal to the church and kingdom. A synod of the clergy met to excommunicate him ; and St. Molaise particularly exclaimed against him. Columba became convinced ; and whatever other penance was enjoyed we are not told, but one article was, that he was to quit Ireland, never to see it more : from this it is evident his banishment must have happened after the murder of Baodan, not before ; and as Colgan's calculations shew *, it must have been in the year 569, to correspond with 602, and of course that he was born A. C. 525.

His first education was in the North, under St. Fridian, of the Dal-Fiatach race, afterwards bishop of Lucca in Italy. From this he was removed to the school of St. Finian, at Clonard, near the Boyne, so renowned for its erudition, that no less than 3000 scholars have been reckoned in it at one time, as Colgan and Usher, &c. attest. Here he acquired a complete knowledge of the learned languages, and studied divinity and the scriptures with great devotion ; soon after which he embraced the monastic order, and was held in great reverence. It is probable, that his zeal for the honour and immunities of the church was what hurried him into those extravagancies, so fatal to his country ; but his public reprehension, and his penitentiary exile, do great honour to the clerical order of those days. On his arrival in Albany, Conall, king of the Dal-Riada (not Brudeus, the Pict, with Bede) bestowed on him the isle of Huy. Here he established his chief monastery ; and from thence, with his followers he entered the country of the Picts, and by his preaching, his precepts, and ex-

* Trias Thaum. f. 485.

ample, converted the whole country, so as to die with the glorious title of *Apostle of the Piets*. A.C.

Aodh, or Hugh, the son of Airmher, was called to the throne. 567
His reign is celebrated for a grand national assembly, summoned to meet not at Tara the usual place, but at Drom-Chette, in Ulster. As soon as St. Columba was ordained, he applied to the present monarch, who was of his own blood, and *then* a prince in Ulster, who bestowed on him lands, on which he built a monastery, famous in his own days, and for centuries after, for the number and learning of its monks. Harris *, I know not why, from its Irish name of Daire Collum Chille, or Columba's grove, will have it be Durrogh, in the King's county; contrary to the declaration of Adamnanus, and other early writers; for it was at a later period that he founded the monastery of Durrogh. Add to this, that the possessions of this Aodh were centered in Ulster, not in Leinster. This prince was a zealous partizan of Columba, and supported him on all occasions. However, his repeated violences (for the two first of which, I suppose he made some public penance) could not protect him from the censures of the clergy; who, on the last occasion, and even in the present monarchy, denounced excommunication on him, if he did not quit the kingdom. His submission, his resignation, and making atonement by the most exemplary life, for his former offences, proved the sincerity of his repentance, and extorted from his preceptor St. Finian, the following saying—"that his example ought to
"carry as many souls to heaven, as his wars had plunged into
"hell †."

In the beginning of this reign, Colman-Beg, the son of Dearmod, raised a second army, determined to dispute the monarchy

* Writers of Ireland, p. 17.

† Vita St. Finiani, Usher, Primord. Eccles. Brit. &c.

A.C. with Aodh. The two armies met at Ballach-Dathi; the day was disputed with great obstinacy. At length Aodh and Colman met, and fought hand to hand; but the death of the latter soon decided the contest, and with him fell 5000 of his best troops.

In 574, according to the Ulster Annals, Aidanus, the son of Gabhran, was consecrated king of the Albanian Scots, in the isle of Huy, by St. Columba. Though the reign of the prince Aodh was long, yet we are furnished with no material political events, till his assembling the national estates at Drom-Chette; and even then, though this parliament continued its session for fourteen months, yet the objects of its deliberations, as handed down to us, seem too small for such a period. We will then suppose that a revision of the national history and laws, and a retrospection into the state of arts, manufactures, and commerce, as usual, employed the greatest attention of the members. These being the great and known business of our parliaments, it was supposed unnecessary to mention them—but besides these, Aodh had two other objects of great consequence in view: the reforming the abuses in the schools, and the compelling the tributary princes of Albany to pay their accustomed stipends, which had been for some time neglected. Notices were sent to the different princes of Ireland, to Albany, to the Hebrides, and to the
 588 Isle of Man. The assembly was very numerous and brilliant. The names of the chiefs who attended it are yet on record; amongst others was king Aidan, in behalf of the Albanian Scots; and Columba, as representative of their clergy.

Columba was attended by twenty bishops, forty priests, and fifty deacons. As it may seem strange to see an abbot *only*, waited upon by such a number of dignitaries, the Venerable Bede will explain it, by informing us, that Columba and his successors to his own days, though but priests, still governed the
 hier-

hierarchy of North Britain *. But as part of the penance imposed on Columba on quitting Ireland, was never more to see the country, he evaded this by having his eyes bound up from the time he left Scotland till he returned. The nature of the first question propounded by the monarch to the parliament, has been by no means rightly explained by modern writers—some remains of these schools have subsisted even to the days of our fathers; and it was not the use, but the abuse of them, that was complained of.

C H A P. VI.

Privileges of the Irish literati, and their abuse in some instances—the Albanian Scots declared an independent people—the death of the monarch Aodh, and the archiepiscopal see of Leinster transferred from Kildare to Ferns—flourishing state of letters—of St. Bridget, patroness of Leinster—the number of academies, holy men, and pious foundations.

FROM the earliest periods, the literati in Ireland, as in Gaul †, enjoyed uncommon privileges; their persons being sacred, their possessions in all revolutions undisturbed, and their students and followers exempt from all taxations and military laws. We see, in Cæsar's time, the Gauls complain of the abuses of this privilege; and it has been the case in Ireland, in many instances beside the present. The Irish colleges, which were instituted for the instructing in the fine arts the princes, the nobles, and the gentry, received also a certain number of students, who

* Hist. Eccles. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 4.

† Comment. Cæs. lib. vi.

A.C. were devoted to the studies of divinity, history, genealogy, and poetry (for this last was a particular and a laborious study, on account of the various kinds of metre, and the rules to be followed in each species, examples of which may be seen in O'Molloy's Irish Grammar, in Llhuid, but especially in colonel Vallancey's.) The immunities enjoyed by these students, made numbers of idlers resort to these colleges; too lazy to work, and too proud to beg, they found this medium to gratify both. These schools were open from Michaelmas to March. In these days of splendour they were always founded in sequestered places, furrounded by woods of oak; and this explains what Lucan says †:

“ ———Nemora alta, remotis

“ Incolitis lucis.”

Even in ancient Athens the same custom was observed; hence the saying,

“ —Inter filvas academi, quærere vërum.”

The light of the day was shut out of these schools, and they always studied by candle-light. From May to Michaelmas, they absented themselves from college; the young nobility and gentry retiring to their friends, and the registered students, like the military, being quartered on the country. The number of idlers, who claimed the protection of these colleges, became a real burthen to the nation. For want of hands, manufactures were cramp, and agriculture injured. These poor indigent wretches, not content to lead a life of contemptible oscitancy, but having a knack at rhiming, they frequently perverted it to satire; abusing whoever did not shew them respect enough, or refused

† Pharsal. lib. i.

gratifying their demands: for no nation of the world were fonder of praise, or dreaded satire more than the Irish. To confine the students in each college to a certain number, and to restrain the insolence of these hangers-on, not to suppress the colleges of the bards, much less banish them the kingdom, were what the monarch recommended to his parliament. For the registered bards were sworn to employ their muses to no other purposes, but the glory of God, the honour of their country, of its heroes, of its females, and of their own chiefs. For the time to come, the monarch's chief bard was to be *President* of all the poetic colleges in the kingdom; had power to appoint inspectors to examine the state of the different schools, and make what reforms he judged necessary, to enforce this restraining act. But his second proposal, namely, the paying of tribute, was stiffly opposed by Columba, and king Aidan.

Besides a certain yearly tribute in money (but how much we are not told), Albany, the Hebrides, and Man, were obliged, in all foreign invasions, to send to the monarch ships and troops; so that it is more than probable, that if Aodh had met with the same success in his second demand that he did in the first, the consequence would be an invasion of the coasts of Britain or Gaul. The great power of the Dal-Riada, as well in Ireland as in Albany, and the influence of Columba, had greater weight with this assembly, in this instance, than the remonstrances of the monarch, or the dictates of sound policy. The Albanian Scots were declared, instead of subjects and tributaries, the associates and friends of Ireland, and were exempt from all taxation whatever, excepting only in cases of murder, and devastations committed by the Irish Dal-Riada, when they agreed to pay their proportion of the Eric, or retribution, to be raised on these occasions—but these Irish Dal-Riada were not to be charged with any Eric, to be paid by their Albanian brethren.—Thus ended this famous assembly of

A.C.

Drom-Chette, and by their decision was the Irish monarchy ever after confined to the precincts of its own island.

590

Soon after the dissolution of this parliament, whose resolves were so pernicious to the kingdom, (and which proved the freeness of their debates, and how circumscribed the power of the monarchs were), we read that Conall, eldest son to Aodh, invaded the territories of Colman-Rimhidh; but in the end his army was defeated, and himself was numbered amongst the slain. In the year 594, Aodh raised a great army, which he commanded in person, and with which he invaded Leinster, in order to compel the Lagenians to pay their tribute, the fatal cause of such torrents of blood. In the battle, however, that ensued at Dunbolg, his troops were cut to pieces, he himself falling in single combat, by the hands of Brandubh, king of that province. Soon after this, at a synod of the clergy of Leinster, in which Brandubh presided, it was agreed to transfer the archbishoprick of that province from Kildare to Ferns, in reverence to St. Maidog *.

In Munster, Dioma reigned long, and was succeeded by Colgain, the son of Failbhe, an Eugenian. In Ulster, Daigha, the son of Carril, and Aodh-Dubh, the son of Suine, governed: Colman-More, son to Carbre; and Aodh, son to Colman, ruled Leinster: and Maolchothach, and Aodh-Abhrath, were kings of Conaught. In Albany, Conall, the son of Comhghal; and Aidan, son to Gabhran, succeeded each other.

595

Aodh, called Slaine, as it was crossing the river of that name that his mother took her labour, succeeded to the throne. He was the son of the monarch Dearmod, the son of Feargus, the son of Conall; and he associated with him in the empire Colman-Rimhidh, grandson to the monarch Murtough, who defeated the imperial troops in the bloody battle of Sleamhna, and with his

* Primord. Eccles. Brit. p. 864, 965.

own hand slew Conall, son to the last monarch. In this reign St. Augustin landed in Kent, in order to the conversion of the Saxon race, being sent by pope Gregory †. In the year 596, Suine, the son of Colman, fell by the sword of this Aodh, according to the Four Masters; and in 600, he himself met the same fate, by the hand of Conall, son to Colman, as did his associate by that of Lochan.

A.C.

As to the state of religion and letters in this century in Ireland, hear the testimony of Camden, an author who cannot be suspected of partiality to us—"The Irish scholars of St. Patrick profited so notably in Christianity, that, in the succeeding age, Ireland was termed *Sanctorum Patria*. Their monks so greatly excelled in learning and piety, that they sent whole flocks of most holy men into all parts of Europe, who were the first founders of Lieuxeu abbey, in Burgundy; of the abbey Bobie, in Italy; of Wirtzburg, in Franconia; St. Gall, in Switzerland; and of Malmfbury, Lindisfarran, and many other monasteries in Britain. For from thence came Cælius Sedulius, a priest, Columba, Columbanus, Colman, Aidan, Gallus, &c. ‡"

Amongst the eminent persons of this age, St. Brigdet, of Kildare, merits the first place, for her high reputation, exemplary life, and numerous pious foundations. She was the daughter of Dubhtach, a Leinster captain, and early devoted herself to a monastic life. Her charities were diffusive and boundless, and could only be equalled by her piety and austerity. She was born A.C. 453; and in 467, received the veil from the hands of St. Mac Calle. From this time to her death, which happened in 523, she daily made new advances in every kind of spiritual exercise, and died in the highest reputation for sanctity. She was not only canonized after her death, but declared the perpetual *Patroness*

† Hist. Eccles. Brit. lib. i. cap. 23, &c.

‡ Hibern.

A.C. *of Leinster*, even in her life-time; for we read in her life, that Oilíoll the son of Dunluing, then king of Leinster, being attacked by a very large body of the imperialists, called upon St. Bridget, which so animated his troops, that he gained a complete victory over his antagonist. Her festival is celebrated with great devotion on the first of February. How much more so in former times, may be collected from the following ancient distich:

“Brigida virgo potens, Februi sibi, prima calendas

“Scotorum miro poscit celebrata fervore.”

The fame of her sanctity soon spread over Europe, and at Seville in Spain, at Lisbon, Placentia in Italy, at Tours, Besançon, Namur, Cologne, and even in London, churches were dedicated to her: in some of these places, her reliques have been preserved; and in all, her festival celebrated on the first of February*. In the dioceses of Tuam, Alfin, Kildare, Dublin, and Lismore only, Colgan reckons about sixty churches and monasteries dedicated to her name.

Many works are attributed to St. Bridget by foreign writers; but the following she certainly wrote—1st. Rules for the Nuns of her own Foundation; 2d. an Epistle to St. Aid, the son of Delghil; 3d. a Poem to St. Patrick; and 4th the Quiver of Divine Love; or, of Pious Desires. These three last works, in the Irish language, were in the possession of the learned Colgan, as he affirms †.

Every religious foundation in Ireland, in these days, included a school, or indeed rather academy. Such was the school of St. Fridian, in which Columba received his first education; of Cluan-Fois, founded by St. Jarlath, where St. Brenden, of Cluan-

* Trias Thaum. p. 624.

† Ibid. f. 610.

Fcart, was educated, &c. St. Fachanus, founded an academy at Ross, in the county of Cork, in this century, which soon grew to be a large city; and which is ranked by Ware as one of the principal academies of this age. He was a titular saint to the O'Driscols, O'Learies, &c. But the university of Clonard, next to that of Benchor, was the most celebrated: in it, under St. Finian, were no less a number than 3000 scholars at one time. Amongst the multitudes of Finian's scholars, are reckoned the twelve apostles of Ireland, so called for their piety and learning; to wit, the two Columbas, the two Keirans, two Brendens, Comhgil, Cannechus, Ruadanus, Nennidh, Mobhas, and Molaise. The number of religious only, in the monastery of Benchor, founded by St. Comhgill, in this century is astonishing. The great St. Bernard, a writer of the twelfth century, and too warm an advocate for papal authority to be an admirer of the Irish of these days, shall be my authority on this occasion *. He affirms, that in the sixth century, under St. Comhgill, or Congell, as he calls him, *the monastery of Benchore was a most noble one, containing many thousand monks, and itself the chief of many monasteries. So fruitful (says he) was it of holy men, and multiplying so greatly to the Lord, that Luanus alone, a subject of this house, founded no less than 100 monasteries. This I mention, (continues he) that the reader may form an idea of the number of religious in these days in Ireland.* The zeal and piety of these holy monks, he tells us, was not confined to Ireland, but, like an inundation, their saints spread piety and virtue over all Europe!

St. Brogan, wrote the life of St. Bridget, in Irish verse, about three years after her death; and which life Colgan gives us entire, with a literal Latin translation †.

* Divi Bernardi Opera, p. 1934.

† Trias Thaum. f. 515, &c.

Nennidh,

A.C. Nennidh, is said to be a writer of Latin hymns and other works. He was a disciple of St. Finian ; and afterwards founded himself an academy and monastery at Loch-Erne.

St. Dermot, wrote a litany in elegant Irish metre *, in my possession, says Colgan. Geman, a poet, wrote a copy of verses in praise of the great Finian.

St. Cogitosus, contemporary with St. Bridget, but who survived her for many years, wrote her life in Latin, extant in the *Trias Thaumaturga*. He was himself a monk, (supposed of Kildare), because he describes that town and church minutely. The work he addresses to the monks his brethren. Amergin, the son of Amalgaid, chief poet to the monarch Dearmod, wrote a book of etymologies, or an explanation of the topographical names of countries and territories in Ireland. This work the learned Lynch † quotes as authority against Cambrensis, and as an authority then subsisting. Probably from it, Mac Eagan might have enlarged his *Labhar-Breac*.

That the scholiast on St. Fiech's life flourished in this century, cannot be doubted, from his calling Armoric Brittany, by the names of Letania, and Letavia; names, which in the first book of this work, I have shewn it was then known by.

To St. Brenden, of Clonfert, many works are attributed by Bale; and St. Brenden, of Birr, Berchanus, and Dallanus, wrote different works in praise of St. Columba. This last wrote also another work yet extant, and in high esteem, called *Amhra Collum Chille*, or the Vision of St. Columba.

Ruadan, one of the famous twelve Irish disciples of this age, wrote a Latin treatise, *contra Dearmod regem*; I suppose in defence of St. Columba. He also wrote *De mirabili Fontium* in

* Act. S. Hib. p. 52.

† Grat. Luc. p. 132.

Hiberniâ Naturâ. The works wrote by Columba himself are too numerous to be here recited, but they are to be found in the Trias Thaumaturg. p. 471. St. Cannic, to whom the cathedral of Kilkenny is dedicated, wrote the life of Columba. A.C.

C H A P. VII.

The state of arts and sciences, in these ages, much more respectable than has been supposed—the archbishopricks of Leinster and Conaught founded in this century—remarkable synod of the clergy at Clonard—many new bishopricks erected—an account of some abbies, particularly of Benchoir, &c. and the manner in which the religious employed their time.

THE learned Dr. Warner closes the seventh book of his History of Ireland with an account of Irish writers; and though he advances, that the learning of these days was not very great, yet, such as it was, he confesses, that it flourished with greatest splendor in Ireland, and from thence was communicated to other countries. But though I am happy in acknowledging the candour and abilities of this gentleman, yet I can by no means agree with him in sentiment on this occasion.

From the list of Irish writings of this age, it is but too true, that most of their works seem confined to litanies and lives of saints. Yet one point they had in view, and indeed the most important, namely, mending the heart, and calling forth from their recesses, philanthropism, charity, hospitality, and a thorough contempt of riches, the moment they became diverted from their proper channel. But besides this, the learning of these times was

A.C. by no means contemptible. The Irish professors were complete masters of what are called the learned languages, i. e. Greek and Latin, and opened schools, as well in Britain as in Ireland, for these studies. That they were highly skilled in divinity and church history in this age, I have but to refer to Fleury's account of our Columbanus, &c. * That they were also eminent in astronomy, his defence of the calculations of Anatolius, and of the Asiatic custom of celebrating the feasts of Easter, proves. To this let me add, the arguments after this, offered by Colman, as recited by Bede † on this subject, and a work published also by him in its support. Where but in Ireland, where he was born and educated, could Virgilius have learned the doctrine of the antipodes, and the sphericity of the earth? these sure are incontestible proofs, that to a knowledge of the Greek and Latin, of divinity and church history, the Irish professors of those days added mathematics, astronomy, and philosophy. That poetry was particularly cultivated in our schools, and classical poetry too, I have but to refer to the writings of the famous Sedulius; and to the confession of Aldelm, a writer of the seventh century, who was a pupil of our famous Maildolph, and the first Saxon who attempted to write Latin verse. Where he acquired this knowledge, the following lines of his, quoted by Camden, will tell ‡.

“ Primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita superfit,

“ *Aonis rediens, deducam vertice musam.*”

In no country of the world, was history, both natural § and civil, better cultivated than in Ireland; and their chronology is more exact than that of any other nation.

* Ecclesiastical History, vol. viii.

† Hist. Eccles. Brit. lib. xxiii. cap. 25.

‡ Britannia, under Wiltshire.

§ Introduction to Irish History, p. ii. c. ix.

That not only the sciences, but even the *sine arts*, flourished A.C. amongst us, in an eminent degree, in these early days, when the rest of Europe was involved in ignorance and barbarity, we have yet some proofs. As to sculpture, witness the poem of Torna Eigis, president of the Irish poets in the fourth century, in which he enumerates the names of the different Irish monarchs, interred at Cruachan, and describes the marble busts of some of them *. In the life of St. Bridget, wrote by her contemporary Cogitosus, he informs us from his own knowledge, that in the cathedral of Kildare, on the right and left sides of the great altar, were placed the bodies of Bridget and Conlaith in monuments highly finished, and ornamented with gold, silver, and precious stones; and over which crowns of gold and silver were suspended †. From his description of this church we plainly see a taste for architecture; and he particularly mentions many pieces of painting in it. To this let me add, what Cambrensis himself confesses to have examined with astonishment—namely, that amongst other reliques and curiosities of the church of Kildare, he was shewn “*a Concordance of the Four Gospels, by St. Hieronimus, wrote by, or for the use of St. Brigdet. The margin was ornamented with mystic pictures, most wonderfully and animatingly finished. The writing, but particularly the capital letters, so highly ornamented, that (says he) neither the pencil of an Apelles, nor the chisel of a Lysippus, ever formed the like. In a word, they seem to have been executed by something more than a mortal hand!*” You find in many dismantled churches, even at this day, when carefully examined, remains of ancient fresco paintings; and to go no farther than Adare, in this county, you there behold many figures, and some heads well done. Those of St. Patrick, St. Bridget, and St. Columba, are very conspicuous.

* Keating, p. 1. Vallancey's Grammar, &c. † Vita secunda St. Brigid. c. 35, 36.

A.C. As to the ancient Irish music, it is confessed to be original; and in what remains of it at this day, there is found a wonderful softness and pleasing harmony. The abbey of Benchoir got its name from the melody of its psalmists; and when, in the next century, the abbey of Niville, in France, was founded, the wife of Pepin sent to Ireland for doctors to instruct in church discipline, and for musicians and choiristers for the church music. Cambrensis, who visited Ireland twice, first with Henry II. and afterwards with his son John; and who, from the station he enjoyed, we must conclude was acquainted with the best music in Britain and Gaul in his days, yet declares the Irish music the most pleasing, and its masters the first performers in the world *. Mr. Warton produces his authorities for affirming, that so late as the eleventh century, “the Welsh bards received their instructions in Ireland, “and brought with them to Wales divers cunning musicians, who “devised in a manner all the instrumental music that is now used “there, as appeareth, as well by the books written of the same, “as also by the names of the tunes, and measures used amongst “them to this day †.” This last relation furnishes a reflection greatly in our favour, on the subject in hand; namely, the great superiority in composition and execution of the Irish over the Welsh. For, as Cambrensis was himself a Welshman born, and also bishop of St. David’s, their music, adopted to the Irish scale a century earlier, must be well known to him—yet we see the powers of harmony *softened even his prejudiced mind*, and in this instance he has done us ample justice.

In this century we find two more archbishopricks erected in Ireland. That of Leinster, affixed to the church of Kildare, in honour of St. Bridget; except it may be supposed, that St. Fiech was appointed to that honour by St. Patrick himself; and that it

* Topogr. c. xi.

† History of English Poetry, dissert. i.

was only transferred from Sleibhte, in reverence to Bridget, which A.C.
 think was not the case; because in the days of St. Patrick, Ireland still preserved its ancient divisions of Leath-Mogha, and Leath-Cuin; so that neither Leinster or Conaught were strictly deemed distinct kingdoms. Kildare, we may then suppose, was now for the first time declared a metropolitan, and Conlaeth, the first archbishop of Leinster. About the same time, (i. e. the beginning of this century) St. Jarlath was consecrated archbishop of Conaught. Palliums St. Patrick certainly brought from Rome on his second visit there; but these must have been for the archbishops of Leath-Cuin, and Leath-Mogha only; so that the first archbishops of Conaught and Leinster, though consecrated, had not palliums. We are indeed told, that in the year 595, and soon after the bloody battle of Dun-bolg, Brandubh, king of Leinster, summoned a solemn meeting of the clergy of that province, at which he presided. In this synod it was unanimously decreed to transfer the archbishoprick of Leinster from Kildare to Ferns, in honour of St. Maidoëg, who *was accordingly consecrated archbishop*, says Hanmer (Chronicle, p. 64); and which city, to the reign of Henry II. was the capital of Leinster. This proves the regularity observed in the proceedings of the Irish clergy. Many other synods of our clergy are noticed in this century; but one amongst these should not be omitted, as it reflects the highest honour on this body of men.

In the year 569, and immediately after the third bloody battle, which the violence of Columba's temper involved his country in, a synod of the clergy met at Clonard, to deliberate on the public penance and punishment necessary to be inflicted on this monk, for his repeated outrages. Some were for excommunicating him; but, on his submission, and promise of obedience, he was by public decree of the clergy present, banished the kingdom, never more to behold it again; and it was declared, that he never could hope for salvation, till by his austerities, his preaching, and

his

A.C. his prayers, he had converted as many souls to God, as his violent temper had hurried to immature death; and thus was the conversion of the Picts projected, and happily completed by this great apostle.

Several new bishopricks were founded in this century; as that of Clonard, by St. Finian, that celebrated philosopher, who was of the line of Ir, and titular patron of the Magenises. Clonmaonois, by St. Kieran, of the sept of the Arads. Clend, or the Valley of God, as it was first called, afterwards Glen-da-loch, or the Vale of two Lakes, was founded by St. Coemhene, or Ceivin, and to whom the church of that name in the Liberty of Dublin is dedicated. He is the patron saint of the O'Byrnes, and O'Tooles. St. Edan, or Maidoc, a descendant of Colla, called Uas, or the Noble, monarch of Ireland, and the titular saint of the O'Cinellachs, &c. founded the bishoprick of Ferns, afterwards, in honour to him, erected into an archbishoprick. St. Brenden, of the house of Ir, and the patron saint of the O'Connors Kerry, erected at Hi Ferte, or the Territory of Miracles, commonly called Ardfert, or Ardart, a see. His successors were sometimes called bishops of Kerry. The remains of churches, abbies, and religious houses, with inscriptions, remarkable tombs, &c. at this day sufficiently proclaim its ancient magnificence. An anchorite tower of 120 feet high, the finest in Ireland, and standing near the cathedral, fell down in the year 1771; and as, in all human probability, it fell never to rise again! I leave this memorial of it: of this noble city, the ancient capital of Kerry, no other monuments but the above remain, except its being the seat of the earls of Glendor, an ancient family of this county. I have taken no small trouble to ascertain when Limeric was erected into a bishoprick; and, though out of its place, I here observe, that it was soon after the arrival of St. Patrick, a proof of the great antiquity of this city. Its founder was St. Manchin; but of this name Colgan notes eight different saints, whose æras

are very uncertain *. However, by the book of Lecan, I find, A.C. that our Manchin, was the son of Seadhna, the son of Cas, the son of Conall, of the Dal-Gas race, and nephew to Blod, king of Thomond, in the days of St. Patrick. He was first abbot of Muimgharid, near Limeric; and, for his great piety and learning, ordered by St. Patrick to the instruction of his new converts in Conaught †. From this he became first bishop and patron of Limeric.

Aongus Mac Nife, founded, a little before his death, the see of Connor.

In the beginning of this century, Cork was erected into a bishoprick, by St. Bar, or Finbar, i. e. Bar the White, as he is called; and here I find a great anachronism in Harris. He makes him flourish in the seventh century ‡, whilst he admits him to be preceptor to the famous St. Colman, of Cloyne, who was one of the associates of St. Maidoeg, founder of the see of Ferns, and who died, according to Colgan, in the year 600! He first founded here an academy, which, on account of the number of students, soon raised it to a considerable city, of which he was consecrated the first bishop § and patron.

St. Colman, the son of Lenin, the son of Gancon (for there were many other saints of this name), descended from the famous Lugh-Lagha, brother to Olioll, king of Munster, founded the bishoprick of Cloyne.

Colman, the son Duach, and chief of all the numerous saints of the race of the Hy-Fiacres, or of the O'Douds, O'Shaghnessies, O'Heynes, O'Killhellies, &c. founded the bishoprick of Ceill Mac Duach, so called from his father.

* Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 332.

† Vol. i. p. 556.

‡ Vita sexta St. Patricii, c. 59.

§ Acta Sanct. Hib. p. 607.

A.C. The great Finian of Clonard, founded the bishoprick of Achonry, which he bestowed on his pupil Nathi *. The O'Haras were the patrons of it.

The abbies and monasteries founded in this century are astonishingly numerous, and proclaim the piety and liberality of the people. St. Columba, the patron of the O'Donnells, founded no less a number than 100 churches and religious houses. St. Luanus founded as many, as St. Bernard notes; but the abbey of Benchoir, the largest, it may be said the mother, of all the abbies in Europe, exceeded every other for the number and piety of its monks. St. Comhgill, of the house of Ir, and the patron saint of the Mac Genises, Mac Cartans, &c. founded this great monastery, in whose days, as St. Bernard notes †, were no less a number than 3000 monks, so disposed, that the choir was constantly full of religious, chanting hymns to the Creator, as well by night as by day; hence it got the name of Benchoir, or the harmonious choir. Nothing could exceed the regularity of these monks. The times of recess from prayer, refreshment, and natural rest, were devoted to tillage and other useful employments (for they lived only by the products of nature, and the labour of their own hands.) St. Brenden, the son of Finlogha, and first bishop of Ardfert, founded so many monasteries in different parts of Ireland, that he is said to have presided over no less than 3000 monks ‡, all of whom supported themselves by their own labour. Nay, in the monastery of Muingharid, near Limeric, (anciently called the city of Deochain-affain), were formerly 1500 monks; 500 of which were devoted to preaching and instruction; 500 more so divided, as to have a perpetual full choir, both day and

* Acta Sanct. Hib. p. 396. c. xxvi.

†. Vita St. Malach. p. 1934.

‡ Usher. Prim. Eccles. Brit. 910, &c.

night; and the remainder being old, gave themselves up entirely to spiritual exercises. Mainchen, the founder of this monastery, as well as of the see of Limeric, and Molua, who erected Killaloe into a bishoprick, being of the royal blood of North Munster, are the chief titular saints of this sept. These we have given as a specimen only, of the numerous pious foundations of this century; to which we shall add, that many of them were in the most sequestered, and least cultivated parts of the kingdom; and that through the labour of these holy monks, were these wastes reclaimed, and made profitable grounds!

B O O K IX.

C H A P. I.

Aodh-Uraiodhnach elected monarch—attacked by Aongus, whom he defeats—is slain by Maolcobha-Clearach, who succeeds him—Suibhre-Mean raised to the monarchy—slain in battle, and succeeded by Daniel; who engages and defeats Conall, king of Ulster—marches into Meath, to attack the descendants of Niall the Grand, who implore the aid of St. Fechin—a panic seizes his army, and he is obliged to make submission to the offended monk—death of Daniel—Conal-Claon made emperor, who associates his brother Ceallach in the government—Dearmod and Blathmac elected monarchs—a great plague in Ireland.

A O D H, called Uariodhnach, (on account of an acute pain in his side, which seized him periodically), the son (though, to correspond with sound chronology, I think more justly the grandson) of the monarch Daniel, the son of Mortough, the son of Muireadhach, the son of Eogan, son to the hero Niall, of the Heremonian race, was elected monarch: though infirm, and subject to great bodily complaints, yet neither the vigour of his mind, nor the activity of his body, were impaired by them; for, trusting to his bad state of health, Aongus, the son of the last Colman, conjured up a strong party against the reigning prince. A most bloody battle was fought, called Cath-Odhbha, in which Colman and his chief associate Conall, son to Aodh Slaine, were numbered amongst the dead. This great defeat did not intimi-

date the enemies of Aodh. Maolcobha, called Clearach, (I suppose from being originally intended for the church), appeared at the head of a more formidable army. The imperial troops met them on the plains of Da Fearta. The battle was well fought, and continued for a long-time doubtful. The competitors at length met; Aodh fell by the sword of his antagonist, and so cut his way to the throne, after a reign of seven years. A.C.

Maolcobha, was the son of Aodh, the son of Ainmeric, of the race of Niall the Grand. At the end of three years, some chronicles assert, that he fell in battle by the sword of his successor; but the most probable account is, that he peaceably resigned the crown, and ended his days in the service of the church *. 606

Suibhre-Mean, the son of Fiachra, the son of Murtough, of the Hi-Neill race, was elected monarch, whose queen was daughter to the prince of Dartri, of the Oirgillians, (for there was another territory of the same name in Conaught.) Daniel, brother to the abdicated monarch, made several attempts on the crown, but in his last was successful. For having leagued amongst others with Seangal, (called Seith-Leathan, or of the Broad Shield), king of Ulster, he sent his son Conall, at the head of six Cathas, or legions (18,000 men), to his assistance. With these and other chosen troops, he engaged the imperial army, in the bloody battle of Traighbrene, and gained a complete victory, Suibhre falling by the sword of Daniel, after a reign of thirteen years. 610

Daniel, brother to Maolcobha, was proclaimed monarch. He is highly celebrated in our annals for his great piety, charity, and mortifications. We however find that his old associate Conall, as soon as he succeeded his father in the kingdom of Ulster, proclaimed war against him; and at the head of a large army, was 623

* Vita septima Columbæ, lib. i. cap. 56.

A.C. advancing towards Tara. At Maigh-rath, the two armies met and engaged. The Ultonians were put to the rout, and amongst the slain, was the gallant Conall himself. This monarch is celebrated for many other victories over his enemies, as well as for his strict justice.

In the partition of the large domains of Niall the Grand, between his children, as we observed in his life, the southern line by degrees encroached upon the territory of Tara, the *Mensal lands*, annexed to the monarchy. To restore these to the crown (finding negotiation useless) Daniel raised a formidable army, which, from the purpose for which it was intended, was called Sloigh-an-mheich, or the army for partition; with it he marched into Meath. The sons of Aodh-Slaine, the chiefs of the southern Hi-Nialls, in vain opposed him with troops, inferior in number and discipline. In this distress, they applied to St. Fechin, a descendant of their own house, requesting his prayers and interposition with the monarch in their behalf. We are told, in the life of this holy abbot, that Daniel rejected his mediation, on which he was threatened with divine vengeance *. He despised these threats; and the night following an uncommon fall of snow dispirited his soldiers, who superstitiously concluded, that this (which no doubt proceeded from a natural cause) was a mark of divine wrath, for rejecting the offers of so great a saint as Fechin. An aurora borealis, that followed this, convinced the empress, and the weak and timid, that this war was an unrighteous one. The panic runs through his camp: the monarch finds that he must make peace, or carry on a war without troops. Articles were soon agreed upon between the contending parties; but it was not so easy to be reconciled to the monk. The disrespect shewn, not to himself, but to the character he represented, demanded the

* Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 137. cap. 34, 35.

most ample atonement; and we are told with astonishment, that this great prince was obliged, in the presence of both armies, to prostrate himself before the saint, who *with wonderful humility*, trod upon his neck—fulfilling thus the text of Scripture, “Super aspidem & basiliscum ambulabis, &c.” A.C.

From the uncommon piety and austerity of Fechin, I am ready to believe, that in thus insulting majesty, he really thought that he was advancing the cause of God and of religion; and had the church seemed any way interested in this war, some allowance might be made for an over-heated zeal; but as this was not the case, we must only hope, that some uncommon intemperance of the monarch (and it would be hard to say what it could be) made it necessary. We are furnished with no other accounts of him, except his sending missionaries to Britain; but that for the last eighteen months of his reign, he was confined to his bed; which time he spent mostly in prayer and pious meditations, receiving the sacrament every Sunday. At length a period was put to his sufferings on the last day of January 639.

Conall, called Claon, or the Subtile, the son of Maolcobha, was saluted emperor. He associated with him, in the government, his brother Ceallach. At this time a war broke out between the southern Hi-Nialls, and the Eoganachts of Munster. The cause was this: Carthagh, of the Irian line, and race of O'Connor Kerry (who afterwards founded, or at least encreased the fame of the university of Lismore) went on a pilgrimage to the borders of Meath, and there founded a religious house. The piety, austerity, and industry of these monks, acquired them great veneration amongst the adjoining inhabitants; but the heads of a neighbouring convent, jealous of their growing reputation, and looking on Carthagh as a foreign intruder, applied to Daniel and Blathmac, princes of this territory, to expel them their convent.

This

A.C. This violation of hospitality and insult to Carthagh, was highly resented by the Mamonians. They raised a considerable force; a great battle was fought at Carn-Conuil, in which Cuan, the son of Amhalghadh, king of Munster, Cuan, of the race of Finighin, or O'Sullivan, and the prince of Ui-Liathan, in the county of Cork, fell on the side of the Mamonians, and their army was put to flight.

Flushed by the fame of this important victory, the brothers formed the resolution of dispossessing the reigning monarchs. An accident accelerated the accomplishment of their views; for Ceallach being unfortunately drowned in the Boyne, they raised a very large army; and in the battle that ensued, the imperialists were defeated, and Conall was numbered amongst the slain.

656 Dearmod, called Ruaidhnigh, or the Charitable, and his brother Blathmac, the sons of Aodh Slaine, the son of Dearmod, &c, were elected monarchs. In their reign, an invasion was made
661 from Britain. A battle was fought at Pancti, in which the invader, with thirty of his principal officers, and almost the whole
662 of his army, were put to the sword. Scarce was the nation recovered from this invasion, when we read of a dreadful plague breaking out, which swept off numbers of the inhabitants, and from which, even the reigning monarchs did not escape. It is called in our MSS. an Bhuidhe-Chonuil, or the yellow plague, as those attacked with it, appeared immediately as if jaundised. The Venerable Bede takes notice of this plague; but by him it would seem to have reached Ireland from Britain. By our accounts, it raged here for some time before the Britains caught the infection ‡.

‡ Hist. Eccles. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 27.

Contemporary provincial kings with the preceding monarchs, from Aodh-Slaine, according to the Book of Synchronisms, and to the Psalter of Cashill, were the following—In Munster, Fear-domhnach, or Ferdinand, the son of Dioma, was chief king; and Amhalgadh, of the Eugenic line, king of South Munster. His son Cuan, succeeded as king of Leath-Mogha, and fell in the battle of Carn-Conuil. Aimleadha, grandson to Dioma, succeeded Cuan in the province of Munster, according to the law of alternate succession.

In Ulster, Fiachna, Congall-Caoch, son of Seanlan, and Donacha, son to Fiachna, successively reigned. Ronan, son to Colman, Criomhthan of Cualagne, son to Aodh-Cear, and Felan, grandson to Colman, ruled Leinster; whilst Uatach, son of Aodh, Colman, son to Cobthach, and Raghallach, son to Uatach, alternately governed Conaught. In Scotland, Eocha, called Buie, or the Yellow, the son of Aidan, his son Conadh, Fearchard, son to Conadh, and Donald-Breac, the son of Eacha-Buie, successively reigned.

A.C.

C H A P. II.

Seachnasach raised to the monarchy—Ulster invaded by the Piets, who are repulsed—death of Seachnasach, who is succeeded by his brother—the Piets again invade Ulster—Fionachta attacks the monarch, whom he kills in battle, and is saluted emperor—Loingseach succeeds him—and is likewise slain in battle.

669 **S**EACHNASACH, the son of Blathmac, peaceably succeeded to the monarchy. The Scotch, or Irish colony in the Highlands, had greatly extended their frontiers since the reign of Aidan, being enabled to do so, by the powerful assistance given them by their relations, the Dal-Riada of Ulster. To be revenged on them for this, and the better to weaken the Caledonian Irish, the Piets with a powerful army invaded Ulster, where they were gallantly opposed by the Ultonians. A bloody battle was fought, called the battle of Feirt, in which, after a terrible carnage on both sides, the remains of the Pictish army were obliged to retreat. Some time after, Seachnasach, fell by the sword, and was succeeded by his brother.

674 Ceanfoaladh, son to Blathmac, ruled Ireland four years. In the second year of his reign, the Piets again invaded Ulster, spreading desolation every where; and amongst other instances of sacrilegious barbarity, they destroyed the noble monastery of Benchoir, and put to the sword, or dispersed, above 1000 monks there residing! His successor, active and enterprising, raised a great army, in order to dethrone the monarch. By mutual consent

sent the time and place of action was appointed. The two armies met: the slaughter was dreadful on both sides; but the death of Ceanfoaladh, by the hand of his rival, soon determined the contest. A.C.

Fionachta, called Fleadhach, or the Convivial, the son of Donchada, the son of Aodh-Slaine, was saluted emperor. Though his reign was long, yet considering an age of erudition like that, the transactions of it are not so minutely detailed as we could wish. The first act of it, however, was an invasion of Leinster, to enforce the payment of their ancient tribute. The Lagenians according to their usual manner, opposed it sword in hand. A great battle was fought near Kells, in which these provincials were defeated with great slaughter. St. Moling was at this time archbishop of Ferns, or Leinster, a prelate of noble blood, and highly revered for his sanctity. At the head of his clergy he advances to meet the victors. The clergy and the literati were ever sure of respect and protection from all parties. The monarch respectfully receives this venerable cohort. Moling, with great force and dignity deploras the distresses and hardships his country had suffered, and the torrents of blood that had been spilt from time to time, for about six centuries, to enforce the payment of a tribute, in itself both unjust and oppressive. That its continuance was in manifest contradiction to the express words of God, which says, that the sins of the parents shall not be punished beyond the third and fourth generation. The monarch being naturally pious and just, was sensibly touched with the many miseries the Lagenians suffered on this account, and therefore solemnly exonerated them from any farther demand of this iniquitous tribute. After this, it is mentioned, that Fionachta, was inclined to retire from the world, and take upon him the monastic habit; but was in this strongly opposed by his friends, who found out a medium to indulge his pious inclinations, and at the

A.C. same time preserve the crown on his head, by having him entered of a religious fraternity.

82 To this moderation it is, that we may impute the many invasions of Ireland in this reign. For a large body of Britons or Welsh landed in an hostile manner, burning and destroying the country, not even sparing churches or monasteries, which they prostrated and despoiled of their riches and ornaments, and timely retreated to their ships with their booty. Soon after this, i. e. A. C. 684, the Northumbrian Saxons, led on by their general Birtus, with unrelenting cruelty, spread desolation through the country, not even sparing the churches, “of that inoffensive “and most friendly people to the Saxon race”—as Bede expresses it *. However, at Rathmore, a period was put to their sacrilegious rapacity; being, after much bloodshed, put to the rout, and obliged to fly the kingdom. Soon after this defeat of the Saxons, and in the same year, (say the Annals of the Four Masters), Adamnanus was sent ambassador to Egfrid, the king, to demand, in the name of the monarch, satisfaction for this outrage, which was immediately granted. Bede mentions this embassy to Das-Adamnanus. After a disturbed reign of twenty years, Fionachta fell in battle, on the fourteenth of November, which day the Irish church held as a festival, in honour of him. In this reign (says Adamnanus), a dreadful plague raged over Gaul, Italy, Britain, and Ireland.

8 Loingseach, the son of Aongus, the son of Aodh, cousin-german to the deceased, was elected monarch. The beginning of his reign was marked with a fresh invasion of the Welsh and Picts united, who miserably wasted the northern parts of the kingdom. Soon after this, a contagious disorder raged amongst the horned cattle, so as to destroy most of them through the king-

* Hist. Eccles. Brit. lib. iv. cap. 26.

dom, by which the public were reduced to great straits. This infection continued for three years. A. C. 704, the Welsh and Picts, again united, made a fresh incursion into Ulster, the better to distress the Irish colony in North Britain. The Ultonians, on their guard, by so many repeated depredations, had their military so posted on the sea coasts, as to be soon united upon every emergency. On the present occasion, they fell upon these foreigners, made a miserable slaughter of them, so that very few returned back. Adamnanus, the celebrated monk of Huy, convinced of the erroneous time of celebrating of Easter at this time, returned to Ireland, and contributed largely to the reformation of his countrymen in this matter of church-discipline. During these accumulated distresses, the spirit of ambition was not idle. Congal, a branch of the royal line, formed a deep and formidable league against the monarch; having, besides the partizans of his own house, engaged in his cause Ceallagh, the warlike king of Conaught. With a well appointed army he attacked the imperialists at Cormin, and gained over them a complete victory, Loingseach himself being among the slain.

Ainleadh reigned long king of Munster, and was succeeded in that title by Eidirseoil, the son of Maolmhuadh, an Eugenician. Maolcobha, the son of Fiachna, his son Blathmac, Congal, Fergus, the son of Aidan, and Beg-Bairche, the son of Blathmac, succeeded each other in the kingdom of Ulster. Bran Mac Conall, Ceallach, son of Gerrthige, Murcha, son to Bran, and Muireadhach his son, governed Leinster; whilst Loingseach and Guare, sons of Colman, Cinfoala, the son of Colgan, Doncha, son to Maoldubh, and Ceallach, the son of Raghallach, ruled Conaught in succession.



A.C.

C H A P. III.

State of learning in Ireland, and of the church—account of illustrious men and eminent writers, their works, and religious foundations—and of the part they took in the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity.

THE illustrious men, and eminent writers of this age are very numerous. St. Evinus, abbot of Rosmic-Treon, near the Barrow, which was founded by St. Abbanus, wrote the life of St. Patrick, part Latin and part Irish, which work is quoted by Jocelyne the monk *. Colgan published it entire, under the title of *the seventh life of St. Patrick* †. He wrote also the life of St. Coemghil in Latin, in which may be traced the original of priories, and how they became subordinate to abbies; for in it, he tells us, “that after the foundation of Benchoir, by St. Coemhgil, the subjects of his order multiplied so fast, that he found his monastery could not contain them. He was therefore necessitated to build numbers of houses, not only in Ulster, but in most other parts of Ireland ‡.” St. Molua, called the Leaper, a disciple of Coemhgil, and abbot of Cluan-Feart, in Ophaly, wrote *a Rule for his Monks*, in Latin; a copy of which was presented to pope Gregory I. by St. Dagan, about A. C. 596; who publicly declared it a most excellent perform-

* Vita sexta St. Patricii, cap. 186.

† Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 192.

‡ Trias Thaummat. p. 117, 170, &c.

ance, directing the road to heaven, and therefore sent him his prayers and his blessing *. Such the exemplary lives and writings of the Irish of these days! Munu, of the Northern Hi-Neils, the founder of an abbey near Wexford, from him called Teagh-Munu, was an abbot of great erudition, but most zealously attached to the Asiatic time of celebrating Easter. Pope Honorius addressed a letter to the bishops, to the priests, and to the doctors and abbots of Ireland, exhorting them to a conformity with the universal church, in this custom of church-discipline †. A synod of the clergy was held at Legh-Lene, called the White Plain, near the river Barrow, on this occasion. St. Laffrian, appointed legate by pope Honorius, appeared to defend the Roman custom, and which I find, by the annals of this synod, called the *new ordinance*, whilst Munu warmly supported the *old rules*. But after much altercation, the veneration Munu was held in for his sanctity by this assembly, prevented them from coming into any resolutions on this point; so the synod broke up. He wrote the Acts of St. Columba, and a Treatise de Pascale. He died soon after, i. e. A. 634 ‡.

St. Dagan, bishop of Achad-Dagan, was a prelate of great piety, but enthusiastically attached to the *old mode* of celebrating of Easter. He it was, that presented to pope Gregory, St. Molua's "rules for his monks;" and was an active partizan of Munu in the debates at Legh-Lene. So attached to the old discipline was he, that in a visit he made to Lawrence archbishop of Canterbury, and the successor of St. Austin, finding him to adhere to Rome in her time of Easter, he refused, not only to eat at one table, but even in the same house with him §. He wrote, according to Bale, *Ad Britannorum Ecclesias*, lib. i.

* De Britan. Ecclef. Primord. p. 920. † Hist. Ecclef. Brit. lib. ii. cap. 19.

‡ Prim. Ecclef. Brit. p. 934, 937. Hanmer's Chronicle, p. 62.

§ Bede, H. B. lib. ii. cap. 4.

A.C. St. Columbanus, of a noble family in Leinster, after passing part of his youth at the public schools, was committed to the care of the holy Senellus, a man deeply versed in scripture; and so much did he profit by his instructions, that before he arrived at the age of maturity, he wrote "In Psalterium Commentar. lib. i." Under the great St. Coemghil, he embraced the monastic habit, and was highly revered for his piety and learning. From Benchoir, with the permission of his superior, he removed to Burgundy in 589, where, in a sequestered wood, he founded the abbey of Luxieu. In this pilgrimage he was attended by St. Deicol, St. Gall, and ten other holy recluses. He was afterwards joined by many others. The subjects of his house encreasing very fast, he was obliged to erect two others, subject to the first, as it was to Benchoir. Notwithstanding his mortifications, fasting, and humble manner of living, (being supported, as were his brethren, by the labour of his own hands), yet his great sanctity procured him numbers of enemies. He was accused by the bishops of Gaul, of celebrating the feast of Easter contrary to the time fixed on by the universal church. Pope Gregory had a council of bishops assembled on this occasion; and his defence was learned and masterly. In fine, he quitted Gaul, though pressed by Clotaire to remain there; and was most honourably received by the king of the Lombards. In his journey he staid some time in Germany; where, says Capgrave †, he erected monasteries, into which, to this day, none but Irishmen are admitted. At Bobio, near Naples, he founded a noble abbey, which he lived to govern but one year, having quitted this life for a better Nov. 21st. 615. He was author of many pious and learned works, besides the foregoing; as, *Regula Cœnobialis Fratrum*, being daily regulations for the prayers and mortifications of his monks. *Sermones*,

† Hanmer's Chron. p. 57.

five *Instructiones variæ*. *De Pænitentiarum Mensura taxandi*. A.C.
De octo vitiis principalibus. *Contra Arianos*. Some other
 works of piety and morality he also published; but what raised
 against him the most formidable enemies in Gaul, was his book
Adversus Theodoricum Regem Adulterum. His elegy cannot
 be better pronounced, than by noting the many eminent men
 who wrote his life; as, first, Jonas the abbot, his countryman
 and disciple, who undertook it soon after his death, at the pub-
 lic request, at a time when the fame of his piety, learning, and
 miracles were well known and acknowledged. Capgrave, Bale,
 Surius, Baronius, Lippelo, Stainhurst, Fleming, Colgan, &c.
 &c. have been also his biographers. For the disciples of St. Colum-
 banus, and their foundations, see Fleury's Ecclesiastical History,
 vol. VIII. page 266.

St. Murus, lineally descended from Nial the Grand, by his
 son Eugene, and of course of the house of Tirone, or O'Neal,
 flourished in this century. He founded the abbey of Fathen,
 near Derry, which ranked for many centuries as a royal one;
 and was himself the great patron saint of the house of O'Neal.
This abbey, formerly so nobly endowed, was in later times con-
 verted to a parish church, but still retaining his name, as its
 patron. Amongst the many works of this abbey, was preserved
 even to our times the Acts of St. Columba, the apostle of the
 Picts, wrote by our saint*. A most ancient Chronicle of Irish
 Antiquities, highly esteemed, was another work of his. The
 staff of St. Murus, covered with gold, and ornamented with pre-
 cious stones, is said to be still preserved by the family of the
 O'Neals. To swear *Dar an Bhacuil-Mura*, or, *By the Staff of*
St. Mura, was the most sacred oath that could be tendered to

* Act. Sanct. Hib. page 587.

A.C. any of this great sept. His festival is still celebrated at Fathen on the 12th of March.

St. Gall, one of the disciples of Columbanus, and of the same blood, was left behind him in Germany, to superintend his pious foundations there. So highly revered was he for his sanctity, that, though a stranger, when the bishoprick of Constance became vacant, Gonzo, prince of that country, wrote to him, requesting he would attend a synod of the bishops and clergy, assembled for the purpose of filling up that vacancy. St. Gall, attended by two subjects of his house, presented himself to the assembly; who unanimously agreed to confer this great charge on him, whose learning, humility, and piety beamed forth so conspicuously! But nothing could disengage him from his sequestered life; and being then requested to recommend them an holy pastor, he named John, one of his attendants, who was accordingly consecrated bishop of Constance. After this he was called upon by his countrymen in Burgundy, to take on him the superintendence of the abbey of Luxieu, which he also declined. He died A. C. 635. Though he chose for his retreat a narrow cell, in the midst of a wood, and supported himself by the labour of his own hands, yet so great veneration was his memory held in, that people flocked to dwell round a place inhabited by so holy a recluse; it by degrees encreased so, as to become a considerable city. A noble abbey was there founded, and both are called, from their patron, St. Gall. This abbot is a prince of the empire. The life of St. Gall has been wrote by Strabus, Notkerus, &c. He published a *Sermon*, which he preached on the consecration of his disciple John, as bishop of Constance, some Epistles, and a Psalter, called after his name.

Jonas, at the request of many holy monks, and for the edification of posterity, wrote the Life of his master Columbanus; he

he wrote also *Vitam Attalæ Monachi*, lib. I. *Vitam Eustachii Abbatis*, lib. I. & *Vitam Bertolfi Abbatis*; these three were disciples and successors to Columbanus; Attala and Bertolf in the abbey of Bobio, near Naples; and Eustache in that of Luxieu, to whom our Jonas succeeded.

Ultan, bishop of Ardraccan, wrote the Life and Miracles of St. Bridget. This work was published in the beginning of the last century, by Stephen White, a most learned Jesuit and antiquarian, and from this copied by Colgan*; he also wrote a Life of St. Patrick.

Though St. Austin is reputed the patron saint of England, and the converter of the Anglo-Saxons, yet, as Rapin confesses†, the honour of this should by no means be ascribed to him alone; to the monks of Ireland, much more than to St. Austin, should this great work be ascribed. No one is fuller and clearer on this head than the Venerable Bede. Soon after the restoration of Oswald to the kingdom of Northumberland, says Bede, he applied to the peers of Scotland or Ireland for some learned prelate to instruct his people in Christianity‡. Aidan, an Irish monk, of the race of Amhalgadh, king of Conaught, and of the abbey of Huy, was pitched upon for this mission; which, says he, he executed with unremitting zeal and piety. This apostle of Northumberland, after converting that people, and governing their church for about seventeen years, died the 31st of August, 651, on which day his festival is kept. He wrote *Commentaria in Sacras Scripturas*, lib. I. *Homil. & Concion.* lib. I.

On the death of Aidan, Oswin requested from the Irish nation a successor, to govern and direct his bishoprick; and Finan, of the

* Trias Thaumaturg. 527. 542.

† Hist. of England, fol. edit. p. 79.

‡ Hist. Eccles. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 3. 5, &c.

A.C. line of Ir; not his inferior in zeal, piety, and erudition, was consecrated for this mission*. About this time the disputes about Easter were carried to a great height: an Irish priest, who from his zeal for conformity with Rome, was called by his countrymen Romanus, had public conferences with bishop Finan on this head; but though he could make no impression on him (says Bede), yet others were reformed. But this difference did not abate the zeal of Finan. In the city of Admorum† he baptized Penda, king of the Marshes, with the knights and peers that waited on him, and their servants. He sent four monks to preach and convert the rest of this people; and converted and baptized the king of the East Saxons and his subjects. He governed the church of Northumberland ten years, and died A. C. 661. He wrote in defence of the ancient time of celebrating Easter, *Pro Veteri Paschatis Ritu*, lib. I.

St. Fiacre, inspired with the epidemic zeal of his countrymen, retired to France; and in a wood, in the diocese of Meaux, built a monastery, which he dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. He died the 19th of August, 662; and his festival is observed on that day by an office of nine lessons, as may be seen in most of the Breviaries of France‡. He published, says Dempster, *Ad Syram Sororem, de Monasticæ Vitæ Laude*, lib. I. Mons. Bireal, (says Harris) one of the French king's preachers, pronounced the eulogium of St. Fiacre, which is printed amongst the select panegyrics of that celebrated orator§.

St. Furseus, patron of the church of Peronne, in Picardy, is said to have wrote a Prophecy, and some Hymns.

St. Aileran, called An-Teagnaith, or the Wise, was a successor to the great St. Finianus, in the university of Clonard.

* Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 25.

† Ibid. cap. 21, 22.

‡ Hist. d'Irlande, tome i. p. 345.

§ Writers of Ireland, vol. ii. page 34.

He wrote the Life of St. Bridget; which made a subsequent anonymous writer on the same subject introduce his work thus: A.C.

“Scripserunt multi, virtutes virginis Almæ,
“*Ultanus* doctor, atque *Aleranius* ovans*.”

He was also the author of a Life of St. Patrick, published by Colgan entire †, as well as that of the famous St. Fechin of Foure, so inimical to the monarch Daniel; but his most celebrated work was published in 1667, by Th. Sirin, an Irish Franciscan of Louvaine, and the editor of Ward's *Vita Santi Rumoldi*. It was transcribed from a MS. in the abbey of St. Gall, in Switzerland; the title he gave it was *Ailerani Scoto-Hiberni, cognomento Sapientis, Interpretatio Mystica Progenitorum D. Jesu Christi*. He is the patron saint of the O'Flaherties and O'Hallorans, &c. He died, according to the Ulster Annals, A. C. 665, and his festival is celebrated the 11th of August.

St. Cumin, of Connor, wrote (says Colgan, *Act. Sanct. Hib.* p. 5, n. 7.) a Treatise on the singular Virtues of the Saints of Ireland.

Cumian, called the White, of the house of O'Donnell, was abbot of the monastery of Huy. The disputes about the time of celebrating Easter were at this time carried to a great height in Britain and Ireland. The southern Irish had already adopted the Roman time; whilst their northern brethren were inflexibly resolved to adhere to the custom of their ancestors ‡. Cumian retired from the world for an entire year, to read and consider (as he himself observes) whatever had been advanced on this subject by Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks, and Latins. A synod he says was called at Lene; and pious divines were sent to

* Prim. Eccl. Brit. p. 1067.

† Vita quarta Patricii.

‡ Hist. Eccles. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 3.

A.C. Rome, to see if what report said was true; i. e. that all other Christians but those of Britain, Ireland, and Albany, celebrated Easter at the same time. On their return, after an absence of three years, they confirmed this account, with this addition, that in celebrating this festival, the Irish differed from them an entire month. But the monks of his house highly resented this defection of Cumian from the usage of his ancestors, and treated him as an heretic *.

St. Colman succeeded Finian in the government of the church of Northumberland. In the synod called there A. 664, to determine this famous Easter contest, and in his relation of which Bede is so particular, Colman defended the ancient custom; but the plurality of voices being against him, rather than submit, he threw up his bishoprick, and retired to Ireland; here he wrote *Pro Sociis Quartodecimanis*, lib. I.

Three brothers, the one a bishop, the second a lawyer, and the third an antiquarian, formed from the different laws a number of decisions, which were so highly revered, as to get the title of *Bratha-Neamhadh*, or Heavenly Judgments.

Cionfaola, of the house of Ir, was a celebrated antiquarian; he wrote the *Voyages of the Gadelians*, from their first Departure from Phœnicia, to their landing in Ireland, and some other pieces of antiquities, yet preserved.

St. Maildolph, from whom Malmſbury took its name, wrote *De Paschæ Observat.* lib. I. *Regulas Artium divers.* lib. I. *De Disciplin. Natur.*

* Usher Syllog. Epist. Hib. Ep. xi. Harris's Writers of Ireland, page 37.

C H A P. IV.

Continuation of the ecclesiastical history and state of learning in Ireland—Mezeray's testimony of the great improvements made in the manners of the people, and the cultivation of the lands in Gaul, by the Irish missionaries—saints of Ireland ranked in three classes—enumeration of Irish saints—affinity of the Celtic and Irish languages instanced in an ancient copy of the Pater-Noster in those tongues.

EARLY in this century Dromore was erected into a bishoprick by St. Colman, but not he of Lindisfarren. Some time after Raphoe was raised to a see, and St. Eunanus was its first bishop. St. Lasarian, who had so notably exerted himself in the famous synod of Legh-Lene, about the Easter controversy, was consecrated its first bishop. St. Carthagh, of the line of Ir, and house of O'Connor Kerry, being expelled his abbey of Ratheny, in Meath, as already related, returned to Munster with his monks, and found a generous protector in the prince of the Deasies (the ancestor of the O'Felans), who assigned him the city of Lismore, and a track of land, to support his monastery. Here he erected an university, whose fame and glory extended to distant regions, and soon filled it with learned men, from different parts of Europe. In consequence of this, it was some time after dignified with the title of an episcopal see, and St. Carthagh was its first bishop. By St. Fachanus was Kilfenoragh

A.C. ragh erected into a bishoprick, and he was its first pastor and patron. Another Fachanus founded the bishoprick of Ros; of whose family were no less than twenty-seven succeeding bishops, according to the Leabhar-Lecan.

The abbies, and other pious and munificent foundations of this age, seem to have exceeded the former ones. They are too numerous to be recited particularly in a work like this: one particular however is worthy recording, namely, that as Ireland was now the only country in Europe in which arts and sciences blazed in their full lustre, it became not only the common asylum of learned men from all parts, but such as chose to excel in letters flocked here from distant countries, to become the pupils of our regents and doctors—

“ Exemplo patrum, commotus amore legendi,

“ Ivit ad Hibernos, sophiâ mirabili claros!

It was not enough that Ireland became so renowned for the piety and erudition of her sons amongst the neighbouring states, as by common consent and pre-eminence to obtain the glorious title of *Insula Sanctorum & Doctorum*, but her princes and great men founded the numerous universities of the kingdom on so generous and extensive plans, that not only the foreign students were found in cloaths, diet, and lodgings, but *even with books (then so scarce an article) gratis!* Bede*, amongst the ancient Saxons, and Camden†, Spencer‡, Hanmer¶, Llhuidd§, Rowland||, &c. all of later times, agree that here the Saxons flocked in shoals to be instructed in religion and letters.

How much foreigners from other parts of Europe availed themselves of this unexampled liberality of the Irish nation,

* Bede Hist. Eccles. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 27.

† Britannia.

‡ Dialogues.

¶ Chronicle.

§ Archæologia.

|| Mona Antiqua.

without producing farther authorities, may be collected from A.C. the following lines on the university of Lismore, taken from the first book of the Cataldiad, or Life of St. Cataldus, bishop of Tarentum in Italy, of Irish birth*, wrote by Bonaventura Moronus, a Tarentine born.

“ Undique convenient proceres; quos dulce trahebat

“ Discendi studium, major num cognita virtus,

“ An laudata foret. Celeres vastissima Rheni

“ Jam vada Teutonici, jam deseruere Sicambri:

“ Mittit ab extremo gelidos Aquilone Boëmos,

“ Albis & Averni coëunt, Batavique frequentes,

“ Et quicunque colunt altâ sub rupe Gebenas.

“ Non omnes prospectat Arar, Rhodanique fluenta

“ Helvetios: multos desiderat ultima Thule.

“ Certatim hi properant, diverso tramite ad urbem

“ *Lismoriam*, juvenis primos ubi transigit annos.”

Nay, so universally known was the fame of our universities in those days, that when a man of learning in Britain, or on the continent, was missing, the common adage was—*Amandatus est ad disciplinam in Hiberniâ!*

But this munificent liberality was not confined to students; the pious and austere Christians of other nations, who repaired to Ireland for their improvement in divinity and ascetic exercises, experienced the same generous reception, not only from different parts of Britain, Gaul, Germany, and Italy, but even from Greece and Ægypt, did holy monks repair to us, where they lived in learned ease, and died honoured and revered. The

* Uffer. Primord. p. 755, &c.

A.C. reader will form some idea of their number and consequence, from an abstract I have already given from a litany of the holy Aongus, a writer of the ninth century, who, on account of his employment of classing and writing the lives of the Irish saints, was called Hagiographus *. Nay, so much superior to their neighbours did the Irish then deem themselves, that in the Life of St. Chilian, the apostle of Franconia, we are told St. Fiacre, on meeting him in Gaul, thus addressed him: “ Quid
“ te, charissime frater, ad has barbaras gentes deduxit ? ”

Not content with this, numbers of our saints, of the purest blood, and most exalted sentiments, became voluntary pilgrims, and, like the Jesuits in later days, devoted their lives to the reforming and converting different nations. They sought not for gold or silver, honour or command ; all these they had early at home sacrificed to the service of God. Their cells they built in woods and sequestered places, and lived by the labour of their own hands only. From these they entered the cities and great towns, preaching, and converting the people as much by their examples as precepts. The historiographer Mezeray mentions with astonishment the numbers of Irish, who, from thence and from Britain, entered Gaul, to instruct and convert that people. Amongst these were Colombanus, Eustachius, Gall, Mansuetus, Furseus, Fridolinus, Fiacre, &c. &c. He highly extols their piety and learning, and proclaims the new face the country took by the *very labour* of their hands. Hear his own words : “ It
“ must be acknowledged that these crowds of holy men were
“ highly useful to France, considered merely in a temporal
“ light. For the long incursions of the barbarians having quite
“ desolated the country, it was still in many places covered
“ with woods and thickets, and the low grounds with marshes.

* Introduction to Irish History, p. 175.

† Vita St. Rumoldi, p. 270.

“ These

“ these pious religious, who devoted themselves to the service of A.C.
 “ God, not to a life of indolence; laboured with their own hands,
 “ to grub up, to reclaim, to till, to plant, and to build—not so much
 “ for themselves, who lived with great frugality, but to feed and
 “ cherish the poor; insomuch, that uncultivated and frightful
 “ deserts soon became agreeable and fruitful dwellings. The hea-
 “ vens seemed to favour the soil, reclaimed and cultivated by hands
 “ so pure and disinterested. I shall say nothing of their *having pre-
 “ served almost all that remains of the history of those times* †!” What
 a picture of real piety! The frightful wastes of Italy and Ger-
 many were alike reclaimed, and the people instructed in religion,
 frugality, and industry! Amongst the Irish apostles of Italy,
 were Cataldus, Donatus, Columbanus, Frigidianus, &c. and in
 Germany, were St. Gall, Fridolinus, Deicola, Kilian, Fintan,
 Albertus, Rupertus, &c. in Armoric Brittany, Geldasius, Bri-
 ochus, &c. Folianus was martyred in Flanders, where a monastery
 was built and dedicated to his name. Fridegond, converted the
 people of Antwerp, where, to this day, his memory is greatly re-
 vered. Authbert, bishop of Cambray, converted Hannonia, and
 is styled the apostle of Flanders. Rumoldus, archbishop of Dub-
 lin, is the patron of Mechlin. Columba is the apostle of Scot-
 land; and it needs not to be recapitulated, how much South Bri-
 tain was indebted to us for religion, for arts, and for letters.

† The flourishing state of the Irish church may be collected from
 the very old litanies, yet preserved *. Their saints were divided
 into three distinct classes: the first were called the Most Holy:
 this comprehended St. Patrick, and 350 bishops of his ordination.
 In the second class, or the More Holy, were 300 priests and
 holy doctors of the church, but very few bishops. The third,
 or Holy Order, was composed chiefly of holy monks and ancho-

† Histoire de la France, tom. i. p. 117.

* Vita St. Rumold. p. 204, &c.

A.C. rites. These built their cells in woods and desert places, living on an antideluvian diet, and making it a part of their vows, to reclaim and cultivate these deserts, not for their own, but the emolument of the poor †. From this it is, that we are indebted for so many commons adjacent to old abbies and monasteries; for the ground, originally waste and barren, was claimed by no one; and when the successors to these abbies, began to relax from the severity of their first institution, they gave up the reclaimed land for the use of the poor of the place. Thus the reader will perceive what unexampled piety pervaded the different orders in the Irish hierarchy! So amazingly great were the numbers of our saints, that, in the islands of Ara, for instance, their conflux was so rapid, that in the old litanies, after invoking the the principals of them, it concludes with—"and all the other " saints *here* deceased, whose numbers are so great, as to be known " to the living God only." Succeeding writers were obliged to class these saints according to their names. There were four Colgas, ten of the name of Gobhan, twelve Dichulls, twelve Maidocs, twelve Adrands, thirteen Camans, thirteen Dimins, fourteen Brendens, fourteen Finians, fourteen Ronans, fifteen Conalls, fifteen Dermods, fifteen Lugads, sixteen Lassaræ, seventeen Serrani, eighteen Ernini, eighteen Folbei, eighteen Cominci, nineteen Foilani, nineteen Sullani, twenty Kierani, twenty Ultani, twenty-two Cilliani, twenty-three Aidi, twenty-four Columbæ, twenty-four Brigidæ, twenty-five Senani, twenty-eight Aidani, thirty Cronani, thirty-seven Moluani, forty-three Laffreani, thirty-four Mochumii, fifty-eight Mochuani, fifty-five Fintani, sixty Cormocs, and two hundred Colmani.

We must suppose, that in a country, which was for some ages the center of arts and sciences, to which not only the youth

† Primord. Eccles. Brit. p. 513, &c.

from neighbouring, as well as distant nations, resorted for instruction, but the more enlightened, for edification; whose sons, not contented with affording an asylum to these strangers at home, generously braved the dangers of winds and waves, and more merciless barbarians, to spread religion and letters far and wide—we must, I say, suppose that their language also became pretty universal. Should we doubt this, there are proofs that it did. For the Venerable Bede tells us *, that when our bishop Aidan, was sent to convert the Northumbrians, being ignorant of the Saxon tongue, he preached and instructed in the Irish language, which king Oswin explained to the people. Numbers of monks were in his retinue, who, we must suppose, used no other tongue; nay, there is more than presumption for advancing, that thirty years after, his successors in Britain made use of the same language; for in the famous synod assembled to determine the true time of holding the Easter festival, and which was composed of different nations, we read that bishop Ceadda, was appointed interpreter between the Irish bishop Colman, his clergy, and these people †. From these acknowledged facts in Britain, we may infer, that they were often, on the continent, obliged to look out for faithful interpreters between them and the people. This being the case, the prayers and christian doctrine in the Irish, in all probability, became pretty universal on the continent; and this will at once explain the Celtic Pater-noster, and be a farther additional proof of the truth of our records at this period.

The learned Dr. Raymond, about the beginning of the present century, a fellow of the university of Dublin, was profoundly skilled in the antiquities of his country. Llhuid ‡ had, before

* Hist. Eccles. Brit. lib. ii. cap. 3.

† Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 23.

‡ Archæologia.

A.C. him, demonstrated that the Irish language was the true glossary to the obscure words and names in the Celtic, as handed down to us by Pezron, Menage, &c. and the doctor luckily met with *a very ancient Celtic Pater-noster*, which he found to be pure Irish, and which he judged to be the highest proof of our early acquaintance with letters §. This prayer has been republished by Mr. O'Connor ||, Dr. Warner ¶, and Lord Lyttelton *; and it is offered as a proof of a general Celtic language.

Nothing appears to me more repugnant to both reason and history than the general received opinion of an universal tongue. Moses, one of the earliest historians in the world, is as full on this point as possible. Cæsar tells us †, that in his days, there were three different languages spoke in Gaul; and Bede affirms, that the languages of Britain, in his time, were the British, Saxon, Irish, and Pictish. To this let me add, that even admitting an early and universal Celtic, yet how far does the prayer in question, being found to be pure Irish, prove this? The Irish are, beyond controversy, a Scythian, not a Celtic colony; the descendants of Magog, not of Gomer. Their languages therefore were *immediately* after the general dispersion of mankind different. The remarks of Llhuid, and the prayer in question, prove evidently what history has advanced, and no more; namely, that the early Irish often instructed, both in Britain, Gaul, and Germany, in their native tongue; and that numbers, particularly amongst the literati, preserved these prayers, and handed them down to their successors. This is the evident induction from the premises; and it is remarkable enough, that in all the ravages and revolutions of subsequent times, so singular a piece of

§ Introduction to the History of Ireland.

|| Dissertations on Irish History.

¶ Hist. of Ireland, vol. i.

* Life of Henry II.

† De Bello Gallic. lib. i. cap. i.

antiquity, and so honourable a testimony of the truth of Irish history, should be preserved to this day! Here follows this ancient prayer, and the same in Irish. A.C.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

The supposed CELTIC or Continental one. I R I S H.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Our narme ata ar neamb ? | 1. Ar' nathoir ata ar' neamh, |
| 2. Beanie a tanim. | 2. Beannathair a thainim (or naomh thar hainim) |
| 3. Go diga do riogda. | 3. Tigiodh do rioghacht. |
| 4. Go denta da hoil air talm, in marte ar' neamb ? | 4. Deantar do hoil air an talamh, mar do nither air neamh : |
| 5. Tabuar deim a niugh ar naran limb' ali. | 5. Ar n'naran laetheamhuil, tabhar dhuim aniudh. |
| 6. Agus mai duine ar fiach amhail pear marmhid ar fiacha. | 6. Agus maith dhuinar bhfiacha, mar maithmid-ne dar' feitheamh-nuibh fein. |
| 7. Na leig sin amb'aribh ach saor fa shin on ole. | 7. Agus 'na leig inn a geathughadh act saor inn o ole. |
| 8. Or fletsa rioghta, comtha, agus gloir go sibhri—Amen. | 8. Oir is leat-fein a rioghacht, agus an chumhacht, agus an gloir go siorruidhe—Amen. |

C H A P. V.

Conghal, son of Fergus elected monarch of Ireland—succeeded by Fearghal—who attempts to exact tribute from the Lagenians; and is slain in the battle of Almuin—Fogartach raised to the monarchy—succeeded by Cionaoth—Flabhertach; who resigns the throne, and retires to a monastery—succeeded by Aodh-Ollan—a synod at Tirdaglas—battle of Athseanuigh.

706 **C**ONGHAL, the son of Fergus, of the race of Conall-Gulban, and line of Heremon, was proclaimed monarch. He is represented by Lynch * as a warlike prince, and at the same time a cruel one. Keating tells us, that he was a great persecutor of the clergy; however, it is pretty remarkable, that the Reimriogra of Giolla Moduda, proclaims him a most beneficent prince, in whose administration there was neither battle or contest, and that he died in peace, after a reign of seven years. This last writer died about A. C. 1148.

713 Fearghal, the son of Maolduin, son to Maolfithrich, son to Aodh-Uariodhnach, of the Heremonians, succeeded to the crown. In the beginning of his reign. the Welsh and Picts in conjunction, invaded the northern parts of Ireland, committing great outrages; the Ultonians, however, soon collected a good body of troops, and fought for, and overtook the enemy: a most bloody engagement ensued, in which for some hours its success seemed uncertain; at length these aliens gave way, after the loss of almost

the whole of their army. This, by our writers, is called the battle of Cloch-Mionuire. A.C.

From this period to the battle of Almuin, we meet with nothing interesting. Fionachta, in the last century, by the exhortations of St. Moling, had exempted the Lagenians from the payment of any farther tribute. The present prince was, however, resolved to enforce it; for which purpose at, the head of 21,000 chosen troops, he invaded Leinster. Murrough, king of Leinster, assembled what troops the suddenness of the notice could afford him. They amounted to no more than 9000 strong. With these he engaged the imperialists at Almuin, and gained a complete victory, notwithstanding the great disproportion of troops. Our writers attribute this great success to the execrations of an hermit, who had been ill treated by some of Fearghal's people, and to their plundering the church of Cillin of its plate. It is certain, that the invaders were seized with an unusual panic, at the very first onset; which I am readier to attribute to the exhortations of this hermit, in upbraiding Fearghal and his people, for wantonly breaking through the solemn engagement made by Fionachta, for himself, and for his successors, no more to invade Leinster on this score. In this battle, besides many thousand men, there fell the monarch himself, with 160 select knights.

Fogartach, descended from Aodh-Slaine, was the next monarch; but who fell in the battle of Beilge, by the sword of his successor. 723

Cionaoth, the son of Jorgalaigh, of the same house, ascended the throne. A formidable competitor soon arose: the armies met at Drum-Curan; in this battle the troops of Cionaoth received a complete overthrow, and he himself was amongst the slain. 724

Flabhertach, the son of Loingseach, of the house of Aodh-Ainmheric, became monarch. Aodh-Roin, king of Ulster, oppressed

greatly

- A.C. greatly the clergy of that province. Some of his followers had
 727 taken consecrated vessels out of many of the churches; and Congus, primate of Ireland, and confessor to Aodh-Ollan, stimulated this prince, by a poem he addressed to him, to avenge the cause of the church. He accordingly invaded Ulster. The armies met at Muirtheimhne, in the county of Lowth, and Aodh-Roin's troops were defeated, and himself slain. After a reign of seven years, Flabhertach resigned the throne, and retired to Ard-mach, devoting the remainder of his life to the service of God. He died A. C. 760, in great reputation for sanctity.
- 734 Aodh-Ollan, son to the monarch Fearghal, was called to the throne. He was remarkably attached to the church and clergy. The dues, called in other parts of Europe St. Peter's pence, were *here* paid to the see of Armach annually. These payments had not of late years been so regular as before. A synod of
 736 the clergy was called together at Tirdaglas, in Ormond, at which the monarch presided. It was also honoured by the presence of Cathal, king of Munster, and many other princes; and a decree passed for the more regular collection of this tribute for the future.
- 738 Soon after, a fierce war broke out between the Mamonians and the king of Leinster; (but we find no mention made of the cause.) A bloody battle was the consequence, which by mutual consent was fought at Ballach-Feile, in Ossory, in which the king of Munster was victor. The monarch some time after declared war against the Lagenians, and entered that province with a well appointed army. Aodh Mac Colgan opposed him with his pro-
 741 vincials. A battle was fought, great intrepidity displayed, and very much blood spilt. The Lagenians were at length obliged to give way, with the loss of their king, the choicest of their knights and nobility, and 9000 of their best troops! Nor was the slaughter amongst the victors, much less. Amongst those of greatest note, were Aodh, the son of Mortough, general to the monarch;
 and

and this last also was dangerously wounded. This bloody engagement is called the battle of Athseanuigh. Soon after this, his successor began to form a dangerous league against the reigning monarch. He appeared at length at the head of a powerful army, and publicly announced his pretensions to the throne. By mutual agreement a battle was fought near Kells, in Meath, in which the imperialists were defeated, and Aodh was numbered amongst the slain. Pity it is, that we are furnished with no other particulars of this reign, because we have reason to think it was a very interesting period; as all our annalists begin a new æra from his death. 743 A.C.

Daniel III. the son of Murtough, the eleventh in descent from Niall the Grand, ascended the throne. In his reign the Piets invaded Leinster, but were defeated by these last, in the battle of Rath-Beothach, in which engagement, amongst other persons of note Cathasach, their general, the son of Oiliolle, king of the Piets, was slain. The Mamonians some time after declared war against the Lagenians. A battle attended with unusual carnage was fought, at a place called Tabur-fionn, or the White Spring, but which it is said, with the road and lake adjoining, were coloured with the blood of the slain. Hence this memorable fight has been called Cath-Beallach-Cro, or the battle of the Bloody Path. The monarch seems to have been a tame and inactive spectator of these bloody scenes; and given up to a religious turn, attended more to litanies and processions than to feats of arms. After a rule of twenty years, he made a pilgrimage to the abbey of Huy, where he ended his days, with great piety and resignation.

Niall II. son to the monarch Fearghal, was elected emperor. 763 He was called Frassach, or of the Showers; because it is said, that in his reign there were three preternatural falls from the sky; one seemingly of blood, at Magh-Laighion; another of honey,

A.C. at Fothan-beg ; and the third of silver, at Fothan-more. As these are noted in the Book of Reigns, and in the annals of Tigernach, a writer of the eleventh century, I thought it my duty to mention them, leaving to the reader's judgment the degree of credit he thinks they merit. Certain it is, that Mac Curtin *, who is not above forty years dead, declares, that bits of fine silver called twelve-grain pennys, were then in being, and supposed to be part of this money—but, *Credat qui vult.*

770 Very many uncommon phenomena seemed to predict the approaching miseries of Ireland. In the reign of Aodh-Slaine, the appearance of fleets and armies were seen in the skies ; in those of his successor, a monstrous serpent seemed to float in the air. The fall of blood in the present times seemed to announce their nearer approach. This was followed by dreadful earthquakes in different parts of the kingdom ; and to these succeeded so severe a famine, as to carry off numbers of the inhabitants. The good monarch shocked at such accumulated miseries, resigned the crown, and retired to the abbey of Huy ; where, after eight years spent in remarkable piety and austerity, he resigned this life for a better, and was interred there, in the same vault with his predecessor. The covering stone of this vault is yet preserved, with the following inscription on it—“ *Tumulus regum Hiberniæ.*”

797 On the resignation of Niall, the estates proceeded to a new election, when Donochad, the son of the monarch Daniel, was called to the crown. Notwithstanding that he reigned twenty-seven years ; yet, during this uncommonly long period, we are furnished with no remarkable events whatever. Bruodinus notes, that in his administration died St. Sedulius, bishop of Dublin, St. Colchus, called the Wise, and others ; and all our annalists are in unison, as to his exemplary piety and justice.

* History of Ireland, p. 170.

The learned Dr. Warner on this occasion, deploras the great destruction of our annals; and his induction from it is sensible and judicious. “ In so long a reign (the present one) says he, “ it is impossible but that many things must have occurred both “ in church and state, that were worthy of a place in the history “ of these times. The want of these materials is itself a convincing proof, that we have little more than annals and registers, “ of the succession and genealogies of their kings, extracted from “ the histories that were deposited in their archives; and that “ these valuable originals, were destroyed at different times, in “ the rage of plunder by their enemies. At the same time, it “ must be observed, that this is so far from being an objection to “ the genuineness of what remains, that it rather demonstrates how “ scrupulous succeeding historians were of adding a syllable of “ their own, where so much room was left for invention and im- “ position.”

In the reign of this prince, and year 790, the North British writers affirm, that the *solemn and indissoluble alliance* between France and their kings commenced. Mezeray mentions this alliance *, but as a fact asserted by these people *only*. He says, that Charlemagne, sent 4000 men to their assistance, and that in return, they sent Claude Clement and Alcuin to France, who opened public schools there, which were the origin of the university of Paris. This relation is taken originally from Boëtius, whose veracity as an historian, has long since been thus sung, by the celebrated antiquary Leland †.

“ *Hæstoris* historici, tot quot mendacia scripsit,
 “ Si vis ut numerem, lector amice tibi:
 “ Me jubeas etiam *fluëlus numerare marinos*,
 “ *Et liquidi stellas enumerare poli!*”

* Histoire de France, tome i. p. 161.

† Histor. Scot. lib. x.

A.C.

Hector says, that Achaius, king of the Scots, on this occasion sent his brother William as his ambassador to France, in whose retinue were Clement, John, Raban, and Alcuin; that the two last returned home, the others remaining in France. Not to advert to what has been long since DEMONSTRATED by Usher, Routh, Ward, and others, i. e. *that North Britain was not called Scotland for three centuries after the period in question*; that is, till the Dal-Riada, or Irish colony in the Highlands, had totally subverted the Pictish government, and firmly established their dominion over all North Britain; and, of course, being at this time but a small body of people, pent up in the narrow precincts of Argyle, they could be but little known as a distinct people inhabiting Britain. Not to advert to all this, I say, the very tale carries its own refutation. For, first, the name of William was not used either in Ireland, or amongst their colonists in Britain, for some centuries after the period in question; therefore, as O'Flaherty observes, *William was an Eutopian prince*. Alcuinus was a British Saxon, invited to France by Charlemagne, (who met him at Pavia in 780) and there residing before the year 788*; but so far from returning to Scotland, it appears that he died at Tours, A. 804. Raban was a German, abbot of Fulda, and archbishop of Mentz, who never quitted the continent, and died A. 856; and Clement and John were Scots of Ireland, the only country then, and for above three centuries after, known by that name.

The fame of Charlemagne indeed, extended to distant climes, says his secretary and biographer, Eginhard †. “Alfonfus, king of Galicia, addressed letters to him, in which he desired to be numbered amongst his vassals. The kings of Scotland or Ireland tasted so much of his munificence, as to call themselves

* Usher Syllog. Epist. Hibern. p. 61.

† Vita Car. Magni.

“his

“ his vassals. There yet remain their letters (says he) to this A.C.
 “ effect. The Saracens of Spain and Africa, courted his alliance.
 “ Aaron, king of Persia, the haughtiest prince on earth, sent a
 “ a most superb embassy to him.” Now, as Irishmen had a
 principal hand in converting the French nation; and that our
 famous Virgilius, was in great favour with Pepin, father to
 Charlemagne, it is highly probable, that in these mutual and
 friendly communications, the Irish princes might, at his request,
 send learned men to form schools there on the plan of ours, as
 in effect we shall shew they did.

C H A P. VI.

*Account of eminent men, and their works—Adamnanus, abbot of
 Huy, attempts a reform in the discipline of the church of Ire-
 land—Virgil arrives in France, on his way to the Holy-land;
 is caressed by Pepin, and becomes his confessor—has a dispute with
 the bishop of Mentz; and the pope, on an appeal, decides in fa-
 vour of Virgil.*

ADAMNANUS, of the race of Conor-Gulban, and house
 of O'Donnell, a person of uncommon virtue, learning,
 and piety, was elected abbot of Huy, A. 679. He was sent
 twice ambassador to Britain, as he himself declares *; in 684, to
 demand satisfaction for the invasion of Ireland, and restitution
 for the outrages then committed; in 687, he went a second time.
 The cause of this second embassy is not known. Bede tells us
 simply †, that this abbot of Huy, was sent ambassador by the
 princes of Ireland to king Alfred; where remaining for a time,

* Vita St. Columbæ, lib. ii. cap. 46.

† Hist. Eccles. Brit. lib. v. cap. 16. 22.

A.C. and being strongly admonished by persons of great piety and learning, particularly the abbot Caelfridus, to adhere to the customs of the universal church, in opposition to those of his ancestors, he adopted this mode, and, on his return to Huy, laboured to convince his monks of their error, but in vain. From thence he sailed to Ulster, and reclaimed this people in these points of church discipline; for the southern parts had long before this conformed to the practice of the universal church. His success at home, made him return back to his monastery, but he could not prevail upon his subjects to alter their ancient mode. He died according to the Four Masters, September 23d, 703, in his seventy-seventh year.

He wrote the life of St. Columba in three books, published entire by Colgan*. Also, the Life of St. Bathild, the wife of Clovis II. She was an English Saxon, of great beauty, surprised very young by pirates, and sold as a slave in France. She was at length married to Clovis; and during her widowhood governed with great prudence. She invited numbers of holy monks (particularly from Ireland) to her court, and died in a convent about 684. This work it is said is yet extant, in the Benedictine convent of the city of Metz, in Lorrain. He published likewise a description of the Holy Land, which he dedicated to king Alfred, by whose bounty says Bede, many copies of it were made out, and given to different people. Besides these, some Epistles, and a book de Paschate legitimo, said to be wrote after his conformation, are attributed to him.

Colman, called the Scribe of Armagh, wrote the Life of St. Patrick. St. Coman, bishop of Roscommon, wrote a *Rule for Monks*. He died in 746, say the Annals of Ulster; and we find his rules soon after adopted by most of the monks in Conaught.

* Vita quarta St. Columbæ.

Albuin, called apostle of Thuringia, it is said, wrote a work A.C.
for the use of this people.

Ciaran, abbot of Bealag duin, Ermedach, bishop of Clogher, and Collait, a priest of Druim-Roilgeach, according to Usher, were different writers of the Life of St. Patrick.

Virgil, animated with a desire of visiting the Holy Land, and seeing these places described by his relation Adamnanus, quitted his native country (Ireland), accompanied by seven bishops. The abject state of Christianity in Gaul, and the great reformati-
+
ons there necessary, determined him to remain amongst them for a time. He was in the highest confidence with Pepin (and for some time his confessor), then *nominally*, but *Maire of the palace*; so that it was in the reign of Childeric, he arrived in France, as I find, from the earliest accounts of him *. He remained two years at the court of Pepin, when he sent him on the mission to Bavaria. Here, with unremitting zeal, he laboured for the conversion of souls; and Boniface, bishop of Mentz, intending to re-
+
baptize such as had received this sacrament by the hands of an ignorant priest, who had pronounced the formula in bad Latin, he opposed, being supported by Sidonius, the archbishop: he insisted, that the sacrament of baptism was conferred by virtue of the ministry more than by the words, provided the priest was properly ordained, and that he administered it in the name of the Trinity. An appeal was made to pope Zachary, who determined it in favour of Virgil. He addressed on this occasion, "*An Epistle to Zachary, the Roman Pontiff.*" This decision happened in the year 747.

This triumph of Virgil was highly resented by Boniface, who was greatly in favour with this pope. He complained to him,

* Vita St. Rumoldi passim, Fleury Hist. Eccles. tom. ix. p. 306, 7, 8, 9.

A.C. that Virgil boasted that he was to be nominated to the first of the four sees that fell in Bavaria; and he charged him with doctrines repugnant to Christianity; particularly *in publishing*, “*that there was another world, another sun and moon; that this world was spherical, instead of being flat, and that we had our antipodes.*” The pope in his answer directs, that, if these facts be proved before a council, Virgil is to be degraded. He also observes, that he had wrote to the duke of Bavaria, to send him to Rome to be examined by himself; and that he wrote to Virgil himself on this head. It appears however, that he was neither degraded or sent to Rome; but that he was made first rector of St. Stephen’s abbey, and afterwards bishop of Saltzburg; and Zachary was himself suspected of favouring Virgil’s opinion as to the plurality of worlds. In 751, Pepin was elected, and afterwards consecrated with holy oil, king of France; and as this is the first instance of the use of the unction in France, according to the mode of the kings of Israel, I strongly suspect that Virgil, who was a great divine, and a prelate of universal erudition, first suggested this thought, to take off the odium of usurpation, and make the title of king in his family be more revered. The reader has already seen the reasons I have offered, for its early introduction into Ireland; and if he will recollect them, he will be able to judge with more precision, of the reasonableness of the present supposition.

St. Colga wrote *Oratio Colga Sancti*, which father Colgan possessed; and tells us, it is a small collection of the most ardent prayers, in the manner of litanies.

Aongus, the famous hagiographer, of the royal line of Ir, flourished in this century. An account of his life and writings may be seen in the *Acta Sanct. Hib.* p. 579, &c.

Dicuil,

Dicuil, is said by Harris * to have wrote a Treatise of the Survey of the Provinces of the Earth, according to the authority of the persons commissioned by Theodosius the emperor to measure the same ; and that this treatise is yet extant in MS. A.C.

C H A P. VII.

Account of eminent men continued—Pepin, king of France obtains missionaries from Ireland, to convert the Frieslanders to Christianity—the revival of literature in Europe more probably to be ascribed to the Irish, than the Arabians—the first universities of Europe established by Irishmen ; and the form of passing the degree of doctor, derived from the Irish—of knighthood, and the estimation it was held in by the Irish—enquiry into the origin of the feudal law and customs—allodial tenure—knights service—titles of honour, duke, earl, and baron, of Irish origin.

THE Venerable Bede confesses †, that at the request of Oswald, St. Aidan, with other priests, were sent from Ireland to the conversion of his people. Oswald himself, with his brothers fled thither, in the reign of the monarch Daniel, at whose court they were educated, and converted to Christianity ; and to him after his restoration, A. C. 634, did Oswald apply for missionaries, for the conversion and instruction of his people. In like manner I suppose Pepin, Maire of the palace, the grandfather of Pepin, the first king of France of the Carlovingian race, and who was zealous in the cause of Christianity—as indeed were his successors—applied to the monarch Fionachta A. C. 690, for missionaries to convert the people of Friseland, whose

* Writers of Ireland, p. 55.

† Hist. Eccles. Brit. lib. iii. cap. 3.

A.C. country he had just reduced. But be this as it may, certain it is, that Ecbert, an holy Saxon priest, then residing in Ireland, prepared, with many others, for this mission from hence; but obstacles arising, he sent to Willibrord, his countryman, educated and living in Ireland, with twelve disciples, to the conversion of these people *. They waited says he on Pepin, who graciously received them, and directed every favour and protection to be shewn them. That all these were educated, and resided for many years in Ireland, Bede, their contemporary, declares; from whence they sailed directly for Gaul. The famous Alcuin, his countryman, and preceptor to Charlemagne †, confesses all this; and even begins his second book thus.

“ Venerat de OCCIDUIS quidam, de FINIBUS ORBIS

“ Vir, virtute potens, divino plenus amore;

“ Ore sagax, et mente vigil, et fervidus actu.

“ Ad te, temporibus *Peppini*, Francia fœlix,

“ Quem tibi jam genuit fœcunda Britannia mater,

“ Doctaque nutrit studiis, sed *Hibernia sacris*,

“ Nomine Willibrordus.”——

Should it be asked why these were pitched upon by the Irish monarch for this mission? Bede will inform you, that it was, because they were themselves of the Saxon race, and very probably understood the language. To this let me add, that at an earlier date, (i. e. A. C. 653), Grimoald, Maire of the palace, sent Dagobert, son to Sigebert III. to Ireland, in order to become a religious, where he remained for twenty years ‡.

* Hist. Eccles. Brit. lib. v. cap. 10, 11.

† In Vita ejus.

‡ Mezeray Hist. de France, tom. i. p. 96. Fleury's Hist. Eccles.

I suppose that king Pepin in like manner applied to the monarch A.C. Daniel III. for a new recruit of missionaries to farther the same good end; who sent the famous Virgil, and his associates. We have already seen Eginhard acknowledge the friendly intercourses between our princes and Charlemagne: and at his request it was, that Claude Clement, and John Scot, surnamed Albin, repaired to Paris. Their is an epistle of Alcuin to Colga or Colcuu, regent of the school of Clonard, which Usher transcribed from the Cotton library *. It is thus addressed: “ *Benedicto magistro & pio patre Colcuo.*” From this epistle, it would appear, that Alcuin was a pupil of Colcuo; that he kept up a correspondence with him, and acquainted him from time to time of the most material transactions of the French church and state. This letter was accompanied with presents of money from Charlemagne, and from Alcuin himself, to be distributed in some convents in Ireland, to pray for the success of this prince.

As this letter was wrote before the year 790, and that it is evident from it, that other letters had passed between them of an earlier date, we may presume that Clement and Albin, the founders of the universities of Paris and Pavia, visited France at the request of Charlemagne, *for this particular purpose*, not that they came unsent-for, as has been generally imagined. This will naturally account for the honourable reception he gave them, and for his immediately assigning to them, the different cities in which these great schools were to be founded.

When the reader recollects the flourishing state of arts and sciences amongst us, for some centuries preceding the present æra; when he considers from the Pater-noster already exhibited, that our language became a kind of *universal one* among the literati of the continent, and now beholds universities founded by Irish-

* Sylloge Epist. Veter. Hibern.

A.C. mén, under the patronage of Charlemagne himself; will he any longer attribute to the Arabians, the revival of letters in Europe? These people were, from religious and political principles, the avowed enemies of Christendom, and fought by the sword to extend their power, and establish their religion, not to plant the seeds of piety, peace, and learning. Besides, the facts we have asserted, are admitted by all the early writers; and to add still greater force this, has not Mezeray ‡, and the best informed French antiquaries acknowledged, that to our monks they are indebted for what remains of their early history? Are there any such testimonies in favour of the Arabians?

It may appear to the present age a thing of little consequence, to whom their ancestors were indebted for the revival of letters; and were I not satisfied that this knowledge would help greatly to elucidate and explain many things hitherto little understood, I should not be so detailed on this subject. As then the revival of letters in Britain and on the continent, were the acts of Irishmen, we should suppose that their history and legislation ought to throw more lights on these matters, than those of any other nation; and the fact is, that they do so.—And first, the very form of passing doctors in different sciences, and the diplomas granted in consequence, prove the fountain from whence these customs originated.

We have the copy of a diploma for a doctorship in physick and philosophy *, at Rome, in which, amongst other insignia of this office, we read, that “*a Biretrum was placed on his head, and a ring on his finger.*” Now the word Biretrum is not Latin (notwithstanding that the cap of a cardinal has no other name) but a manifest Irish word latinized. It was the cap worn by our ancient doctors in different sciences, and is to THIS DAY called by us a Birede, from Bar, a man of letters, and Eadach,

‡ Hist. de France, tom. i. p. 161.

* Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 332.

a covering. By the famous sumptuary law, called Illbreachta, or the Law of Colours, passed about A. M. 2815, doctors had the privilege of wearing six different colours in their garments, being one more than the equestrian order (whom they preceded), besides a Birede for the head. About the year of the world 3075, a farther regulation of the literati was made. A few years earlier it was decreed, that knights, besides *five colours* in their garments, should also be distinguished by a Torques, or chain of gold, round the neck; and it was now enacted, that, besides garments of *six colours*, and the Birede, doctors should wear gold rings on the finger. From this custom, the prince in whose reign this law passed, was called Aldergoid, or the Decreeer of Gold Rings. Besides, the Biretrum and the ring, we read, soon after the revival of letters on the continent, that doctors disputed with knights for precedency; and, to compose this strife, many were knighted; but others refusing this mark of degradation, as they thought it, preserved their rank, and were called Milites Clerici. As then the first universities in Europe, were regulated and established by Irishmen, behold how easily the clew to these customs is found out, and how satisfactorily the whole is explained! Colleges of poets were early established in Germany; and the arch-poet presided over this order of men †. On passing doctors, they were sworn to avoid satire, misrepresentation, or whatever could reflect on the emperor, or on their country. In Ireland, such colleges were established from the beginning of our monarchy; and does not the abuse which this order of men amongst us sometimes made of their power, prove the necessity of this regulation? More than twice were severe decrees passed against them; and in the year of Christ 588, it was decreed, that the monarch's chief bard

† Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 333, 4, 5, 6, 7, &c.

should,

A.C. should, for the time to come, be president of the poets, have power to reform their colleges, and punish, or otherwise expel the order, such as descended to satire and misrepresentation!

About the time that universities were established on the continent, we read that orders of knighthood were also founded in different places. It is confessed, that this custom, did not originate from the equestrian order of ancient Rome; and though the contrary had been asserted, yet it could be easily refuted; for we know, that such an order subsisted in Gaul long before they had any connections with Rome. They are mentioned by Cæsar, by Tacitus, and by Livy, &c. Above three centuries before Christ, Manlius, a noble Roman, got the title of Torquatus, (and which continued in his family), for having killed in a single duel, a Gaulish knight, whose Torques, or chain of gold, he ever after wore. Had the Torques been a Roman badge, the title would be absurd.

That the destruction of annals and early records on the continent, and the total abolition of all ancient customs amongst them by the Romans, should leave no traces of this order of men, so renowned for their bravery and virtue, is not surprising; nor that the revival of this, amongst other remote customs, in days of freedom, should be placed as the very time of their institution. Deprived of every clue to the history of remoter times, what had writers, but conjecture to offer? The history of Ireland, the only country in Europe which had preserved its independency, in these ages of tyranny and oppression, however, we see, dispels the clouds, and, instead of conjecture, proves to a certainty, the very great antiquity of the equestrian order amongst the Celtæ!

After the revival of chivalry on the continent, we behold emperors and kings deem knighthood, a new accession of honour; and at this day, there is no prince in Europe who is not knighted.

We see it so revered in ancient Ireland, that no prince could become a candidate for the monarchy, who had not received the Gragh-Gaische, or order of chivalry; and to prove this, we have but to remind our readers, that in the fourth century, an Irish prince, who had possessed himself of the palace of Tara, in order to strengthen his claim to the monarchy, was obliged to quit it, as unqualified, *having never been knighted!* A.C.

If from this, we carry our enquiries into the origin of these usages and laws, called feudal, what new lights will not our history throw on them? As they regarded tenures of every kind; and that the first act of possession, from the prince to the peasant, consisted in turning up some ground, they were in general denominated feudal laws, from the Irish word Fod, a clod of earth turned up, and Dlighe, a law; hence the Latin Fodio, to dig, and Feudum, a fee or tenure. These tenures acquired different names, according to the manner they were held in. The most honourable tenure was called Allodial, as being held from the most remote antiquity. The learned Dr. Robertson * derives it from An and Lot, German words, which import, land got by casting lots; but this gives no idea of Allodial property. It was by this kind of tenure, that the right of governing was confined to the blood royal in every country in ancient Europe: it was by it, that offices were hereditary in certain families, as marshals, treasurers of countries, commanders of horse and foot, &c. and it explains, why these offices still continued in families, notwithstanding any act of rebellion of the present proprietor. For being but tenant for life, and the post elective by the family or sept, any overt-act of the present possessor, could only affect himself. When a most iniquitous enquiry commenced in Ireland,

* Life of Charles V. p. 225. Irish edit

A.C. in the reign of Elizabeth, by what right many of the most noble families in the kingdom, held their ranks and fortunes? they answered, by the most indisputable; by a right as ancient as the monarchy itself: a right which, till then, was never called in question, by allodial tenure. However, some consented, and others were obliged to make a surrender of their hereditary rights. She and her pious ministers garbled them out in what manner they liked best. In these partitions the good queen did not forget herself; and her worthy ministers followed the royal example. Sir John Davis's letter, in the reign of James I. shews more of this *. This word, like the other, is derived, not from the German, but the Irish word Allod, old.

Knights service, called by our lawyers Fearan Cloim, or sword land, was another kind of tenure, different from allodial. This last was from the original partition of countries; but sword land was allotted to foreigners, called in, in times posterior to this. This tenure we have instances of from remote antiquity. In the latter end of the second century, almost all Leinster was overrun by the Mamonians. In this distress Cucorb, applies to Eochaidh, brother to the monarch Con, and to Laighseach, an intrepid hero. By their means, the Mamonians were defeated, and on Eochaidh he bestowed sword lands, in the county of Wexford; and on Laigseach, the country from him called Lais. When the monarch Cormoc, in the third century, engaged the grandson of Oiloll, king of Munster, in his interest, he gave to him, and to his officers, large grants of land in Leinster and Conaught, which were held by military tenure; and part of which, the issue of these heroes possess at this day; as O'Connor-Cianachti, O'Hara, O'Gara, O'Coghlin, &c. In the fourth cen-

* Letter to the Earl of Salisbury.

tury, the attempts of the Conacians, to add the present county of Clare to their province were so frequent and so bold, that Lugha, king of Leath-Mogha, made Fearan-Cliomh, of the whole county, from the borders of Galway, to Loops-Head. These few instances will prove—first, the great antiquity of the feudal system, in opposition to modern assertions; secondly, that allodial property was a branch of this system, and never fluctuating; and thirdly, that it was not a barbarous system suggested by necessity, after the destruction of Rome—for by it property was better secured than by the Roman code—see the revolutions in ancient Rome—behold emperors elected often from the dregs of the people; deposed and murdered at pleasure, and new ones chosen, according to the power of faction and caprice! Does the feudal system exhibit such outrages; or does it afford instances of such revolutions? It does not. The supreme command was confined to the blood royal, and all subordinate stations were the honours and properties of particular families.

But besides these, there was a part of this code, which gave singular privileges. By it, the possessors of certain lands were exempt from every mark of tribute or vassalage, which was not the case with allodial proprietors; since the hereditary titles of marshal, standard-bearer, generals of horse and foot, &c. point out their different employs in the state. We may form some idea of the consequence of this tenure, by the will of Cathoir-More, in the second century; who, after bequeathing to his son Ceatach certain lands, concludes, as a remark of the great wisdom of this prince—“that to separate him from his brothers, would be a grievous loss to them, though it were even on (Saor “Forba) free lands.” Estates on the continent descended to, and were divided amongst the male line *only*, in exclusion of the fe-

A.C. male. This law was called Gavel-kind, from the Irish, Gavel, land, and Cinne, a family; and instead of receiving, the husband always settled a dowry on the wife. She, nevertheless, brought with her a considerable stock of cattle; according to her rank. In Ireland this was called Callp an Spre, or the marriage cattle. The custom was here, that every friend, relation, and follower of the family, brought his present to the bride. This rule is yet observed in many places, and exactly accords with the rules of the old Franks and Germans.

Amongst the old Britons, Gauls, and Germans, all crimes, not even murder excepted, were punished by mulct, and this was settled according to the rank and dignity of the deceased. At all times, even to the last century, this law, which was called Eric, prevailed in Ireland. When the *State* in Dublin requested that Mac Guire would permit them, to send a sheriff into his country (Fermanagh), he refused, till they first settled his Eric; by which means, in case he should be cut off by his people, he should know what fine he was to raise on his subjects for the offence.

+ Freemen who held land under allodial proprietors, were called Arimani, from the Irish Araimh, to plow; and by the tenure of foccage, rent was paid in corn, from Soc, a plough-share. The word Dux, Mr. Llhuid thinks derived from the Irish Tus, a beginning: it also signifies noble; hence the Irish Tuiseach, a chieftain or leader. In like manner the word Earl seems derived from the Irish Earlar, noble, generous; and with us, Ear-Fhla-thas, signifies an aristocracy. A Baron, perhaps from Bar, power; hence Rug se an Bar, he carried the sway. A Marshal, from Meirge, a standard; and Slua, an army.

From what has been said, I think it must be admitted, that our history is the true clue—indeed the only one—to the ancient

ancient laws and customs of Europe; and whoever will study it A.C.
closely, and compare it with what has been advanced by Craigs *,
Montesquieu †, Robertson ‡, Dr. O'Sullivan §, &c. will throw
this great desideratum to the history of Europe, in the clearest
light. Consult also Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. II.

* De Jure Feudali apud Scotos.

† L'Esprit des Loix.

‡ Hist. of Charles V. book i.

§ Lectures on the Feudal Laws.

B O O K X.

C H A P. I.

Reign of Aodh VI. and first appearance of the northern pirates—not Danes, strictly speaking, but an assemblage of different nations—their incursions not caused by a redundancy of inhabitants—associate to preserve their religion and liberties—the monarch invades Leinster, and exonerates the clergy from their attendance on the army—ravages of the Danes—king of Munster demands tribute from Thomond, but relinquishes this claim—the Danes defeated near Waterford—return in greater numbers.

797 **A**ODH VI. called Oirdnidhe, the son of Niall-Friafach, was saluted monarch. About this time the annals of Ulster notice an invasion of the isle of Rechrin, to the north of the county of Antrim, and of its being plundered by pirates; and these the learned Usher * observes, were the first Danish invaders.

As these people were, for above two centuries, highly formidable, not only to Ireland, but to all Europe, some RATIONAL attempt to investigate the cause of their repeated depredations, may not be unacceptable to philosophic enquirers. It is generally

* Brit. Ecclef. Prim. p. 958, 1172.

agreed, that these pirates were a motley aggregate of Livonians, Saxons, Frisians, Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes, whose residence on the coasts of the German sea and the Baltic, made them naturally fond of that element. The various names by which our writers have distinguished them, plainly prove them to have been of different nations. One tribe of them were called Leth-Manni; and these archbishop Usher and O'Conry * judge were Livonians, whose province is called Letten, and by geographers Letta; hence Leth-Manni, or the people of Letta. Others were called Fionne-Gail and Dubh-Gail, or White and Black Strangers, from the colours of their hair. The first were, to all appearance, the Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians, who are generally fair-haired; and the others, Germans. A territory near Dublin, yet retains the name of Fin-gall; and Dunegal, is probably a corruption of Dubh-Gail, or the country of the Black Strangers. But the most general names they are, amongst us, distinguished by, are Dubh-Loch-Lannice and Fionn-Loch-Lannice; the word Loch-Lonnach signifies powerful at sea, and the adjectives Dubh, or black, and Fionn, or white, were added to denote their different countries by their hair. We also, sometimes, find them called Danair-Fonh and Dan-Fhir; but I believe, these were rather words of reproach than an implication of the country from whence they came, because they are rarely met with; and Irish writers were not fond of reproachful epithets to their enemies. They were called Dan-Fhir, I conjecture, from Dana, bold, impetuous, oppressive, and Fear, a man; hence Dan-Fhir, or Dan-Airimh, oppressive men. But nothing can more fully prove the exactness of our historians, in their distinctions of these people, than when the black Loch-

* Laws of Tanistry illustrated, p. 489.

A.C. Lannics invaded Leinster in 851, they attacked and dispossessed the white Loch-Lannics of their territories about Dublin.

If ancient historians are sometimes censurable for too easy a credence of improbable relations, and for mixing fable with history, what shall we say to modern writers, who oppose their own assumptions to both? It must be confessed that, with respect to the depredations of the northern pirates, we have little of certainty to explain to us the cause why, for about two centuries, the European seas should be covered with lawless pirates, and different nations feel the force of their power; and why these different depredations should begin almost every where about the same time, and cease at nearly an equal period! Semblance of truth too often precludes truth; and superficial readers sometimes embrace the shadow for the substance.

The cause of the sudden bursting forth of such numerous northern hives, at this time, has been attributed to a superabundance of inhabitants. The North, say lazy speculatists, has been always a country the most prolific: it is the officina & vagina gentium! From it nations have been over-run from time to time, and hardy warriors have acquired, in other countries, those settlements, which the too great population of their own refused them. But, however plausible this appears, like many other refined theories of modern historians, it is but a bare assumption. Every evidence that can be demanded, proves that, at all periods, population has been greater in southern than northern climates. The great quantity of unreclaimed ground, even to this day, in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, shews these countries were never overstocked with inhabitants. Whole tracts covered with wood, and the amazing quantities of it exported, particularly from Norway, prove the thinness of its inhabitants. What are Copenhagen, Stockholm, or Drontheim, compared, for extent or inhabitants, to London, Paris, or Dublin?

lin? Or what the inhabitants of Europe to those of Asia? Population, to a certainty, is much greater in warm than cold climates; but were we to grant the reverse to be the case, why confine this amazing conflux of people to particular periods? Nature is uniform in all her effects; and the same cause that produced a plethora of inhabitants at one particular period, should, whilst existing, at every other. Was the inundations of Europeans into Asia in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, ever attributed to a redundancy of inhabitants; notwithstanding the Asiatics might well suppose it, from seeing, at different times, such astonishing armies cover their countries? Were the different migrations to the East and West Indies, and the vast continent of America, for two centuries past, resolved into an overstock of inhabitants in Europe? If they were not, why should we rapidly assign this as a cause in the present instance?

We have already noted how anxious Charlemagne, Pepin, and their predecessors were, to convert the northern nations of Germany; and the active part which the Irish missionaries took in this great work. In all appearance, policy united with religion in these pursuits; as every convert they made, was a new subject acquired. These German nations, who so manfully defended their liberties, plainly saw, that the religion of their invaders was as inimical to them as their swords, and began to form a general confederacy against both. Driven into a narrower compass they became more compact and numerous, and their religion and their liberties, being equally the objects of the conquerors they confederated to defend both *. Not numerous enough to face their enemies by land, and being powerful at sea, they de-

* Both Pepin and Charlemagne formed holy confederacies to convert these people by fighting as well as praying; and where is the absurdity to suppose these unite to oppose both?

A.C. terminated to make diversions this way. Very probably necessity first drove them to try the expedient, and unexpected success increased their confidence. The historian Mezeray † attributes the depredations of these northern nations to their love of liberty, and their detestation of those priests and religious who had destroyed their gods and their altars; hence, says he, their greatest cruelty was exercised on monks and monasteries. For this reason it is, that they are frequently styled in our annals Dubh-Geinte, or Black Infidels, and Fionn-Geinte, or White Infidels. And as a farther proof of this, it appears, that as christianity began to spread amongst them, this rage of invasion began gradually to subside. What avails it that the acts of nations and communities are the result of some general principles, if the historian, whose duty it is, will not be at the trouble of exploring them?

In the year 798, and second year of the reign of Aodh, the west of Munster was invaded by a large body of the white Loch-Lannics, or Danes, who, for some time, ravaged the coasts, destroying churches and monasteries, and putting to the sword all the clergy they found. Art, or Airtre, the son of Cathal, was at this time king of Munster, who, hastily collecting the forces next to hand, engaged these foreigners in a pitched battle, defeated them, and, but for the night's coming on, would have cut off their retreat to their ships, which the remains of them with difficulty reached.

A. 799, the monarch raised a great army, with which he invaded the province of Leinster, to enforce the payment of the Tuathalian tribute. It seems that the royal army was always attended by the archbishop of Ardmach, and his suffragan bishops. Conmac was at this time the successor of St. Patrick, i. e. the

† Hist. de France, tom. i. p. 165.

primate, and complained and remonstrated to the monarch, at the head of his clergy, how improper and indecent it was to see the ministers of peace, upon all occasions, witnesses to the horrors of war and desolation; and praying, for himself and for his successors, a dispensation from so unclerical a duty. The abbot Fothadius, who, on account of his great knowledge in the canon laws, was called *De Canonibus*, was appealed to on this occasion. He drew up his opinion in writing, which he entitled *Opusculum pro Cleri Defensione & Immunitate*, and presented it to the monarch. In this he proved, that the clergy ought for ever to be exempted from this duty; and it was decreed so *.

Six years after the first defeat of the Danes in Munster (i. e. A. 804.) say our annals, and when Feidhlim, of the Eugenian line, was king of Munster, a second fleet of Danes landed on these coasts, burning and destroying whatever stood before them, but particularly the churches and clergy. Feidhlim collected a considerable body of troops, and attacked these barbarians, who, after a long and bloody conflict, gave way on every side, and were pursued to their ships with great slaughter †.

Soon after this we read of an invasion of Ulster by these barbarians, and of the uncommon cruelties they exercised there. They plundered the famous abbey of Benchoir of all its riches, carrying with them the rich shrine of St. Comhail, and putting to the sword the abbot with nine hundred monks! Muireadach, king of Ulster, attacked these incendiaries with great resolution, and after the loss of twelve hundred of their best troops, the rest fled to their ships.

Feidhlim, the Munster King, being, for the present, rid of 805 the Danes, by advice of his ministers, was resolved to compel the

* A.A. Sanct. Hib. p. 581. 583.

† Cogadh Gail, re Gaoidhealaibh.

A.C. people of North Munster to pay tribute to the kings of Cashel. To give greater weight to negociation, he raised a considerable army, with which he followed his ambassadors. The Dalgais, astonished at the novelty of the demand, boldly answered, that they never would pay it; that they had been, and their ancestors, at all times exempt from taxes of every kind; that their possessions, particularly the county of Clare, were *Fearhan forgabhala na cloidhimh* (ancient conquest of the sword); and as it had been hitherto preserved free, in spite of the power of Conaught, they would take care to transmit it so to their posterity *. The bishops of Limeric, Killaloe, and Inis-Catha, softened this answer, by remarking to the ambassadors of Feidhlim, that, since the fourth century, by common consent, the territory of Thomond was declared sword-land, and, of course, the people free from every tribute, whilst they preserved this barrier to Munster. But, besides this, Lachtna, the son of Core, son to Anluain (who then governed the province) repaired to the camp of Feidhlim, representing to him the injustice of his proceedings; that his family had been long deprived of their right of alternate succession to the crown of Munster, according to the will of their common ancestor Oilliol; and, that now, instead of raising them to their former rank, they wanted to make them their tributaries. Feidhlim and his chiefs were sensible of the justness of Lachtna's remarks, which became of more weight on finding that the Dalgaisians were collecting their troops from all quarters. Lachtna paid him homage as King of Munster, and was splendidly entertained by him. Feidhlim relinquished, in the most solemn manner, all claims on the Dalgais; and this invasion, in the beginning so formidable, ended in amity and festivity.

* Leabhar-Muimhean.

Feidhlim, soon after, embracing a monastic life, Olchubhar, the son of Ceanaodha, an Eugenic, succeeded him, in whose reign the Danes made a fresh invasion into Munster, committing uncommon cruelties, particularly on the churches and clergy. They landed at Waterford, and fire and sword marked, every where, the footsteps of these inhuman wretches. The city of Lismore was burnt to the ground, and its university, then so renowned in Europe, destroyed, with its valuable library! churches were every where prostrated; and wherever they found any clergy, they were sure to put them to the sword. Olchubhar, king of Munster, attacked these aliens in the country of the Deasies, and, after a most bloody battle, gained a complete victory over them †. Twelve hundred Danes were killed in the field with two of their chiefs, Tomar and Eric, and numbers fell in the pursuit. But the loss of the Mamonians was very considerable; amongst others, Olchubhar himself, with many nobles of prime note, fell that day. To this defeat, I believe it is, that Eginhard alludes, when he tells us, in his annals, under the year 812, “that the Danes landed an army in Ireland, which “was defeated, and put to a shameful flight, by the Irish *.”

Notwithstanding these defeats, the reports made by the fugitives to their countrymen, of the wealth of Ireland, the splendor, magnificence, and number of its churches and monasteries, and the fertility of the soil, encouraged others to make new attempts, and to endeavour at some settlement in the kingdom. A considerable fleet appeared off Kerry head, and plundered and destroyed the monastery of Skelig Mhichel. They then landed on the continent, and laid waste the country as far as Loch-Lene, or Killarney. Here they were boldly attacked and defeated, leaving behind them a considerable part of their booty.

† Toruigheac Cealachan Chaisel.

* An. Franc. Contr.

A.C.

A fresh force appeared soon after in the Shannon, and the noble churches of Scatterry, or Inis-Catha, were plundered, the clergy put to the sword, and the rich monument of St. Sennan defaced. Their troops suddenly landed, at different times, on both sides the Shannon, and Corcabaifcan, and Tradeuighe on the north, and Ui Connal Gabhra on the south side, with all the churches, were laid in ashes. A large party of these incendiaries were, however, overtaken at Seannued near Glin, and put to the sword. But though it appears, that wherever the Irish and these foreigners met, the latter were, in general, defeated, yet the country was destroyed beforehand by reason of their commanding the sea, and being at all times able to land where least expected. Though the ravages of these Danes were alone as much afflictions as could be well borne, yet the very elements seemed to conspire to the ruin of this afflicted kingdom. On the northern side of the Shannon, in the month of March following, such violent and uncommon claps of thunder and lightning burst forth, that above a thousand people were destroyed by it; at the same time the sea broke down the banks with great violence, and laid a considerable part of the country under water.

816

Of the monarch Aodh we are furnished with no accounts till that of his death, which happened in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and in the battle of Desearta, by the Conacians.

C H A P.

C H A P. II.

The reign of Connor—battle of Druim-Conla—fresh devastations of the Danes, and death of the monarch—of Niall III. and the landing of Turgesius—miserable state of Munster, and antiquity of its cities—Leinster over-run, and the reduction of the kingdom projected—death of Niall—of Malachie I. convention of the estates of Leth-Cuin, and several defeats of the Danes, but triumph at length.

CONNOR, son to the monarch Donochada, now filled the 821
throne. The Gailiongachs, leaguings with the Danes, this prince attacked, on the plains of Tailtean in Meath, and defeated them with great slaughter. The Danes had already over-run a great part of Leinster and Connaught. The Lagenians, 824
headed by their prince Lorcan, the son of Ceallach, collected a considerable force, and attacked these foreigners at Druim-Conla. The action was very bloody, and, for a long time, doubtful. Fortune, at length, declared in favour of the aliens, and, for the first time, were the Irish defeated with very great slaughter. This year the clergy of Connaught agreed to pay Patrick's pence to the see of Ardmach.

A body of Danes landed suddenly near Cork, set fire to the 826
town and church of St. Finbar; but the people, recovering from their surprize, attacked and defeated them with considerable slaughter. A large body of Danes landed at Inbher-Chin-Tra- 830
gha, or Newry, committing dreadful cruelties. They, for the first time, attacked Ardmach, and set fire to the churches and
university,

A.C. university, plundering them of all their plate and riches. The monastery of Benchior again felt the fury of these fiends, and several parts of Conaught were laid waste by them. The monarch, either unable to unite the nation in a body against these invaders, or, perhaps, perceiving the impracticability of it, as their attacks were so sudden, so unexpected, and distant, we are told, died with grief, and was succeeded by

835 Niall III. called Caille, the son of Aodh VI. The year 836 was remarkable for the arrival of Turgesius in Ireland. Most of our writers place it earlier by twenty years; but this would be giving to this tyrant an unreasonable length of years, and making him play the fool, as we shall see, at a time when such vagaries must have long left him; add to this, that his seizing on Ardmach (which he did soon after his arrival), and expelling St. Ferranan, the clergy, and all the students, is placed in the year 839. This prince Turgesius, with a fleet of an one hundred and twenty ships, made two descents in Ireland. One fleet of fifty ships entered the river Boyne, and landed near Drogheda; the other in Dublin. Encouraged by so considerable a reinforcement, and sensible of the utility of having one common chief, all the foreigners in the kingdom (though of different nations) agreed to acknowledge and act under the command of Turgesius as such, and to endeavour to conquer and settle in a country, which their first intentions were only to plunder and distress.

Already had Munster suffered unheard-of afflictions. The northern and southern Mamonians, or the Eoganachts and Dalgais, had not been well united. These last, constantly in arms to defend their frontiers from the Conacians, could not enforce their right of alternate succession to the crown of Munster, and were, in a manner, excluded by the Eoganachts; and the writer of the actions of Ceallachan Caifil, now before me, complains, that in all the miseries of these days, the monarchs, and province

of Leth-Cuin, never afforded them the smallest succours. Thus divided amongst themselves, and unsupported by the other provinces, the Danes, wherever they landed, had nothing to fear but from the military, and people of that quarter only. Their fleet a second time sailed up the Shannon, and destroyed a most spacious monastery near Carrig a Foile, the remains of which, at this day, proclaims, in part, its former extent and grandeur. All the other religious houses, on both sides the river, suffered the same fate. They landed a considerable body of troops near Limeric, surpris'd, and set on fire the ancient city of Deochain-Affain, and with it the noble college of Muingharid, with the monastery, and other religious houses, having first plundered them of their richest effects. Soon after this they possessed themselves of Limeric. We are not told how, nor the exact time, but the Ulster Annals, under the year 843, mention St. Ferran's being taken prisoner at Cluan-Chomharda, and, with his family and the ornaments and reliques of his churches, conveyed by water to their fleet at Limeric. From this we must suppose them in possession of it before that period. And here let me for once observe, *en passant*, the manifest absurdities of foreign writers, in asserting that Limeric, Cork, Waterford, and most of our sea-port towns, were built by these merciless barbarians. Limeric was so noted for its commerce, from the earliest ages, that it was never mentioned by our ancient writers without the epithet Long annexed to it. When Ceallachan-Caisil attacked and expelled the Danes from thence, we then find him call it Luimneach na Luingas, or Limeric of the Ships or Fleets. We see St. Munchin, its first bishop, in the days of St. Patrick; and Cork was soon after erected into a bishoprick, &c. It need not be told, that, before the council of Nice, it was decreed, that bishops should never be ordained but to preside over large cities,
or

A.C. or considerable tracts of land, where numbers of inferior clergy were.

The Mamonians must have received some considerable checks in this last invasion, because I find it mentioned, that after Ailghenan, king of Cashell's decease, (and he ruled Munster but seven years), Maolgula, who was his successor, was killed in battle by the Loch-Lonnachs.

Turgesius, as we see, having now the command of these aliens, wherever dispersed through the kingdom, with great wisdom availed himself of this power; and his different detached parties were every where in action, whilst he possessed himself of Drogheda, and another party of Dublin. And now was the whole country one scene of ruin and desolation! Churches and monasteries, religious and laics, nobles and peasants, without discrimination, suffered the utmost cruelty of sword and fire! Maigh-Breagh, and Maigh-Liffe, which, before this, exhibited such scenes of opulence, splendor, hospitality, and piety, became now destitute of inhabitants, cities, or houses; and the country, instead of being covered with flocks and corn, was replete with barbarians, who were a dishonour to humanity! In this general conflagration and carnage, churches of the greatest fame were particular objects to satiate the vengeance and rapacity of these infidels. They plundered and burned the noble abbey and churches of Kildare, taking with them the rich shrines of St. Bridget and St. Conlaeth. The city of Fearn-Maidog, or Ferns, then the capital of Leinster, they laid in ashes; having first plundered the archiepiscopal church of St. Maidog of all its riches. They erected forts and castles, in these now desolate places; so that whoever ventured to return to their old habitations, must do it on terms of submission to them. In vain did the Irish oppose them manfully every where; and wherever they engaged them, in general defeated them. Our annals are minute enough in their

accounts of these different encounters, (for battles they could not be called), and note in what place three, in another five, and six hundred of these people were cut off. It is evident by their numbers and the power they in fact acquired, that, upon the whole, the Danes were successful. This was not enough : the interior parts of the country had been hitherto free from their incursions; and poured forth new men, to defend those parts nearest them. Turgesius, in imitation of the Irish, having penetrated far into the country, caused light barks to be built, and the interior parts of the Shannon, and other rivers and lakes, were soon filled with enemies, who, by sudden landings, laid the country every where waste. The prospect of a complete reduction of the kingdom animated these people to make new efforts. Turgesius sent to his friends for a fresh reinforcement of troops. Early in 839, a fleet of Danish ships appeared on the coasts of Ulster, and landed a large body of troops near Dundalk; and after laying waste the country, took Ardmagh sword in hand, and set fire to all its sumptuous churches, colleges, and publick edifices. As had been already done in the South, they built vessels; and Loch-Neach and Loch-Erne, were covered with small craft: from which they suddenly landed, spreading ruin and desolation over all the adjacent country, and particularly destroying churches and monasteries.

These scenes of devastation, the monarch we must suppose laboured to redress; but the attacks were so frequent, so unexpected, and so general, that it would be hard to find a remedy for all. He engaged them however in two different places, and defeated them both times with considerable slaughter. He laboured *now* to unite the jarring interests of the kingdom. To this purpose he made a royal tour into Leinster, but was unfortunately drowned in the river Caillen, (and this in attempting to relieve a gentleman of his train, who, in trying whether it

A.C. was fordable, was washed off his horse), to the unspeakable loss of his country.

848 In the disordered state in which the kingdom must have been left by the premature death of Niall, we cannot suppose that the election of a successor was so solemn and magnificent, as upon former occasions—indeed it would be hard to think, how the national representatives could safely meet, to proceed to such election—yet as he is placed next in the regal list, we must suppose that Maol-seachlin, otherwise Malachie, the son of Maolruana, and brother to the monarch Connor, was immediately nominated monarch of Ireland. He is called in the regal list Flaith na Feine go Fior-Bhuadh, or Prince of the truly Conquering Legions. Soon after his accession to the throne, he summoned the states of Leath-Cuin, (i. e. of Conaught, Ulster, and Meath), to meet at Ard-mach, (which had been recovered from the Danes), to deliberate on the state of the nation. There appeared, besides the monarch and his suite, Madaghan, king of Ulster, Flaithri, king of Conaught, with their nobility; and Diermod, successor to St. Patrick, with his clergy, and those of Meath, opened the convention by a solemn high mass. From their effects ONLY, are we enabled to determine what were the resolves of this august assembly; and these it appears were, to attack the Danes in all quarters, at nearly the same time. The monarch himself, at the head of a chosen band, defeated a large body of them in Meath, with the loss of 700 of their best troops left dead on the field of battle. The brave Dalgais cut to pieces several hundreds of them at Ard-Breacan, about the same time; and the people of Tyrconnel gave a signal overthrow to a large body of them near Easruadh. The same success attended the people of Cianachta; and at Loch-Gobhair, they lost several hundreds more. The monarch soon after, in conjunction with the Lagenians, gave them battle at Glas Glean, and 1700 of them with Saxolb, a commander of special

special note, fell in the engagement. But these successes were but transitory; and the Danes had resources, which the Irish had not. Besides the numbers of them constantly crowding from their own barren soil, by their superiority, both in Britain and France, they could recruit more expeditiously upon emergencies, than to wait for new succours from the Baltic. Accordingly, in a little time the power of Turgesius, was more absolute than ever; and he availed himself of this power, by imposing the severest hardships, and taking the most effectual methods to depress the spirit and destroy the power of the Irish, that barbarous and *uncultivated* cruelty could suggest.

A.C.

C H A P. III.

Tyranny exercised by Turgesius—case of the Moors of Granada and Huguenots of France after their reduction, very different from that of the Catholics of Ireland—justified for taking up arms on REVOLUTION principles—unprecedented restraining laws passed against them, and the consequences of them.

THE forces of Turgesius, numerous and well appointed, by the spoils of Ireland, and other adjacent countries, in their turn took the lead of the Irish, and triumphed every where. The wills of the conquerors became laws to the vanquished, and these were of the most oppressive nature. Every district in the land, in which an Irish Taoiseach or lord resided, was obliged to entertain a Danish chief, to whom he was to submit, and from whom he was to receive orders for the governing his people; for these

A.C. last would receive no commands, but directly from their own chiefs. This preserved the appearance of freedom amongst the people, and at the same time rivetted their chains more strongly. Every town, besides its old magistrates, was superintended by a captain with his company; every village had a serjeant; and in every farm-house in the country, was a soldier lodged. All these the people were obliged to support. Had this support been such as they could afford, it would be some alleviation to their miseries; but this was not the case. Nothing the gentleman, the citizen, or the farmer possessed, could he safely call his own. The cattle, the corn, and provisions were at the disposal of the rapacious soldiery. The citizen and the farmer dared not sit down to their meals, in their own habitations, nor partake of the fruits of their industry, till these banditti were first satisfied. All orders in the state were laid aside; and the different coloured garments, by which the nobility, the literati, and the military were distinguished, were forbid on severe penalties. Universities and schools were filled with soldiers, churches and monasteries with heathen priests, and such of the clergy and the literati as escaped the sword, fled to deserts and wildernesses, where many perished through want and cold! Religion and letters were interdicted; the nobility and gentry were forbid the use of arms; and the very ladies, of the education proper for their rank and state! This was not enough: the master of every house in the land, was obliged to pay annually to Turgesius's receivers an ounce of gold; and this was exacted with such rigour and cruelty, that such as could not comply, were to forfeit the loss of their nose, or become slaves! hence this tax was called Airgid-Srone, or nose-money. Such were the terms of peace, which the haughty Dane offered the Irish; and these they thought were better than a total extirpation, which must have followed their refusal. Thus, though Malachie was the nominal monarch of Ire-

Ireland, amongst his countrymen for many years, yet Turgesius was in fact *the dictator*. The colouring in this picture of national distress is very far from being heightened, and is strictly consonant to the records of those days. But if we reflect on the characteristic barbarity of this motley aggregate of different nations, enemies to the religion and to the liberties of Europe; and at the same time consider, that their tenures in different countries were by the sword only, we will be less surprised at the savage cruelty, with which they supported every where their dominion. Should we be able to produce, even in the present enlightened age, not the lawless *beliefs* of savage banditti, but the cool and deliberate acts of national assemblies, in their effects as oppressive as those already recited, and still *less defensible*, as being contrary to the faith of treaties and of nations, what will the publick think of the framers and enforcers of them? and yet—lamentably to be told—such is the case of Ireland at this very day!

The Spaniards have been severely animadverted on, for their banishing the Moors their territories; and France has been highly censured for the revocation of the *edict of Nantz*. Viewed in a political light, nothing can be offered in vindication of either act; but considered in a moral one, much may be said to extenuate the charge of injustice in both instances.

With respect to the Moors, their ancestors were Africans, enemies to Europe, by religion and by principle: they not only kept Spain under galling fetters for some centuries, but invaded France, and intended every where to establish the *crescent*, at the expence of the *cross*. They were expelled France, and at length subdued in Spain, by the union of the houses of Castile and Arragon; and now completely conquered, they were, by the law of arms, at the mercy of their enemies. In sound policy, the moment they were deprived of power, that moment should they cease to be regarded with an inimical eye; and wise legislators would

A.C. would consider only, how best they could make so considerable an accession of new subjects useful to the state. The wisdom of Spanish counsels on this occasion MAY be arraigned, but not their justice.

As to the treatment of the reformed in France; it is evident, from history, that the concessions made to them, were extorted by force and violence. They leagued with England and Germany; possessed themselves of several cities, and bid defiance to their natural sovereigns. By the NULLUM TEMPUS act—even in England a law of the land—it is acknowledged, that no length of time or possession, no prescription whatever, can deprive the crown of a resumption of her natural rights. It should follow then, that graces extorted by force and rebellion, in more settled times may be legally recalled. But let me not be supposed to be an advocate for any violence whatever, offered to people on account of religious principles. My soul abhors the thought; and I think every man should be permitted to adore the Deity in what form he judges best, *whilst his religious tenets are neither injurious to the state, or to individuals.* With avowed principles of *universal toleration*, I wish not to offend any party of men; and if I have hinted at the above facts, it is, that the reader may plainly see, in how different a light the hardships imposed on the Irish Catholics should be considered from those inflicted on the Moors of Granada, or the Protestants of France.

The only *moral* light, in which the Revolution of 1688 can be considered, in order to be justified, is, by admitting, what the church of England formerly denied, and what numbers of its clergy deny at this day—i. e. “That whenever the ruling prince
“forfeits his coronation oath, that moment the subjects become
“absolved from their allegiance;” and to give to this position its full force, we even shall grant what this Revolution sufficiently proves—i. e. “That any infraction of this oath, on the part of
“the

“the sovereign, is a full acquital of every tie of allegiance on
 “on those of the subject.” Still the Irish could not be justified
 in being EVEN PASSIVE, in this extraordinary Revolution. They
 as well as the English, swore allegiance to James : if he trampled
 on the laws and liberties of the latter, the former had no charge
 of this kind to make. On the contrary, principles of gratitude,
 as well as of duty, called upon them to defend and support his
 right to the kingdom of Ireland. I say of gratitude, because it
 is evident, from the moment he came to the crown, that he had
 determined *to repeal the act of settlement*, and to restore to the
 Irish, those estates and honours, which both he and they thought
 that act had most unjustly deprived them of. This is not the
 place to enter into the nature of the last Irish war : it is sufficient
 for our purpose to observe, that it was terminated by the famous
 capitulation of Limeric, agreed on the third, and signed the
 thirteenth of October 1691, confirmed by the then lords justices
 in behalf of king William, and, after this, recognised by this prince
 in the most ample manner.

By this peace, the Irish Catholics continued possessed of their
 estates and properties, and the full exercise of their religion, such
 as they enjoyed in the days of Charles II. on taking new oaths
 of allegiance to the present government; and the merchant, the
 artizan, and the agrarian, had every assurance of support and
 protection. Such Irish as thought they could not in honour and
 conscience transfer their allegiance to the new government, were
 at liberty to depart the kingdom, and carry with them their money,
 jewels, and other valuable effects, (William obliging himself to
 supply them, at his own expence, with seventy transports); and
 no less than 20,000 embraced this alternative! By the voluntary
 emigration of such a number of bold and restless spirits, an
 ample field was now opened to restore to *the peaceable sons of*
Ireland, that ease and tranquility, which cruel intestine wars for

A.C. above five centuries had deprived them and their ancestors of; but that happy day was still very remote!

The same zeal for religion, which animated the reformed to take up arms against James, and to expell him and his posterity, seemed, now that they were possessed of national power, to absorb every other public consideration; and to it, arts, manufactures, commerce, tillage, and whatever else is deemed to create national wealth and felicity, were sacrificed! For instead of conciliatory acts, instead of acts of general oblivion, instead of labouring to make the horrors of war be forgot in the happiness of peace and plenty, the succeeding Irish parliaments seemed to direct all their views to *convert* and *reform* their new subjects, by *penal laws*, and to make wilfull obstinate recusants, feel the utmost force of them! These laws were not simply confined to the nobility and gentry, but, with wonderful impartiality and perspicuity, materially affected every order of men.

Roman Catholics were forbid, by severe penalties, to send their children abroad for education, whilst at the same time, persons of that persuasion were disqualified from instructing them at home! Papists were declared incapable of purchasing estates; and the estates of Papists were decreed, to descend in Gavel-kind, ad infinitum; but if the eldest, or any other son reformed, he became heir at law! That the children of Papists should be under no kind of dread or restraint of their parents; whoever chose to become Protestants, was allowed by the court of Chancery, a stipend equal to the father's fortune during his life, and the inheritance on his decease, how dissolute and abandoned soever he might be! Papists were rendered incapable of inheriting by will, descent, or otherwise, any estate of Protestant relations, unless they reformed within the course of six months: they could not lend money on mortgages; and they were forbid even to wear that common mark of gentility, a sword.

Besides

Besides these and many other acts, levelled chiefly at the Catholic nobility and gentry, others were calculated to affect the farmer, the merchant, and the mechanic. An act passed, declaring Roman Catholics incapable of taking lands, farms, or houses, for a longer term than thirty-one years; but in this act there was a clause of the most pernicious tendency to the industrious farmer, and through him to the kingdom at large. For, it was not enough, that by circumscribing the length of his tenures, the interest of the land-holder was, at best, but short and precarious, and his inducements to improve, but few; by this act he was obliged *to pay two-thirds of the improved yearly value of such land, otherwise it became the property of the first Protestant discoverer.* Papists were forbid to reside in Limeric or Galway, (then great commercial cities), except fishermen and labourers; nor even these, if they paid a greater rent than forty shillings a year each, for his holdings. Nay, popish artisans were rendered incapable of taking more than two apprentices.

Whatever wise and pious intents were proposed by these, and many other acts of parliament, equally new and unprecedented, yet the fact is, that they have been productive of the greatest calamities, as well to the nation at large, as to the parties more immediately affected by them, as they contributed very little towards the *conversion* of the Catholic natives; they of course laid them open to every scene of distress, poverty, and misery, that can well be supposed. By their effects, the bonds of society became dissolved, and the peace of families destroyed! Parents were deprived of rewarding their dutiful, or punishing delinquent children! The kingdom swarmed with perjurers, blood-hounds, and discoverers; the lawyers were deeply interested in extending the spirit, force, and meaning of these acts, to their utmost limits; and the courts had little other business, but enforcing them. The act confining Papists to leases of thirty-one years, but par-

A.C. ticularly obliging them to pay to the landlord full two thirds of the profit rent, was one of the most oppressive and iniquitous that ever was dictated! The reader will easily perceive that the other third was scarce sufficient to pay the expence of tillage, much less to yield a profit rent to the farmer. If he took a lease below this valuation, after building and improving for three or four years, he was sure to be dispossessed. The distress and ruin brought on families, and on the kingdom, by it, are not to be expressed. The country became desolate, country towns dwindled into wretched cottages, and these soon mouldered into dust for want of trade and employment!

Still the cities continued opulent by their commerce, and the the large exports, particularly of woollen goods, gave employ to thousands. Their situations and circumstances were no more overlooked than those of the *very common peasants*, who were forbid by *law* to take more than two acres of land each! Very soon after the Revolution an act passed, directing two shillings in the pound duty to be paid for all Irish broad-cloaths exported, and one shilling in the pound on narrow goods! This was succeeded, some time after, by a second, which obliged the merchant to pay four shillings in the pound on broad-cloths, and two shillings in the pound on narrow goods shipped for foreign markets. A third followed, confining the exportation of woollen cloths to four pounds worth to the captain, and forty shillings worth to the sailors of every ship, and no more; and this was soon after closed by a total prohibition!

The government of corporate towns being transferred to new hands, their rulers, the better to ingratiate themselves with the higher powers, followed the example. Catholic merchants agreed to pay them the extraordinary duties, such as aliens pay, for permission to follow trade in their native cities; the manufacturers were obliged to pay heavy fines and quarterage to en-
title

title them to pursue their different callings ; nay, the very journey-men were compelled to pay these impositions, and these, in too many instances, were extorted with unheard-of cruelty. I shall not dwell upon these facts : they have been proved before the House of Commons ; they have been declared unlawful ; and, notwithstanding the *reiterated endeavours* of heads of cities and corporate towns for some years past, they have not been able to gain, for these acts of monopoly and oppression, the force of law. Thus a profound and undisturbed peace of eighty-six years, has proved, to a large majority of the natives of this kingdom, a period of most unheard-of afflictions ; *and laws, operating against industry, arts, and sciences, have had the utmost success.* The poor of Ireland, one of the most lovely and fruitful islands in the world, are, *at this day*, the most wretched and oppressed set of mortals the sun ever shined on, and we are the last nation in Europe in arts, commerce and letters ! In vain do “ THESE SONS OF LIBERTY ” cry out against the banishing the Moors from Spain, and exclaim at the revocation of the edict of Nantz. It had been an happy circumstance for the Irish had they been obliged, like the Moors, to sell their estates and quit the kingdom ; they then would be able to carry property with them ; but the *penal laws* deprived multitudes of this, and considerable families soon mouldered away.—The laws of France operated, not on the properties, but the religion of the Huguenots ; these of Ireland unhappily militate against both !

The bad policy in enacting these laws, is now acknowledged by men of sense and candor, and *some faint unsuccessful attempts* have been lately made to repeal, or rather mitigate a few of them ; but no notice is taken of their injustice, or how ruinous they have been in their consequences both to Britain and Ireland ; *being* the efficient cause of no less than four hundred and fifty thousand Irish inlisting themselves under the banners of France from the year 1691 to the year 1745, inclusive !

C H A P. IV.

The Danes still triumphant—Turgesius demands the daughter of Malachie for a mistress—Malachie conspires to circumvent him, and restore liberty to his country—The Danes every where subdued—Mistake of Keating, and singular character of Malachie.

THE oppressions the Irish nation laboured under, continued during almost the entire of Malachie's reign; and, for a period of thirteen years, we read of no generous effort made by this prince to restore peace and liberty to his country, except the few attempts made in the first year of his administration. The event, however, proves, that, far from wanting abilities, genius, or courage, he was, in the main, as great a statesman and general as any nation produced; but the nerves, by which *only* these latent virtues could be called forth, had not yet suffered the smallest vibration. Neither the love of glory, or of his country, were the predominant passions of Malachie, as is evident by his abject passiveness for so many years; but the measure of the iniquities of Turgesius, and of his barbarous hosts, were now filled, and the vengeance of an afflicted people was to be satisfied.

Turgesius, accustomed to the most passive obedience, and wantonly indulging every lawless passion, had seen the lovely Melcha, daughter to the monarch, and was resolved to enjoy her. He found means to make his desires known to her, but they were rejected with disdain. He applies to the father, and probably with an intent to make her his wife, thereby to give some

some appearance of justice to the entailing the supreme command of Ireland in his family; but this last is a mere surmise of mine, unsupported by any authority. That he requested the father's interest to procure him the daughter is certain; and now it was that these passions, which the love of his country could not inspire, blazed forth; and, in the insults offered to his name and family, Malachie wept over the distresses of his country, and sought to remedy them. In order to gain time, he requested of Turgesius two days to prepare his daughter for this sacrifice; and, in return for this condescension, he engaged that she should be attended by fifteen of the finest virgins in Meath (for this tyrant's residence was near Tara), in order to be disposed off among his principal favourites. The Dane agreeing to this, Malachie became more composed, and, we are told, * proposed to him the following question, probably to determine his own future conduct: "What (says he) shall we do to clear the country effectually of a parcel of foreign birds, lately come among us, who are of a most pestiferous nature?" The tyrant, not aware of the tendency of the question, answered, "If they build nests, you can never hope to root them out without destroying these nests every where." This plainly pointed out to Malachie that, in his meditating scheme of ruining the Danes, to ensure success he must destroy their castles and strong holds also.

Malachie, immediately after this, retires to his palace, to consider more at leisure the conduct he should pursue. To sacrifice his daughter to an heathen Dane, the tyrant and usurper of his country! his soul recoiled at the thought! The shortness of the time, and the numbers of Danish enemies, and spies in every nook in the kingdom, could not shake him from his purpose.

* Cambrenf. Topogr. Hibern. Dist. 3. c. 42.

With wonderful secrecy he had procured fifteen beardless young men, but with hearts burning to avenge the cause of their country; and these were to be attired in female habits, with each a dirk concealed, to attend the princess of Ireland to the castle of Turgesius. He, at the same time, called together a few of his most faithful adherents and opened to them his intentions. Expresses were also sent, with the greatest privacy, from prince to prince, and from chief to chief, exhorting them to fall every where on the perfidious Danes, as expeditiously as possible, on the day marked down, by which means they would be disabled from affording relief to each other. During these preparations the thoughts of love only filled the breast of the amorous Dane. He prepared a most sumptuous banquet, to which he invited his chief favourites, to celebrate the reception of his mistress with greater splendor. The evening of the fatal day approaches; the princess, with her attendants, advance towards the castle of Turgesius, and the father, with a throbbing heart, anxious for the issue of these great events, prepares, with his forces, secretly and speedily to follow. The directions given to the young men were, the moment they perceived the Dane advancing towards the princess, they were to seize and manacle, but by no means to kill him. A sign, agreed on, was then to be given, the gates to be burst open, and Malachie, and his party without, were to force in and put the garrison to the sword, Turgesius only excepted; all which were executed with as much courage and exactness as they were planned with secrecy and wisdom. Malachie, now in possession of the tyrant, had him led in fetters in the midst of his troops, the better to encourage his countrymen and intimidate the Danes, who, without head or hearts, fall every where an easy prey to the enraged Irish. In a short time the kingdom became clear of their hostile troops, either falling in battle or escaping by their ships, and an armed Dane was

was not to be seen in the land ! Liberty became proclaimed, the remains of the clergy and the literati came forth from their lurking places, and many of those who fled to France returned. Churches and monasteries were re-consecrated, colleges and universities again opened, and such works as could be gleaned, or had escaped the Danish conflagrations, were carefully collected. The glory of Malachie, and the greatness of his exploits, were the themes of the senachies and bards, and the kingdom re-echoed the sound.

The foreigners being thus subdued, and their castles and strong holds every where prostrated, a national assembly of the estates was convened at Rath-Aodh, or the Palace of Hugh, in West Meath. That no private animosities should obstruct the public concerns, the clergy, who attended this assembly, took care first to reconcile the disputes between the different great chiefs. The case of the remains of these aliens, who escaped the first fury of the enraged Irish, was taken into consideration : they were still numerous, and at the mercy of their enemies. Sound policy succeeded rage ; and it was evident that they might be converted, with care, to useful subjects of the state, possessing some arts, and not totally unacquainted with trade. It was, however, decreed that Turgesius should be put to death ; and it was done in the most public manner, being thrown into Loch-Ainin, bound hand and foot, in the presence of his surviving countrymen and thousands of other spectators. This public sacrifice being over, a general amnesty passed, by which the captive Danes became emancipated, and liberty was granted them to live in the maritime towns, and pursue commerce and manufactures under certain regulations. What other useful acts were passed in this assembly we are not told ; and, it is surprising, that the state of their navy, and the necessity of keeping up a considerable fleet, did not then occur to them. It is,

A.C. however, highly probable that it did, though no knowlege of it has come to us.

Internal peace and order being happily restored by one of the most sudden, violent, and successful revolutions that history can produce; the next care of Malachie was to announce this glorious event to his foreign allies. We are particularly told, that, by his ambassadors to Charles the Bald, king of France, he sent rich presents—probably some of the spoils of the Danes—* and a request to grant to him, and to his retinue, safe-guards through France, in his passage to Rome, where he intended going on a pilgrimage, to return God thanks for the happy delivery of his country from foreign tyranny; but a natural death, soon after, prevented the execution of his pious intentions, and he was interred, with great funeral pomp, at Chean-Mac-Nois.

We are surprised to read in Keating, and other historians, that, after this destruction of the Danes, and the prostration of all their castles and forts, which Malachie gave a particular charge to see executed, that he was again obliged to make war on them; and particularly for their putting to death Maolguala, king of Munster; but this proceeds from not properly advert-ing to dates, for this prince fell in the beginning of Malachie's reign; nor was there, for some years after, any of these people capable of molesting the public tranquillity. The glory which this prince acquired in the decline of life, shews how little we can depend upon the general tenor of conduct in kings, to determine their real abilities. We see him, in the beginning of his administration, exert himself with activity in the cause of his country; but fresh enemies constantly pouring in, so harrassed his troops, and dispirited himself, that, like the present king of Poland, he judged the *very shadow of monarchy, though at the*

* Ware's Antiquities, chap. xxiv. from the Chronicles of Normandy.

ruin of his country, was preferable to a desperate exertion of power to recover the whole or perish in the attempt. For thirteen years timid, passive counsels determined his conduct; and we should know little of his real character, or amazing abilities, had not the spring to these passions been happily put in motion. No measures of prudence were now regarded. The Danes, possessed of all the strong holds in the kingdom, powerful at sea; resources easy to be procured from Britain and Armoric Gaul in case of necessity, dispersed over every part of the land, and commanding every where.—Yet all these dangers appeared as nothing in his eyes; the moment the honour of his family was attacked, and he projected, and succeeded, in one of the boldest enterprizes, that human genius could imagine, to preserve his daughter; whilst, with half this vigour, and not half the danger, he might have, long before that, destroyed them, had he been as active in the cause of his country!

C H A P. V.

Of Aodh VII. and the artifices of the Danes to gain a new footing in Ireland—become again terrible to the natives—reign of Flan, and his invasion of South Munster—singular reason for entering North Munster, and his defeat there—the Danes avail themselves of these intestine broils—of Cormac king of Munster—cause of his invading Leinster—his will—defeat and death in the battle of Maigh-Ailbe.

A O D H, or Hugh VII. the son of Niall-Caille, succeeded to the monarchy. Though the Danes, as a military people, were expelled the kingdom, yet the fertility of the soil and

A.C. beauty of the country, but more, its immense riches, were continual stimulants to them to pant for a re-possession of it. To attempt this, by force, they saw impracticable; as, by the convention at Rath-Aodh, all parts of the kingdom had confederated to oppose these foreign invasions. After much consultations, the following project, says Cambrensis, was agreed to. Three brothers, Amelanus, Sitaracus, and Ivorus, commanders of great abilities, fitted out a considerable fleet, consisting of merchandise, but in which large quantities of arms were concealed; and the better to deceive the vigilance of the Irish, they were divided into three squadrons. One sailed up the Shannon, to dispose of their goods at Limeric, commanded by Ivorus. He waited upon Lachtna, king of North Munster, presented him with some rare curiosities, requesting his permission to settle in that city, with his people, in the way of traffic, and promising extraordinary duties for this liberty. In like manner Amelanus was permitted to settle in Dublin, by the king of Leinster; and Sitaracus, in Waterford, by the prince of the Deasies. Cambrensis and the Polychronicon affirm, that by these three leaders were these cities for the first time built; but the reader cannot forget that they were cities of note long before Christianity, and that the trade of Dublin, in particular, was so great in these early days, that a most bloody war broke out, in the decline of the second century, between the monarch Con and the king of Munster, to determine to whom the duties upon exports and imports, in that city, should be paid. Add to this, that St. Patrick celebrates it for its great trade, riches, and splendor; and, as to Waterford, the name of it, in Irish, sufficiently declares its ancient commerce, being called Port-Lairge, or the harbour in form of a thigh; so that if it had not been noted for trade, it would not have got the name of Port.

These

These chiefs now laid themselves out to pay their court to the different princes in whose territories they had got footing. They entered into their interests, soothed their passions, and engaged to support their different claims. It must be confessed that the Irish have a greater *milkeness* of temper than any other nation; and English writers, and English governors, whilst they have been plundering them of their property, and forming the most iniquitous schemes against them, abundantly acknowledge how much gentle words could pacify them. We must not then be surprised that the Danish intrigues proved so successful. As the fast friends and allies of these Irish princes, they were permitted to purchase land, and erect castles and strong holds for their security; and by this means, and the accession of fresh forces, under the disguise of merchants and travellers, they became very formidable friends in a short time. Thus Amelanus, 866 or (as he is called in our annals) Amhlaoibh, uniting with the Lagenians, attacked the forces of Connor, the son of Donough, governor of Meath, and defeated them at Clonaird. Amongst the slain was this Connor, who fell by the sword of Humphry, a Danish prince. Encouraged by this success, and joined by fresh forces, Amelanus, the spring following, makes a sudden incursion into Ulster, surprises Ardmach, and, after plundering 867 the churches and sacred places of their riches, set fire to them, putting, at the same time, to the sword above a thousand people, clergy and laity. The monarch hastily collected a body of men, and came up with the incendiaries, and their Irish allies, at Lough-Foil, in the county of Donegal. The action was long and severe, but victory at length declared in favour of Aodh. Of the Danes only, twelve hundred were slain in the field, with forty officers of note: how many of their allies fell on that day is not said. Encouraged by this success, the monarch attacks 868 their castles and garrisons, recovering a considerable part of the

A C. booty they had taken. Among other exploits, he set fire to the
 the castle of Cluan-Dalcham, near Dublin, and put the gar-
 rison, and numbers of their best commanders, then shut up
 there, to the sword. To revenge these affronts Amelanus, soon
 369 after, laid an ambuscade, and surprised, and put to the sword,
 or made prisoners, above two thousand Irish. Encouraged by
 this success, Amelanus, with his Irish associates, takes the field;
 but Aodh, at the head of one thousand cavaliers, and as many
 foot, mounted on the troop-horses, for the greater expedition,
 attacked their army so courageously and seasonably, that, of above
 five thousand men, of which it was composed, few escaped the
 slaughter. Soon after Amelanus, and his brother Ivorus, col-
 lected their best troops, and hastened to the assistance of Hin-
 guar and Hubba, their allies, then hard pressed by the Welsh.
 For it was a policy successfully practised by this people, when
 they found themselves too closely pressed in different places, to
 give up one or two, for a time, in order to be more successful
 in a third; and, when they had established their power in the
 last place, to return with greater forces to the former. The
 histories of France and England, as well as Ireland, sufficiently
 prove this, and will clearly explain why they so speedily re-
 cruited their forces, and triumphed over troops which, a little
 before, they retreated from. Their success in Wales was so
 great, in this last expedition, that Roger, the son of Moirman,
 king of the Britons, fled to Ireland for refuge, and was most
 honourably entertained by the monarch.

For the remainder of this reign we read of no farther hostile at-
 tempts of the Danes; and in this time many churches and public
 edifices were re-built and re-edified. Among others, Ardmach,
 Kildare, Skelig St. Michael, in the county of Kerry, &c. re-
 sumed their former splendor; but the Danish depredations on
 the English and Scottish coasts were so great, that the rich shrine
 of

of St. Columba was, for its greater security, in 875, conveyed A.C.
to Ireland, from the Isle of Huy. The monarch at length departed this life in peace, the 20th of November 879, with the character of a good prince, a good foldier, and a good christian.

Flan-Sionna, son of the intrepid Malachie, was called to the throne. His reign commenced with a sudden invasion of 879
Munster, in which he carried every thing before him. Cean-faola, (not Maolguala, with Keating), was at this time king of 881
Munster, and at the same time abbot of Emely; and we cannot be surpris'd at the success of the monarch against such an enemy. We are told in the Psalter of Cashill, that the monarch became so elated at this success, that one day, in the presence of his generals and his court, he declared that he would enter hostilely into any territory in Ireland, and that with as much safety, and as little fear of an enemy, as if he had been on a royal tour; and, in consequence of this confidence, he announced his intentions of amusing himself at chess on his march home. Mac Lonnán, the chief bard, who thought it his duty to check such vain fallies, answered, that if he went into the Dal-Gas territories, or those of Thomond, in the same manner, and offered such marks of contempt to that intrepid race, he would soon see the difference between invading the territories of a warrior and of a priest. Enraged at this tart remark, Flan ordered the tents to be immediately struck, and directed his march towards Thomond; but Lorcan, king of that country, alarmed at the invasion of South Munster, had already collected his forces, apprehensive of such a visit. As soon as he had crossed the Shannon, and advanced some miles into the country, he pitched his tents, and ordered the chess-tables to be produced, that himself and his chief commanders might sit down to play. Lorcan, was a prince of uncommon intrepidity, and besides possessed of great abilities for the field or the cabinet; and deemed this mark of contempt a

greater

A.C. greater indignity than the invasion itself. Scarce had Flan and his officers begun their games, when the Dalgais broke into their camp, overturned the tables, and called the monarch to another party. Both armies immediately engaged with great fury, and night only ended the contest for the present. The battle was renewed next morning with the rising sun, and continued till night. It was a point of honour that gave rise to the whole dispute; and this only could end with the destruction of one party or the other, for neither would retreat. It ended indeed the evening of the third day, but with the destruction of almost the entire of the imperial army; and Flan himself was obliged to send this very Mac Lonnán to Lorcan, to beg a safe guard for himself and the remainder of his shattered forces, which was immediately granted. This battle, and the consequences of it, proclaim but too much the natural dispositions of the Irish to contention; and how ready they were, on the most trifling occasions, to rush wantonly into battle. It however proves that their very manner of giving offence had something in it noble and manly. In 888, Ceanfaola, king of Munster died, and was succeeded by Donogh, the son of Duibh-Dabhorean, of the same Eugénian stock.

The Danes, from their successes in Britain and Gaul, were enabled to reinforce their garrisons in Ireland; and they availed themselves of the supineness of their enemies; for in 883, they invaded Leinster, and plundered many rich churches and abbeys, particularly those of Kildare and the Naas, returning to Dublin, loaded with spoils, and 280 captives, amongst whom was Suine, the son of Duibh-Dabhorean, prior of Kildare, and other ecclesiastics of prime quality, who were ransomed at a very great expence. In 885, the monarch Flan attacked Dublin, but his army was defeated, and amongst the slain was Largifius, bishop of Kildare. The death of this prelate shews, that the ordinance of Aodh VI. dispensing prelates from attending the royal army, was

not perpetual. In 890, the Danes made a sudden incursion into Ulster, plundering the churches of Ardmach, and returning with an immense booty, and a vast number of captives. They at the same time established a colony at Loch-Foil; and the lake was covered with their sloops and boats, from which they at times, sorely distressed the adjacent parts. The monarch enraged at these repeated depredations, and particularly for their again plundering Kildare, the Naas, Cluanaird, &c. engaged then in a most bloody battle, remarkable only for its carnage, without any visible advantages to either party. The next year gave rise to a fresh engagement, in which the monarch kept the field, but his loss was very considerable. In 893, the Danes about Loch-Foil, collected a considerable force and plundered Ardmach; and the year after, notwithstanding the distresses of the kingdom, instead of convening the national estates, and renewing the general confederacy of Rath-Aodh, we find Flan collecting a mighty army, again to invade Munster; but what the success of this second expedition was, we are not told.

Our annals are silent as to other publick events, till the year 902, when Cormoc, the son of Cuillenan, was proclaimed king of Munster, on the death of Donogh. He was at the same time archbishop of Cashill or Munster, and thus united the regal and pontifical dignities. However, there was nothing singular in this in Ireland, any more than in other countries; for two of his predecessors, and of the same Eugenic line, to wit, Olchubhar, and Cean-Foala, were abbots of Emely, whilst kings of Munster; and Muredach, the son of Bran, contemporary with Cean-Foala, was at the same time abbot of Kildare, and king of Leinster. Not to mention sacred history, where we find many Jewish princes high-priests, Mahomet, and many of his successors, under the title of caliphs, ruled both in spirituals and temporals. The reign of the immaculate Cromwell and his pious hosts will

not

A.C. not be soon forgot. He was at the same time protector and high-priest, and his officers acted as justices, clergymen, and soldiers occasionally; so that his administration might be called the *church militant*. Thus Anius in Virgil:

“Rex Anius, rex idem hominum, PHOEBIQUE SACERDOS!”

Some time after Cormoc was proclaimed king of Munster, he paid a visit to Lorcan, king of Thomond. This prince, not content to punish Flan for his invasion of his territories, by defeating his army, fitted a large fleet of sloops and small craft on the Shannon, from which he made sudden incursions on both sides that river, returning home with considerable booty, both from Meath and Conaught. Cormoc and his retinue were entertained by this prince, with all the expensive profusion of Irish banquets, and returned to Cashill with hostages from eleven out of twelve of the counties of which Thomond was then composed.

903 The next year Lorcan returned Cormoc's visit, and was assigned the northern half of the palace of Cashill, for himself and his retinue; but these visits were something more than ceremony. Domhnal, the son of Cathil, and king of Conaught, was collecting a large army to invade Thomond; and it was necessary to be prepared for this event. The invasion took place, but with little
904 success. The next year Flan again entered Munster, and pene-
905 trated with his forces as far as Limeric; but was obliged to re-
906 treat. Lorcan uniting his forces with those of Cormoc, composed a very considerable army, and with it they invaded Meath. The monarch met them on the plains of Maigh-Lena, so memorable for the bloody engagement between the monarch Con, and Eogan, king of Munster, in the second century. The battle soon commenced, and Flan and his army were defeated.

Cormoc,

Cormoc is represented by our historians as a prince of exemplary piety, justice, and learning. The causes generally assigned for his invading Leinster, and in which attempt he lost his life, by no means justifies this character. It is said he undertook this war, to reclaim the tribute paid to Munster, from the days of Conaire the Great, by the Lagenians, for the murder of his father, but which had not been demanded for near two centuries past; and therefore, by disuse, was in a manner abolished. The fact was not so; and that valuable tract, the book of Lecan, proves it. A.C.

In the beginning of the eighth century were six brothers, all the descendants of the Egonachts of South Munster, men of unfeigned piety, and who had dedicated themselves to monastic lives. Eminus, one of them, had obtained from the Lagenians a track of ground, near the river Barrow, on which he erected a monastery, endowed with particular privileges. By the religious vows of his order, they were to taste neither meat or butter, and no Leinster subjects were to be received into this house, except approved of by the abbot. The fame of this monastery, and the great austerity of its monks, drew numbers of people to it, so that it became in some time a considerable city. It was called Ros-Glas, and as the abbey was composed entirely of Munster men, the word Muimneach, was added to it. It was named also from this Eminus, or Evinus, Monaster Evin, and which name it goes by to this day. Cearbhuil, king of Leinster, had taken possession of this house, for the use of his own people, and the exiled monks applied to Cormoc. It was a religious dispute, and he entered into it with alacrity. His confident and first minister, was the abbot of Inis-Catha, or Scatterry, of the same blood with himself, but violent and positive in his temper. He represented it as the cause of God and of religion; and nothing but a
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A C. most exemplary punishment could atone for this sacrilege. The monarch interferes, and the king of Leinster sends ambassadors, and offers his son as an hostage to restore all matters to their pristine order. This proposal, though it satisfied Cormoc, could not appease the abbot. In short, he so worked on the temper of the king, that an invasion of Leinster was resolved on; and in which we find the two Munsters engaged! For he sent for Lorcan, king of Thomond, and declared in the presence of his council, that he should in justice, and agreeable to the will of their common ancestor Oilíoll, succeed him as king of Leath-Mogha. Whilst the army was collecting and preparing for this expedition, he seemed to have a prescience of his own death. He made his last will, and prepared for a speedy dissolution. This will is yet extant, both in prose and verse. In the last, his most costly sacred vestments, he bequeaths to the abbot of Inis-Catha; his clock, which called him to his devotions, to the nunnery on the river Fergus; his royal robes, embroidered with gold, and set with costly jewels, were to be deposited in the monastery of Roscrea, to the care of the order of St. Cronan; his armour and coat of mail, he bequeathed to the king of Ulster; his gold chain to St. Muchuda; the rest of his wardrobe to Mac Gleinin; and his PSALTER, which he faithfully transcribed from ancient records, he ordered to be deposited at Cashel, as a monument to future ages. He left gold and silver chalices, vestments, and presents of gold and silver, to the principal churches of the kingdom.

The Munster army at length entered Leinster in three divisions. The first was commanded by the abbot of Inis-Catha, and the prince of Ossory; the second by Cormoc himself; and the third by the prince of the Deasies. The Lagenians were not behind hand in their preparations, yet still made one effort more to peace. It was the custom on these occasions, to send heralds to announce the

the time and place of action ; and in return to the challenge of Cormoc, the Lagenians again sued for peace, which the principal officers thought equitable, but which the councils of the abbot Flabhertach over-ruled. The battle that ensued was fatal to the Mamonians ; and it is agreed on, that neither their officers or soldiers entered into it with spirit. But had they considered, that though this war was not to their liking, yet still when the battle commenced, that on their own bravery their safety depended, their defeat would not be so considerable, nor their loss so great as it was. This bloody battle was fought in the barony of Idrone, in the county of Carlow, and from the place is called the battle of Belach-Muga, or of Magh-Ailbe. It is said, that as soon as the signal for engaging was thrown out, that Ceilliochar, one of Cormoc's leaders, who commanded a body of horse, rode through the ranks, and called aloud to his men to retreat : that the war was a wanton one ; a war of priests ; and to them it should be left to decide it. On this he clapped spurs to his horse and quitted the field, followed by many of his people, which greatly dispirited others. The engagement however continued with great obstinacy for many hours, notwithstanding that the monarch fought on the Leinster side ; but the Mamonians at length suffered a most comple defeat ; 6000 of their bravest veterans, with numbers of officers, besides Cormoc himself, fell that day, with many princes and nobles. Amongst these were O'Felan, prince of the Deasies, in the county of Waterford ; O'Keefe, prince of Fermoigh ; O'Liathan, prince of that territory, now called Barrymore ; O'Shaghnessy, prince of Aidhne, now called Killtartan, in the county of Galway, (then in exile) ; Mac Ennery, prince of Ui-Connell, or Upper Connells, in the county of Limeric ; O'Sullivan, prince of Dunkerman, in the county of Kerry ; Madigan, brother to Donogh, late king of Munster ; Fitz Patrick,

A.C.

909

A.C. prince of Ossory, and many others. To account in some measure for the numbers of prime quality that fell in this battle on the side of Munster, it is to be noticed, that this Eminus, was deemed the chief saint and protector of the Eogonachts. So much so, that his consecrated bell, which was called Bernan-Emhin, was what was sworn upon in solemn trials, by all this tribe, and always deposited with the Mac Egan's hereditary chief justices of South Munster. The bell of St. Sennanus (or some other for it), is still religiously preserved in the West of the county of Clare; and to swear by it falsely, at this day, it is agreed upon by the common people, would be immediately followed by convulsions and death. If these are acts of superstition, the sensible reader will however agree with me, that they are arts innocent in themselves, calculated for the best purposes, and for the meridian in which they prevail. After the battle, the body of Cormoc was searched for, and his head, taken off, was presented by some soldiers to the monarch Flan, in hopes of a great reward; but this generous prince upbraided them for their cruelty, ordered them out of his presence; and it is said even kissed the head, lamenting the loss of so wise a prince, and so religious a prelate. He then directed the body to be sought for, and ordered both to be delivered to Monach, the confessor of Cormoc, to be interred with suitable honours, where his will had appointed.

Amongst the prisoners of note taken in the above battle, was Flabhertach, the cause of all this dreadful carnage. It is highly honourable to the ancient clergy of Ireland, that, though they had some hot-headed priests amongst them, who were the cause of much blood being spilt, as St. Columba in the sixth, and the abbot of Inis-Catha in this century, who were both of the blood royal; yet far from being countenanced in these hostile deeds, (though both contended for the privileges of the church), we find them

punished by the clergy. The first was banished to Scotland, and this last imprisoned for two years, and then ordered to a severe penance in his monastery of Scatterry. Dubhlaetna succeeded to the throne of Munster and reigned six years. A.C.

After a long reign of thirty-six years and some months, Flan-Sionna departed this life, the 8th of June, 916. Whatever his abilities might be, his actions displayed little of magnanimity or sound policy. A small exertion of either, considering the length of his administration, would have effectually freed his country from these vile incendiaries the Danes, and saved the nation from new scenes of cruelty and barbarity.

C H A P. VI.

State of letters in the tenth age—Clement and Albin first regents of the universities of Paris and Pavia—a mistake of M. Fleury's corrected, and a farther account of Clement—of Dungal, Donatus, Moengal, Feidhlim, the abbot Patrick—of the celebrated Scotus, and some account of his works—a different person from John Scotus, professor at Oxford—of Ornulphus and Buo—remarks on the erection of schools in France—decay of Irish hospitable houses there.

IT is argued on, that the first universities founded on the continent, were those of Paris and Pavia, and that Claude Clement was regent of the first, and Albin of the other, who were both Scots. They got the title of universities, to distinguish them from schools; as in the first, professors were appointed to instruct in every science, whereas in schools, particular branches of literature

A.C. rature *only* were taught ; as philosophy in one, divinity in another, and so on. From the name of Scots given to Clement and Albin, former North British writers have vainly claimed them as their countrymen ; but nothing is more clear than that they were Scots of Ireland, which was the only country known by that name, from the third to the eleventh century, as the learned Usher, and all our historians and antiquaries, have proved. I have said, former North British writers have attempted to make them citizens of Caledonia, because the present race seem in unison that their ancestors were totally illiterate, so that the fact does not now admit of litigation ; but to such as may entertain the least doubt of this matter, I must refer them to authorities that cannot be controverted †.

Some epistles of Albin are yet extant, and the works of Clement were so many, and so erudite, that a learned writer of the fourteenth century affirmed, “ That by the works of Clement, “ an Irishman, the French might be compared to the Athenians “ and Romans *.”

Fleury †, makes of Claude Clement two distinct people. The first, he says, was a Spaniard, and bishop of Turin, the last an Irish Scot, the successor to Alcuin in the schools of the palace of Charlemagne. However, all ancient writers agree that, not the schools of the palace, but the university of Paris was founded by Clement, and this before Alcuin put his foot into that capital. Some affirm that he was, after this, consecrated bishop of Auxerre ; but this is a manifest anachronism, as Claude of Auxerre flourished much earlier. The great pro-

† Hibern. Refurgens. Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 696. Prim. Eccles. Brit. Lynch's Letter, at the end of Ogygia vindicated. Harris's Irish Writers, p. 54, &c.

* Bebenburgius de Zelo Veter. Princip. German.

† Hist. Eccl. vol. x. p. 28.

bability is, that he was made bishop of Turin, as, under that title, he became so noted for his writings; and of course, suppressing his surname, he might be easily taken for a different person. M. Fleury acknowledges, that Clement was regent of the school, and that Claude lectured in divinity there, and was, after this, bishop of Turin: but the fact is, that the regent was also professor of divinity, and of course bishop of Turin; and that this was the case, we see, by the works, which M. Fleury attributes to this writer, appearing to be the very same which Colgan, Usher, Harris, &c. give to Claude Clement†.

The great erudition of Clement, his expositions of many books of the Old and New Testament, and his talents, as a preacher, determined Louis, the successor of Charlemagne, to have him consecrated bishop of Turin, in which diocese many abuses had arisen. The Greek church had been long divided about the question of *images*, and our new bishop proved himself a violent *Iconoclast*. It appears that, in his diocese, great abuses had been committed through the extreme ignorance of the people and clergy, insomuch that these images, which were intended to excite devotion, and a lively imitation of the sanctity of those they represented, rather increased the superstition of the people! He endeavoured to reclaim them by preaching and exhortations; but his zeal carried him so far as to break and destroy most of these images, and even remove the crosses from several churches. He defended these outrages by several learned writings, and was answered by some, but by none in so masterly a manner by a countryman of his own—Dungal, a celebrated theologian, who was one of these clergy who happily escaped the first Danish proscription, fled to France, and became a monk of St. Denis, near Paris. He wrote a treatise *Pro Cultu Sacrarum Imaginum*, &c. in which he distinguished between the use and

† Hist. Eccl. vol. x. p. 345.

A.C. abuse of images, conformable to the doctrines of the church; and accused Claude of his intemperate abuse of images, of reviving the heresies of Eunomius and Vigilance. This work he dedicated to the emperors Louis and Lothaire. Fleury * tells us he was a foreigner, without ascertaining his country; but had we no other proofs of it but his name, it would sufficiently point out his country †.

Donat was one of the numbers who fled from Ireland, to avoid the butchery of the Danes, in this age, and retired to an hermitage in Tuscany, from whence he was called to the bishopric of Fiesole. Some works are attributed to him; but a Latin Description of Ireland, beginning with “*Finibus Occidius describitur*” “*Optima Tellus*,” it was agreed on was wrote by him. Colgan promised to publish his life, in his List of Irish Saints, for the month of October; but of this great work, his *Trias Thaumaturga*, and *Lives of Saints* for the first three months only, have appeared.

Moengal, called by the Latins Marcellus, was an Irish monk of the order of St. Columbanus, who escaped the fury of the Danes, with his uncle bishop Marcus. Returning from Rome, he came to the abbey of St. Gall, to visit Grimoald, abbot of that monastery, with others, his countrymen, there residing. He was requested to remain there and superintend the schools of that house, to which the children of the princes and nobility, from a great distance, were sent for education. He wrote *Homil. in Lect. Evangel.* which work is said to be yet extant.

Feidlemid-Mac-Criomthan, who had resigned the crown of Munster, in this century, for a monastic life, is said, in his retreat, to have wrote some tracts, as well historical as devotional; but both the works and their very titles are lost.

* Hist. Eccles. vol. i. p. 257.

† Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 256, 257.

Patrick, abbot of Ardmagh, wrote a *Book of Homilies and Letters to the Irish Nation*. He retired to Britain from the Danish fury, and died in the abbey of Glastonbury: his feast is celebrated on the 24th of August; and from the name many have asserted that it was not this Patrick, but the celebrated apostle of Ireland, that was interred in that famous abbey. Usher gives a large account of this matter*.

The celebrated Scotus, called John Erigena, escaped the Danish persecution in 846, and fled to France, with other religious. His great erudition, his assiduity and penetrating genius, so far gained the affection of Charles the Bald, then king of France, that he lodged him in his palace, and even made him eat at the same table with himself†. At the request of this monarch he translated, from the original Greek, into Latin, the works of St. Denis; and through his influence was he prevailed upon, by Hincmarus, archbishop of Rheims, and Pardulus, bishop of Laon, to undertake the defence of the church against the attacks of the *Predestinarians*. This work is addressed to these prelates, in which he acknowledges the great honour done him in deigning him worthy so great a task. Questions concerning *grace, predestination*, and abstracted subjects of this kind, often bewilder the imagination, and are perpetual sources of scepticism. He professed to follow closely the doctrine of St. Augustine; but this work was condemned in the third council of Valence, as was, in later times, a similar work wrote by Jansenius, bishop of Ypres; though, like our Scotus, he also pretended the authority of Augustine for what he advanced! Soon after the appearance of this work of Scotus, we find it warmly attacked by Prudentius, bishop of Troyes; the church of Lyons also employed the deacon Florus, a celebrated theologian, to refute it; and

* Primord. p. 890, &c.

† Hist. Eccles. tom. x. p. 440.

A.C. many others entered into the controversy. In their answers they charge Scotus with the doctrines of Pelagius; and it would seem, by them, as if his writings were not only condemned, but he himself confined for publishing them.

The controversy of the eucharist became a new subject of dispute amongst these subtle theologians; and Charles, who knew nothing of the matter, was frequently appealed to, on both sides. Hincmarius and Scotus were, however, his oracles; to them he mostly appealed, and, at this time, Scotus was particularly consulted by him *. This would seem to refute the insinuation of his being confined; but, be that as it may, the treatise he wrote on this subject met as many opponents as the former, and was, at last, condemned in the council at Vercell, A. 1050. Even his translation of Dionysius's works were not well received, particularly at Rome. We are told, that Pope Nicholas wrote to Charles about this translation, complaining that the author, though a man of great erudition, was suspected of not being orthodox; and, therefore, that the book should have been first sent to him, for his approbation, before it was published †. So many, and such powerful enemies, united against a single man, and a stranger, made Charles apprehend for his safety, and he recommended to him to return to his native country, especially, as by the late destruction of the Danes, religion and liberty were again established there. Scotus returned to Ireland in 864, and died there in 874. Some writers suppose our John the same who was invited by king Alfred to superintend the schools at Oxford; but Fleury tells us, that this last was a Saxon born, but educated in France, and by no means to be confounded with John Scotus ‡. The writings of this great man were very numerous; and we

* Dupin's Eccles. History, cent. 9.

† Spotswood's Church History. Harris's Writers of Ireland.

‡ Hist. Eccles. lib. liv. sect. 8.

suppose his astonishing erudition, abilities, and high favour with Charles the Bald, made him be treated with much greater severity, by his contemporaries, than he deserved. He was not only a complete master of the Greek and Latin, but also of the oriental languages; and this circumstance alone, proves the flourishing state of letters in Ireland in these days. How distinguished a figure our literati cut in France at this time, may be collected from what Eric of Auxerre, in his letter to Charles the Bald, says—"Why do I speak of Ireland? (says he) That whole nation, almost despising the dangers of the sea, resort to our coasts with a numerous train of philosophers, of whom, the most celebrated, quitting their native soil, account themselves happy, under your protection, as servants of the wise Solomon." And, in another place, he tells us, "That Charles drew Greeks and Irish, with flocks of philosophers, for the instruction of his people."

Ornulphus and Buo directed their course from Ireland to Iceland, to propagate Christianity, with other monks in their retinue. They were of the order of St. Columba, and erected a monastery in the town of Eñnberg. They converted the natives, and are esteemed the apostles of Iceland, as Angrim Jonas, in his history of that country, declares *. Buo is said to have wrote *Homil. ad Islandos, lib. i.*

Early in this century we read of numbers of public schools being established in France; and the great advantages arising from them were so visible, that, in the council of Langres, held A. 859, the princes and the bishops are exhorted to erect, in convenient places, schools, as well for improvement in the learned languages, as for the better understanding the Scriptures. When the reader recollects that, from the first introduction of

* *Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 256.*

- A.C Christianity into Ireland the missionaries opened schools to instruct in religion and letters, and that the number and fame of these schools encreased as their doctrine spread; when he also calls to mind the numbers of holy doctors, who afterwards quitted this country to reform the neighbouring states, and especially in the present century, he will be apt to conclude that the French (as did before them the Britons and Saxons) not only adopted our mode of propagating Christianity, but employed also our doctors to establish it. Hence the crouds of our philosophers and doctors pouring into France, as noted by Éric, are accounted for. Indeed, the intercourse between both countries, from a remote date, seems to have been very considerable. When the abbey of Nivelles was founded in favour of St. Gertrude, daughter to the illustrious Pepin, maire of the palace to Dagobert and Sigebert the third, in the seventh century, her mother, whilst she sent to Rome for reliques, and copies of the Lives of Saints, sent, at the same time, to Ireland for lettered men to instruct her community, and for musicians and chanters to teach them psalm-singing. Amongst the first were St. Foillan, St. Ultan, &c. and she erected for them a monastery, or rather an house of hospitality, for the reception and entertainment of pious, and other Irish, travelling that way, at Fosse, near the abbey of Nivelles *. Many others were erected through France, by pious Irishmen, for the same purpose; and in the council of Meaux, held in 845, amongst other acts, they direct, “ That complaint shall be made to the king, “ of the ruin of hospitable houses, but particularly of those of “ the Irish nation, *founded by charitable natives of that country.* “ Not only (say they) have these intruders refused to receive or “ entertain such as present themselves for relief, but they have

* Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 421.

“ even ejected these religious, whose duty it was to relieve the
 “ sick, the distressed, and the stranger *.” The erection of those
 houses is surely an incontrovertible proof of the close correspon-
 dence between the nations, and of the numbers of Irish thereto
 resorting from time to time.

* Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. x. p. 382.

A.C.

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B O O K XI.

C H A P. I.

Of the monarch Niall, with a retrospective view of Irish affairs—a fresh invasion of the Danes—battle of Ceannfuad—a more fatal one near Dublin, in which the monarch fell—storm of Ardmagh—Donachad elected monarch; engages and defeats the Danes—review of the affairs of Munster—invaded from Conaught—Lorcan succeeds to the crown of Munster—battle of Roscrea, and defeat of the Danes.

916

NIALL IV. called Glun-Duibh, or of the Black Knee, son to the monarch Aodh, was successor to Flan. The very bad policy pursued by his predecessor, who, during his long reign, instead of uniting all parts of the kingdom against the common enemy, studied only how to distress the other provinces, and particularly Leath-Mogha, gave the Danes full leisure to establish their power, which they promoted with less suspicion, by engaging in the interests of the different competitors. Cormoc, king of Munster, misled by weak heads, contributed not a little to increase their influence in that province. Lorcan, of the Dalgais line, notwithstanding Cormoc's declaration, was, we see, excluded the crown of Munster, and even after the death of Dubh-

Dubhlaetna, Flabhertach, abbot of Inis-Citha, was appointed to that honour, to his prejudice; so that these two great houses lost that mutual confidence, so necessary to make them respectable. Such was the situation of the kingdom at this time. Private animosities directed public counsels; the national chiefs were more jealous of each other, than of the common enemy; and the Danes availed themselves of these unhappy feuds. The times seemed favourable to reduce the kingdom once more to their obedience; and they waited only for reinforcements to throw off the mask entirely. A part of these arrived in Ulster, committing every where their usual depredations. The monarch, at the head of a considerable army, soon came up with them. Both parties prepared for battle; but the fortune of the day at length declared in favour of the Irish. The foreigners were defeated with great slaughter; but the victors purchased the day very dearly, most of their principal officers and best soldiers having fallen in the combat. The next year a fresh party of Danes entered the harbour of Dublin, and landing their troops, were joined by numbers of their countrymen, so as to form a very considerable body, with which they invaded the province of Leinster; leaving every where marks of their ferocity and cruelty. Lorcan, the son of Felan, king of that province, collected his troops from all quarters to oppose them. A bloody battle was fought on the plains of Ceannfuad, in which the Lagenians were defeated with great carnage; and amongst their slain were many princes and nobles of prime quality. Animated by this success, they send for fresh forces, to make a complete conquest of the kingdom. In 919, a considerable fleet appeared in the harbour of Dublin, commanded by Godfrey, the son of Jomhair; to the superior capacity of this last general, were the Danes indebted for their late victory; and now both armies uniting, Dublin was attacked with

A.C. with incredible fury, and, after a gallant resistance, taken sword in hand, and the garrison put to the sword.

919 All Leth-Cuin became alarmed at these uncommon successes of an enemy, who they, before this, seldom engaged without a certainty of victory. The imperial standard was set up, and to it troops repaired from all quarters. A very considerable army was soon formed; and it was judged proper to attack the enemy, before they possessed themselves of other strong holds. The two armies met near Dublin, on the 16th of October, and the engagement soon commenced. Never was greater intrepidity displayed, than was by both armies. The fight continued for many hours; but the Irish at length gave way on every side. In vain were they called by their leaders to return to the charge: unable to resist the number and impetuosity of the enemy, they betook themselves to a shameful flight, instead of a regular retreat. The monarch determined not to survive the disgrace, and, with a chosen band, consisting of the prime knights and nobility of the kingdom, rushed into the thickest part of the Danish battle, where he and his whole party were cut off; *but by no inglorious wounds!* With Niall fell that day Aodh, king of Ulster, Connor, son of Flan, and prince of Tara, the princes of Orgial, Breagh, with many other princes and nobles; and from this we may judge how great the loss in general must be. This battle though fought so late in the season, did not prevent the enterprising Jomhair from improving his advantages; whilst he laid the adjacent country in ruin and ashes, he detached his son Godfrey, with a considerable body of forces, to make an irruption into Ulster, in revenge for the defeat he received there in the year 917; and in the middle of November, he took Armagh sword in hand, putting the garrison to the sword; "*but sparing the churches, the clergy, and the infirm,*" say the Annals of the Four Masters.

Donachad II. son of the monarch Flan, was elected monarch, and began his reign with some eclat. He collected the shattered forces of Leth-Cuin, which he considerably reinforced by fresh troops, and led them forth, without loss of time, against the Danes. These last, accustomed of late to victory, did not decline the combat; they even marched into Meath, to meet the enemy. The engagement was desperate and bloody; but, notwithstanding the great abilities of Jomhair as a general, seconded by the valour and discipline of his troops, they were at length obliged to give way on every side; and the slaughter in the field, and in the pursuit, was incredibly great. Our annalists note, that their loss in this battle amply compensated for that of the Irish, the preceding year. Donachad, detached flying parties to cut off the enemies retreat, and destroyed all their garrisons and strong holds; so that nothing remained to them in Leinster and Meath, but the city of Dublin, which was too well fortified, and had too formidable a garrison for Donachad to sit down before it.

Munster was still divided about the succession to that crown. The posterity of Cormoc-Cas, had been long deprived of their right of alternate succession; and engaged in protecting their frontiers from the Conacian invaders, they wanted that power, so necessary to support right amongst princes. The great abilities of Lorcan, as a general and a statesman, and the length of his reign, gave new force and vigour to the territory of North Munster. The king of Conaught prepared again to invade that province, both by land and sea. A party of his men landed near Loch-Derg, and surprised the fort, which defended the palace of Lorcan, put the garrison to the sword, and plundered and set fire to the palace; but were disappointed of their principal object, which was, the capture of the prince himself, who happily at that time was engaged elsewhere. They now formally demand of Lorcan hostages, as vassal to the king of Conaught, or to sur-

A.C. render to them to that part of North Munster included in the present county of Clare. To so insolent a message he returned a proper answer, and ordered the beacons to be lighted up, which was notice to the whole province, immediately to repair to him, with horses and arms. It is curious, even at this day, to observe the judgment with which these beacons were placed. I have examined several of these eminences, and am therefore a judge of the matter. Not only through the whole county of Clare, were forts so disposed, that in two hours the entire county could receive the alarm, whether the attempts were made by sea or land, or both; but in Lower Ormond, stations were so judiciously placed, that the least attempts, or preparations towards the Shannon side were quickly made known. By these means Lorcan soon collected a considerable force—for the whole province took fire at the attempt on his person—not satisfied with repelling the invaders, and defeating them both by land and sea, he, in his turn, entered Conaught, carrying fire and sword through a great part of the province, returning home loaded with spoils and glory *.

941 Flabhertach, the abbot of Inis-Catha, who from a penitentiary, was called to succeed Dubhlachtna, in the throne of Munster, dying after a reign of twenty-six years, Lorcan, though greatly advanced in years, insisted on the right of succession in his house, and marched towards Cashell with a considerable army, (where the estates were assembling to choose a successor), the better to support his claim. This *ultima ratio* gave uncommon weight to his negotiations, and he was proclaimed king of Leath-Mogha, an honour which his ancestors had been long deprive of. The Rev. Mr. O'Conry †, possessed with the modern spirit of scepticism, will not allow to the Eugenic line, the number of kings which antiquity has attributed to them. To prove this in part,

* Leabhar Muimhean.

† The Law of Tanistry illustrated, p. 471.

he affirms, that from the death of Cormoc, the son of Cuillenan, to that of Ceallachan, who in truth succeeded Lorcan, but one Eugénian ruled Munster, namely, Flabhertach, and him he places after Lorcan. The fact however is, that, Dubhlachtna and Flabhertach, both Eugénians, preceded Lorcan, and that the reign of this last as king of Munster, was but eighteen months. However, even in this short time, an event happened, which added greatly to his former laurels.

A great annual fair was held at Roscrea, on the festival of St. Peter and Paul, but which continued for fourteen days. As this was nearly in the center of the kingdom, merchants resorted to it, not only from different parts of Ireland, but from foreign countries, to dispose of their wares; for the country was even then by the mercantile world, called—“*Insula dives opum, gemmarum, vestis, & auri!*” The Danes of Limeric and Con-
 942
 aught had formed a bold scheme, to surprize the merchants at this fair, where they expected immense treasures. Olfinn, chief of the Conacian Danes, conducted this enterprize, and marched his men in detached parties to the borders of the Shannon, where they were to meet at an appointed day, the forces from and about Limeric. As they took different routes, and no very considerable bodies appeared together, their intentions were more secret, and less alarming. But no sooner did they appear on the side of the Shannon, but notice was given by lighting fires at the different stations in Lower Ormond, by which the country became alarmed. They plunged into their barks as soon as possible; and of this, and of their landing in Ormond, which was effected in little more than two hours, notice was also given. From the place of their landing, the object of their destination became suspected, and soon known. As every thing depended upon expedition, they formed and marched off, as fast as they landed. The soldiers who guarded the approaches to the fair assembled, and were joined

A.C. by the merchants, their clerks and numbers of gentlemen and others, assembled from all quarters on such occasions. On consultation, it was resolved, not to remove the shops, the stages, the warehouses, or merchandises, but let them remain where erected; by which means these people, more immediately interested, would acquit themselves the better. It was also agreed on, to march out and meet the enemy, not wait to be attacked by them. These resolves inspired the people with confidence; for troops advancing to the charge, must collect more resolution (if they acquit themselves well), than these who wait to be attacked. As soon as the Danes appeared, they gave them no time to form, but assailed them on every side, with such firmness and resolution, (neither of which was expected), that they were very soon broke; and in this battle, and in the pursuit that followed, above 4000 Danes were slain, with most of their principal officers, amongst whom was Olfinn himself.

About this time Donochad invaded the province of Conaught; a battle was fought near Athluan, or Athlone, in which the imperialists were defeated, and obliged to retire. As this was the time in which the celebrated Ceallachan flourished, we shall bestow a particular chapter on it.

C H A P. II.

Contest between Cineidi and Ceallachan for the crown of Munster—

Cineidi relinquishes his claim to Ceallachan—manner of proclaiming him—a confederacy formed against Cineidi—he unites with Ceallachan against the common enemy—battle and defeat of the Danes near Limeric—again at Cork, with the taking of Cashell and Waterford—bad policy of the Irish, with regard to these foreigners—delibrations of the parliament of Munster, at Cashell.

ON the decease of Lorcan, many candidates appeared for the crown of Munster; but they were soon reduced to two: Cineidi, son to the intrepid Lorcan, and Ceallachan, the son of Buadhchain. Cineidi marched into the county of Cork, to solicit the suffrages of different princes. Ceallachan was proceeding on the same business. Both parties met, an engagement ensued, in which Ceallachan's party were defeated, and 300 of his *own followers*, besides many others, were left dead. This Cineidi, as the Book of Munster observes, was a prince of great intrepidity, and every way worthy the royal stock from whence he sprang. By this little essay, the Eoganachts were not so forward in their support of Ceallachan; and it was imagined the majority of voices would be against him, on the day of election, notwithstanding that the Eoganachts reckoned seventeen counties, whilst in North Munster were only twelve. The mother of this prince being a lady of great spirit, and apprehensive that her son would be excluded the throne, waited upon Cineidi in person, to remonstrate on the violence and injustice of his proceedings.

A.C. ceedings. “ She reminded him of the will of their great ancestor
 “ Olioll-Ollum : that by it, the crown was to go alternately,
 “ between the posterity of Fiacha-Muilleathan, and Cormoc-Cas ;
 “ and that as his father was the last king of Munster, it was un-
 “ just in him to attempt to succeed to that crown.” In vain he
 urged, “ that his ancestors for some generations, were deprived
 “ of that right, by the descendants of Fiacha ; and that this was
 “ a sufficient justification of his proceedings.” She did not pre-
 tend to support the usurpations of her house, but dwelt much on
 the present act of injustice ; employed the rhetoric of tears, and
 concluded her speech thus. “ Cuimhnigh a Cineidi-Cas : dail
 “ Fiacha is Cormoc-Cais ; gur fhagfad in Muimhin da roin ;
 “ go ceart idir agcomhchloin.” i. e. “ Remember gallant Ci-
 “ neidi, the agreement between Fiacha and Cormoc ; they di-
 “ vided Munster in two partitions, and decreed it should be go-
 “ verned alternately, by the issue of each house.” So bold and
 animating a speech ; the majesty and dignity with which it was
 delivered ; a fine woman pleading the cause of justice ; and a
 tender and afflicted mother, the defence of a son, unmanned the
 whole assembly ! The gallant Cineidi, was the first to acknow-
 ledge the power of female eloquence ; and what the forces of half
 Ireland united, with difficulty would effect, the tears of a woman
 performed ! Cineidi gave up his claim to the sovereignty of
 Munster, and his competitor was unanimously appointed to that
 high station.

In the history of the renowned hero Ceallachan, now before
 me *, is related, the manner of his inauguration, which as it is
 curious, I shall literally translate. “ The princes and nobles of
 “ Munster, (says my author), waited on Ceallachan at Cashell.
 “ Each put his hands between those of the prince ; the royal
 * Toruigheacht Ceallachan Caifil.
 “ diadem

“ was placed on his head ; it was then announced to the people — A.C.
 “ that Ceallachan, the son of Buadhchain, the son of Lachtna,
 “ the son of Airtghoile, the son of Sneadhafa, the son of Don-
 “ ghoile, the son of Daolgufa, the son of Nadfraoich, the son of
 “ Colgan, the son of Failbhe-Flan, the son of Aodha-Dubh, the
 “ son of Criomhthan, the son of Feidhlim, the son of Aongus, the
 “ son of Core, the son of Luigheach, the son of Olioll-Flan-Beg,
 “ the son of Fiacha-Muilleathan, the son of Eogan-More, the
 “ son of Oliol-Ollum, (and so on to Phænius), was sovereign
 “ prince and ruler of Leath-Mogha ; and the royal shout declared
 “ the public approbation.”

Soon after this, the Book of Munster tells, that a most formidable confederacy was formed against the generous Cineidi, the son of Lorcan, king of North Munster. It reckons the confederates in the following manner : Corcam-Ruadh, Dealbhna, Meath, the Muscrys, Eile, the Eoganachts, with Ceallachan, at their head, and Conaught ! Such formidable enemies, and surrounding his dominions on every side, seemed formed with intent to annihilate the power of North Munster ; and there is reason to think, that Ceallachan, and the Eoganachts, were the very soul of this great confederacy. The intrepid Cineidi, like the present king of Prussia, far from being intimidated, prepared valiantly to oppose his enemies on every side. He called together his brave Dalgais ; these were his hereditary troops, the most warlike and best disciplined in Ireland. In all attacks they were the van, and formed the rear on a retreat. Their banner was the bloody hand, and the motto, “ the first in the attack, and the last
 “ in the retreat.” He caused the beacons to be lighted up, and every man fit to bear arms, prepared to attend his standard. The particulars of this war we are not told ; but that it soon terminated in an honourable peace ; but one of the conditions of it (we must suppose), was, that Cineidi, delivered up his son

Duin-

A.C. Duineachan as an hostage to Ceallachan, because we find this young prince constantly after in his court.

By this peace the two Munsters became united, and of course formidable to their enemies. Actuated by public principles, Ceallachan and Cineidi every where attacked the common enemy. In fourteen different battles, says the *Book of Munster*, did Cineidi engage and defeat the Danes, so as to clear his dominions of them. But the "WARS OF CEALLACHAN CAISIL,"
 943 are more minute in the exploits of this last hero. He called his chiefs together, and exhorted them to arm every where against the Danes; and Limeric was pitched upon as their first attack. A thousand Eoganachts, or hereditary troops of South Munster (a most select body), with many others of less note, headed by Ceallachan, under whom were the young Duineachan, O'Sullivan, O'Keefe, O'Rierdan, O'Leahan, Aodh Mac Cuillenan, and other great chiefs, marched to this assault. Heralds were sent, requiring the Danes to surrender the city, and give up hostages for their future behaviour, or prepare to defend themselves; but the Danes returned for answer, "That far from waiting to be attacked, they would march out of the city and give them battle." They marched out in four divisions, four hundred select men, mostly armed with coats of mail, in each division, besides light armed troops; and at Sain-Aingil, called now Singleland, was the battle fought.

O'Sullivan, who acted as general under Ceallachan, addressed his men in a most animating speech, which was answered by the shouts and clashing of the swords and shields of the soldiery. The fight began, we are told, by the discharge of stones from the slings of the light-armed troops, by the discharge of arrows, by spears, and by lances. The heavy-armed troops now engage, breast to breast, and long and dreadful is the conflict. The Danish commanders leave nothing untried to give firmness to their

their troops ; and the greatest efforts of their antagonists make little impression on them. Ceallachan, at length, singled out Amhlaobh, or Aulavus, the Danish commander, and, with one stroke of his sword, split his scull through his helmet, and he immediately fell dead at his feet. In like manner O'Sullivan engaged Moran, who is called " Son to the king of Denmark," and cut off his head, by a well pointed blow, between the helmet and breast-plate. O'Keefe run Magnus, who is called " The standard bearer," through the body, and after a gallant defence, Lochluin, called Na-Ureach, or of the Spoils, received his death by the hands of O'Rierdan. The Danes now gave way on every side, and are so hotly pursued, that the Irish enter the city with the fugitives, putting to the sword all the foreigners they meet, as well in the streets as in the castles and lofty towers. But instead of keeping possession of the town, we find Ceallachan content with exacting large contributions from the inhabitants, part of which was paid down in gold and merchandize, and hostages taken for the security of the remainder.

Next morning the army marched off for Cork with the utmost secrecy and expedition ; for, it seems, the Danes were so powerful there as to exact hostages from the Eoganachts, and, among these, was a natural son of Ceallachan's. Prudence, therefore, demanded this precaution, lest the Danes might ship them off for the continent. They appeared before Cork in the afternoon of the next day, horse and foot, and immediately summoned the town ; but these, slighting the summons, the signal for attack was directly given ; the walls were scaled, the Danes defeated, and the prisoners restored to liberty. From thence they proceeded for Cashell. On their march an ambuscade was laid for them, but three hundred Danes were cut to pieces in the attempt, as were five hundred more soon after. At Cashell Ceallachan presented O'Keefe with a hundred helmets, a hun-

A.C. dred swords, a hundred shields, a hundred horses, and a hundred slaves. From Cashell the army marched to Waterford, the very day that Sitric, his wife, and family landed there, with seven ships. The citizens, hearing the rapid progress of the Irish, and the many defeats which their countrymen received, instead of marching out to attack the enemy, shut the gates and manned the walls. But their caution availed not ; for whilst on one side the gates were attempted to be broke open, others mounted the walls, which so dismayed them, that they lost all courage, and the town was speedily taken with considerable slaughter. But Sitric, and many of their principal Danes, escaped to their ships, and sailed for Dublin. After this, parties were sent to punish different Irish chiefs who meanly supported these barbarians. Large sums were extorted from them, and they were obliged to send hostages to Ceallachan for their future good behaviour.

Thus was all Munster, in the space of a few weeks, delivered from the tyranny of these wretches, by the vigor and intrepidity of Ceallachan and Cineidi ; but there seems to have been a great defect in the policy of these princes ; for, though it is evident, that far from meaning to exterminate these strangers, the great object of Irish counsels, from the first of these troubles, was to reduce them to obedience, and make them useful to the nation by arts and commerce, yet they always overlooked the true method of bringing them to this. They left them in possession, (or, at least, the ruling part) of most of their sea-ports, by which means, on future occasions, they were enabled to create fresh troubles. Had they, indeed, suffered them to remain in their cities for the sole purpose of trade, and conferred the government of them on magistrates of their own appointment, all the calamities, or at least a considerable part of what fell on the nation, might have been avoided. But this, we see, was not the case ;
and

and the only way to account for this great oversight is, to confess what was really the truth. The Irish, though they knew the value of trade, and highly encouraged and protected it, yet deemed it dishonourable. Enthusiastically fond of arms and of letters, they looked upon other avocations with contempt. Hence we have seen the amazing numbers of the first nobility who devoted themselves to the church, and to different learned professions, as law, physic, poetry, history, music, and genealogy: and these professors even ranked before the military. Commerce and manufactures were mostly carried on, before the arrival of the Danes, by the Belgæ and Damnonii. The trading cities were mostly *Hanse towns*; the monarch, and provincial kings were paid certain subsidies from them in money, wines, and merchandize, every first of May and November. They had a police of their own; and we may safely affirm, that the ancient citizens leagued with the new comers, whose chief power depended on their ships. Even at this day *Ceanuighe*, which is the Irish for a merchant, conveys with it a contemptible idea; and from the old law word *Cain*, tribute, is the word *Ceanuighe* derived.

Upon restoring peace and tranquillity to Munster, a *Feis*, or parliament, was summoned by *Ceallachan* to meet at *Cashell*, where were assembled the chiefs of the seventeen counties of South Munster; and *Cineidi*, with the twelve princes of North Munster, *O'Felan*, prince of the *Deasies*, and others. At this convention *Cineidi* was declared *Tanaiste*, or successor to the crown of Munster, and received the usual presents, and *Tuarasdal*, or pay, annexed to that rank*. Reforms were made (but

* This was ten gold cups, thirty gold hilted swords, thirty horses, ten coats of mail, and two embroidered cloaks; and to be continued annually, till he succeeded to the crown of Munster.

A.C. what, we are not told) in the government of cities ; and the case of the people of Ossory came next under consideration. It appeared from the registers that, for one hundred and forty-one years (says my copy), that is, from the first coming of the Danes, the Ossorians had withheld their usual tribute to the kings of Munster †. Ambassadors were immediately sent to make a formal demand of this tribute, and, in case of refusal, to denounce war against them. But the prince of Ossory, aided by the Lagenians, refused to comply with this demand. His territories were soon invaded ; and he was obliged to submit, and to send his son as an hostage for his future good behaviour.

C H A P. III.

The Danes form a deep-laid conspiracy, under the pretence of marriage, to get Ceallachan into their hands, and succeed—the terms on which they propose to release him, and his own private instructions to his ministers—the Mamonians raise a large army, and fit out a powerful navy, to redeem Ceallachan—Ardmagh taken by assault—Naval engagement off Dundalk, the prodigies of valour performed by the Irish, and release of Ceallachan—triumphant return to Munster.

943 **U**PON the arrival of Sitric in Dublin, he called together an assembly of the principal Danes, in order to consult upon the means of recovering their lost power in Munster, or,

† This (says my author) was three hundred scarlet cloaks, five hundred horses, and their contingent of troops when called on.

at least, of preserving what remained to them in the other provinces. His wife was an Irish princess, so that he preserved, by her family, some native weight in Leath-Cuin. Munster, as has been often before noted, was, to all intents and purposes, totally independent of, and owed no obedience whatever to Leath-Cuin, or the monarchs of the Heremonian line. This it is proper to repeat, because it has been affirmed that Ceallachan's refusing to pay the usual tribute to Donachad, was the reason that he countenanced Sitric in a conspiracy against Munster, the particulars of which we are now to relate.

The Danes had been too long in the kingdom not to be acquainted with the particular interests of its different chiefs. It was by entering into their views, that they gradually gained a new ascendancy after their first expulsion by Malachie. This knowledge they now, with profound policy, availed themselves of. They artfully represented to the monarch, that, by the late success of Munster, its princes acquired new power, and might, as they formerly did, dispute the monarchy with the Heremonians, and so bring all Leath-Cuin under their subjection; that they themselves had formed a scheme, by which that province would be soon reduced; that, provided they had no interruption to their designs, they would, in a short time, have Ceallachan and Dunchnain at their mercy, and of course all Munster in their power; and that whatever dominion they might acquire by this means, they would hold under Donachad and his posterity only. By this artful representation, and speaking to the passions and the seeming interests of the Heremonians, they not only disarmed their jealousies of themselves, but made them view the successes of the Mamonians in a formidable light.

Secure of one party, they now proceed in their attack upon Ceallachan. Ambassadors were sent to Cashell in the names of Sitric and his brothers, Tor and Magnus, and of the sons of the king

A.C. king of Fuarlochlon (I think Norway) and Fionlochlon, or Denmark, and their adherents, requesting a lasting peace and amity with Munster; engaging for themselves, and for their posterity, to relinquish all claims or pretences whatever on any of the cities and sea-ports of that province, and to pay themselves the expences of the late war. They were then directed, if they found this proposal favourably heard, to insinuate the wishes of Sitric, to cement this friendship more closely, by marrying his sister, the lovely and accomplished Beibhion, to Ceallachan. That by this union he could have nothing to fear from Leath-Cuin, as Sitric would always assist him with money, arms, and shipping; Ceallachan, at the same time, engaging to defend him against all attacks of the monarch; and thus their mutual power and independency would be supported. Never was negotiation more plausible, nor more artfully managed! Ceallachan assembled his council; the different proposals were separately examined, and they appeared so advantageous to both parties, that the least doubt of their sincerity could not be harboured. It was evident that Sitric and his party could not exist in Leath-Cuin without support; and Ceallachan, dreading the union of that party against Munster, was glad of so powerful an ally in their own dominions. These agreements were formally ratified on both parts, and Ceallachan prepared for Dublin, to meet his intended bride, with all the splendor and magnificence which the ancient Irish were so fond of. He proposed to march his army to Kildare, there to wait his return, to attend his bride to Cashell; but this was opposed by Cineidi, and by O'Keefe, his general, who said they could by no means agree to leave the country defenceless; but by keeping the troops at Cashell they would be ready to assist him in case of any unforeseen accident.

At the head of the young princes and nobles of Munster, namely, of Dunchuain the son of Cineidi, of Aodh the son of O'Felan,

O'Felan, prince of the Deasies, of Aongus, the young prince of Offory, with the sons of O'Keefe, O'Sullivan, O'Connor-Kerry, O'Driscoll, O'Moriarty, O'Rierdan, and the other young chiefs of the twenty-nine counties of both Munsters, and his guard of Ossorians, gallantly attired, did Ceallachan proceed on his way to Dublin, attended by the Danish ambassadors and their retinue. So unnatural and so unexpected a union astonished the public; and nothing was spoke of, but the preparations and expences over all Munster, to receive their king and his queen with joy and splendor. The real intentions of Sitric, were so impenetrable—most probably he reserved them to himself—that it was not till the morning of the arrival of Ceallachan in Dublin, that he announced his designs to his wife, who had often before expressed her astonishment at this sudden union between her husband and his mortal enemy. Sure of his prey, he now told her in confidence, that nothing was further from his mind, than the giving his sister to the king of Munster. That it was a train he had laid, to get him and Dunchnain into his hands, with all the young nobility of Munster, whom he intended shipping off for Denmark, or otherwise destroying them, if the repossession of all the strong holds he had been deprived of, were not restored to him, with a proper Eric, or ransom, for every Dane who fell in the late war. The blackness and perfidy of the act, and probably some affection for her native country, whose liberty she saw would be endangered by it, determined her to convey immediately a private account to Ceallachan, of the intentions of her husband.

This prince, who was preparing with great magnificence to enter the city of Dublin, received this notice at Cill-Mhoghnion, vulgarly called Killmainhim. He communicated its contents to his attendants, and asked their opinions. They agreed to retire as fast as possible; but Sitric was too profound a politician, to leave much to chance. He ordered, the night before, troops to

A.C. file off silently, and line the hedges on both sides the road, so as to prevent the possibility of an escape, in case Ceallachan should penetrate his designs ; and in the morning, by way of doing him greater honour, a body of horse were to usher him into town. The troops seeing Ceallachan and his party turning their backs on Dublin, quitted their recesses, in order to oppose them ; but several of them were cut to pieces, and they would have made good their retreat, but for the horse, who being near at hand, and hearing the shouts, spurred on, and soon came up with this handful of heroes, contending with hundreds !

On sight of the horse, these young nobles formed a resolution worthy of their birth and valor. They requested Ceallachan and Dunchuain, to retire as fast as possible, whilst they sold their lives as dear as they could for their country's safety. But courage was vainly opposed to numbers ; and though the enemy fell in heaps on every side, yet the strength of these young combatants was soon exhausted, and they themselves received from others, that death which they had so liberally bestowed. Ceallachan and Dunchuain, finding all hopes of liberty lost, determined to sell their lives dearly ; but the Danes had it in charge to take them alive, which they at length effected. Sitric received them with all the cruelty of an insulting tyrant, and had even the heads of their young nobility exposed in their presence ; upbraiding them with all the Danish blood they had spilt, and vowing that they should never return to Munster, till all the cities were restored to him, and a proper Eric paid, for every Dane who fell since the taking of Limeric.

The news of the capture of the king of Munster, and of the destruction of all the young nobility in his train, filled that whole people with horror and consternation ; since there was scarce a great house in the province, that had not lost a son or a brother. With this melancholy account came the Danish proposals, from which

which they would not recede; but Ceallachan sent private instructions to Cineidi, by no means to hearken to them, but to arm all Munster, and pursue the Danes to Ardmach, where they intended to remove him. At the same time he recommended to him, to collect all the naval power, to proceed to Dundalk, where the Danish fleet then lay, and which he apprehended was to carry him to Denmark. “Should these manœuvres (said he), prove
 “unsuccessful, have no further regard to our situations, but pursue the barbarous Danes. Assume the crown of Munster, which
 “your virtues so justly entitle you to, and take ample revenge
 “on the kings of Tara and Leinster for their base treachery.”

On consultation, it was agreed to pursue the advice of Ceallachan. Expresses were sent to collect the troops, and for these chiefs whose duty it was to be always ready with their ships, to attend the calls of their country, to proceed to sea by that day week for Dundalk; which day was also marked out for the march of the land forces. At the appointed day, appeared 2000 of the Dalgais, completely armed with helmets, coats of mail, broad swords, and shields, headed by Congalach, Cosgrach, and Longargan, the brothers of Cineidi. Three thousand Eugenians, armed in like manner, arranged themselves under the standard of O’Keefe, who was appointed commander in chief. Another body from Hi-Connuil, Hi-Carbre, Hi-Caille, and Hi-Liathan appeared. These were joined by a large body of volunteers; so that the army consisted of four Catha, or 12,000 men, besides archers, slingers, and other light-armed troops. On a review of the troops, Cineidi first addressed himself to his brothers and the brave Dalgais; reminded them of the exploits of their ancestors, the cause in which they were embarked, and the perfidious enemy with which they were to engage; and charged them to return with victory or die gloriously. O’Keefe, and his intrepid Eugenians, he also harrangued. It is all in verse, animating, noble, and poetic! It

A.C. may not be here amiss to inform the reader, that the Irish princes and nobility were early instructed in history and poetry, as well as in feats of arms; and that a thorough knowledge of both, were absolutely necessary in all publick stations. Every man's rank was thus known, and the degree of attention necessary to be paid to him. Public discourses of every kind were concluded, and often recapitulated, in verse; and this will explain why all our MSS. contain prose and verse; and the meaning of the adage amongst antiquarians — “*Laoi no litir coithighuas*—prose or “verse proves”—that is, that the poetic part is as authentic as the mere literal.

The number of ships in this expedition are particularly specified. O'Driscol, O'Cobhtach, and O'Flan, armed and manned ten ships each; Corca-Duibhne, in the county of Kerry, the principality of O'Failbhe, or O'Falvy, who was hereditary admiral of South Munster, equipped thirty ships; O'Connor-Kerry, twenty ships; from Corcomruadh and Burrin, in the county of Clare, twenty ships; and from Corca-Bhaiscin, twenty ships: in all 120 sail. For it is to be noticed, that there was at this time thirteen sea-ports in South, and but five in North Munster. These ships well manned and appointed, and commanded by their different chiefs, rendezvoused at Beal-Atha-Laighean, on the day appointed, and immediately proceeded to sea.

In the march of the army, they were joined by 1000 Conacians, the posterity of Teige, the son of Cian, the son of Oliol-Ollum, who got large estates in Leinster and Conaught, in the third century. At the head of these were O'Hara, O'Gara, O'Connor, from this Cian, called Cianachta, &c. and soon after by 500 foot completely armed, from the Delvins, headed by O'Coghlin, O'Fennellan, &c. being the posterity of Luigh-Dealboadh. These chiefs informed O'Keefe, that as being themselves of the line of Heber, they thought they were bound in honour to engage in
this

this cause, and therefore voluntarily offered their service, which he gladly excepted, applauding their generosity and bravery, and that of their ancestors, in an extempore poem. It is to be noticed, that 700 years had now elapsed, since the ancestors of the Gaileangas, or first body of these auxiliaries, gained estates in Conaught and Leinster; and above 500 since those of the Delvins got acquisitions in Leinster and Meath; yet we see how well preserved the memory of their ancestry was, by all parties!

The army, in high spirits, soon reached Ardmach; but in their march through Tir Connell, some excesses were committed, which that prince complained of; but getting no redress, and unable to oppose force to force, through vexation he sent a private express to Sitric at Ardmach, that the whole power of Munster would be immediately on his back. On receipt of this intelligence, he quitted the town with his army and prisoners, to proceed for Dundalk, where his ships lay, leaving a strong garrison behind him, to delay as much as possible the Munster troops. Immediately on their arrival, O'Keefe took a view of the city, and proceeded to form the attack. To the Dalgassians, and the troops from Delvin and Conaught, he assigned the western side of Ardmach; to these of Hi-Connuil and Hi-Carbre, or of Upper Connellac and Kerry, in the county of Limeric, and of Hi-Liathan, or Barrymore, in the county of Cork, &c. the attack of the old town. The troops from the Deasies, or county of Waterford, were to form the southern attack; and the Eoganachts, with himself at their head, were to make their approaches at the east side of the city. All these attacks were to commence at precisely the same time. The troops took their different stations; the signal was given, and the projection of large stones from the machines, and arrows from the archers, were for a time so constant and thick, that the air was almost darkened. Scaling ladders were fixt against the walls; the soldiers ascended them with loud shouts, and death

A.C. stalked round on every side ! Part of the troops gained the tops of the walls, and the first Irish standard that was planted, was the Dalgassian. The Danes every where defended themselves with uncommon bravery and desperacy, as they had every thing to apprehend from the enraged assailants. At length they gave way, but not till late in the evening did the Irish get possession of the town. But the general, apprehensive that in the darkness of the night, should the fight and pursuit continue longer, the troops advancing from different quarters, might through mistake engage each other, gave orders, that none should stir from their stations, but remain under arms all night, and to take care that none should be suffered to quit the town.

In the morning early they heard with astonishment, that Sitric had been informed of their intentions, by the prince of Tir Connel, and had marched off for Dundalk, with his prisoners. After burying the dead, which it appears were very considerable, (500 of the Eoganachts only being amongst the slain), they proceeded for Dundalk, or Dun-Dealgan, the ancient residence of the famous hero Cucullin. Here they found that Sitric with all his forces had embarked, and the fleet lay in the bay ready for sea. O'Keefe sent off a flag of truce, to demand of Sitric, the bodies of Ceallachan and Dunchuain, at the same time upbraiding him, with his breach of publick faith. But the Dane returned for answer, "that the prisoners should not be restored, till an Eric was first paid for the Danes, who fell in fifteen different battles with Ceallachan and his forces ;" and at the same time he ordered Ceallachan, to be bound to the round-top of his own ship, which was the largest in the fleet, and directed that Dunchuain, who was in that of the king of Norways, should be served in like manner, in view of the whole Munster army.

But if the rage and grief of the Irish were extreme at this insult offered to their princes and to the nation, in their fight, but
out

out of their power to revenge; what must not have been their joy on view of the Munster fleet, now in sight, and with oars and sails filling up the bay? When they beheld distinctly the admiral's flag, and to a certainty knew the different squadrons of which the fleet was composed, by their ensigns, they expressed their satisfaction by loud and repeated shouts, which were returned by the navy; and now both parties prepared for action. O'Failbhe drew up his ships in an extended line, but so as to leave room enough for the ships to work and fight, but not to let the Danes escape them. Both parties were resolved on victory or death; and with cool determination approach each other. O'Driscol, O'Cobhtach, and O'Flan, who lead the van, began the attack on that of the enemy, by showers of arrows, of stones darted from machines and slings, and of lances. But these missive weapons dealt death too slowly for the enraged Irish. The ships still approached nearer, and they were directed to grapple the enemy and board them. It appears that heavy-armed troops were dispersed through both fleets, and these fought hand to hand, and breast to breast. The Irish admiral now approached the central division under Sitric; whilst the distant war was conducted as above. O'Failbhe grappled the Danish admiral, the rest of his squadron did the like to others, and all leapt into the enemies ships! The North Munster division attacked the Danes, commanded by the princes of Norway and Denmark, and boarded them also. Never was greater intrepidity displayed than by both parties, on this dreadful occasion. The Danish fleet was much better manned than the Irish; and this superiority made the conflict long doubtful. The Irish admiral advanced, at the head of a select party, with a sword in each hand, determined to restore Ceallachan to his liberty, or die in the attempt. Sitric and his bands resolutely expect the attack. Courage, strength, and experience were opposed to each other; but the Danes were at length

A.C. length beat from the main deck, and Ceallachan relieved. O'Failbhe, gave him one of his swords, and desired him to take possession of his ship, and shew himself to the fleet, whilst he returned to the charge. The liberty of their prince gave new spirits to the Irish, and they every where pressed the enemy closer. The gallant O'Failbhe now renewed the fight with redoubled vigor; but Sitric, who knew how much depended on his own ship, gallantly opposed him, and he at length fell, pierced by a thousand wounds! His head was immediately displayed on Sitric's mast-head, and this sight gave fresh courage to the Danes. But Fingal, second in command, vowed ample revenge on Sitric. He reanimates his wounded and dispirited associates, and conjures them to make one generous attempt more, in the cause of their country. They catch the sacred flame, and bravely second their gallant commander. The fight was now more desperate than ever, not only in this, but in every ship of the Danes; and we are particularly told, that the different combatants fought almost knee deep in blood. Fingal and Sitric at length closed! surrounded by crouds of Danes, Fingal saw his death certain, but determined to die gloriously. By a sudden effort he grasped Sitric in his arms, and hurled his enemy with himself into the unfathomable deep! the like did Connal and Seagha, the ancestors of O'Connor Corcumruadh, and O'Loghlin, who engaged with the ships commanded by Tor and Magnus, brothers to Sitric, and reduced to the same extremity with Fingal; like him, they grasped these different chiefs in their arms, and with them rushed into eternity! O'Connor-Kerry, and his division met the same opposition; and he in particular after much carnage, attacked hand to hand the Danish commander, whose head he cut off; and whilst he was exposing it to his men, he met the same fate from another Dane!

After

After performing every duty which could be expected from experienced commanders, and gallant soldiers and seamen, the aliens began at length to lose their courage, at such unexampled instances of heroism and perseverance; whilst their antagonists more eagerly fought for death, provided they could drag some Danish antagonist to eternity with him! In a word, the Danish fleet were all taken or destroyed; and of that numerous host, which in the morning exhibited so glorious a fight, *not a single man* remained alive at night! History cannot produce another instance of so well fought a battle, or so dreadful a carnage! Of all the Irish chiefs that engaged that day, not one escaped death; the like of all the captains, and very few of the soldiers or sailors, who were not killed or wounded! The enemies ships being every where taken or destroyed. Ceallachan and Dunchuain landed; and the fight of these princes, with the glory of the well purchased day, soon made the army forget all the losses attending it. The bards, as usual, congratulated them in adulatory odes; and the shouts of the soldiery proclaimed their joy and approbation!

Ceallachan gave orders to set fire to such of the enemies ships, as were totally disabled; and after distributing their spoils amongst the troops, he detached a considerable body of men to punish the prince of Tir Connell for his perfidy, with orders to join him in Meath. He at the same time, sent heralds to the monarch Donachad, upbraiding him with his baseness, and informing him, that he would be soon at Tara, to lay waste his country, if he was not able to fight him. The monarch declined the challenge, and Ceallachan raised heavy contributions on the country, with which and many hostages, he returned triumphant to Cashell.

As the MS. which details the wars of this prince, is more minute in relating the manner of engagements both by sea and land,
than

A.C. than any other I have met with, I have here given the substance of it entire. By it, it appears, that soldiers armed at all points, fought as well on ship-board as on shore: and that the distant war, in both instances, consisted in hurling of stones, and the discharge of arrows and lances. The projection of stones from slings, seems to have been, the first missile weapon that was used; and Pliny attributes its invention to the Phœnicians. In the armies of Israel were slingers of stones; by this art David killed Goliath *; and amongst those who came to his assistance afterwards, were men, “*who could use both the right hand and the left, in hurling stones †!*” In the army of the children of Benjamin, were 700 chosen men, left-handed—“*Every one could sling stones, at an hair breadth and not miss ‡.*” The Gauls successfully used them in their wars with the Romans §; and these last afterwards employed the Balearians, or inhabitants of Majorca and Minorca, in their armies for this purpose. In Ireland men were particularly trained to this exercise; and were so expert at it, as to be certain of hitting any object within its reach. By it, Connor, king of Ulster, near the birth of Christ, had his skull fractured, and some years after the famous Meibh, queen of Conaught, received her death. Besides stones, the Irish slingers used a composition of quick-lime, coarse gravel, brick-dust and blood, which they worked into a mass, and of this formed balls of different sizes for their Cran-Tubals, or slings.

* 1 Samuel, chap. xvii. ver. 49.

† Judges, chap. xx. ver. 16.

‡ 1 Chronicles, chap. xii. ver. 2.

§ Cæsar de Bello Gal. lib. ii. cap. 7.

C H A P. IV.

Death of the monarch Donóchad, and election of Congalach—defeats the Danes in two pitched battles—state of Munster and death of Ceallachan—objections to his history answered—succeeded by Feargradh—history and exploits of Mahon, king of Thomond—succeeds to the crown of Munster, and defeats the different leagues formed against him, but is at length treacherously slain.

THE spirit of Ceallachan and of Cineidi seems to have been caught by some northern princes; and Mac Neill fitted out a fleet on Loch-Neagh, with which he attacked and destroyed that of the Danes, and killed 1200 of their men. In like manner the Conacians encountered the Danes on Lough-Oirbhíon, who had long distressed the adjoining inhabitants; sunk or burned all their vessels, and put to the sword every man of them. This year died suddenly Donachad the monarch, after a reign of twenty-five years; during which long period, he displayed no great talents or patriotism. Had he, after the rapid successes of Ceallachan, leagued with this prince, or even, as he did in Leath-Mogha, humbled their power in Leth-Cuin, in all appearance, the remains of these people, from inveterate enemies, might be converted to useful subjects. But he envied these exploits, which he ought to have imitated; and, like modern patriots, would rather see the nation totally destroyed, than rescued from its dangers by any other hands but his own!

945

A.C. Congalach, the son of Maoilmhithe, sixth in descent from
 945 Aodh-Slaine, of the Heremonian line, was proclaimed monarch. This was an active and enterprising prince, and a determined enemy to the Danes. On some depredations of these pirates, Congalach declared war against, and lead forth an army to chastise them. The Danes withdrew their distant garrisons, and
 946 waited the motions of the monarch. The armies engaged near Dublin, and in the battle were slain 4000 of the Danes; and so hotly were the fugitives pursued, that the victors entered the city with them, and put the garrison to the sword. It does not appear that Congalach left troops in that city, to secure its possession to himself; and therefore Blacar the Dane, entered it the next year, and fortified it stronger than it had been before. They at the same time collected a considerable force, to carry on their usual
 947 depredations; but were attacked by the imperialists near Slane, where 1600 of their best troops fell, with their general Blacar. Godfrey succeeded Blacar in the command of the Danes, and, impatient to revenge the many defeats which his countryman had lately suffered, he collected troops from all quarters, and auxiliaries from Britain and Gaul; and at the head of a larger force than had ever appeared before of these aliens, he entered into
 949 action, laying waste the country for near thirty miles round Dublin, with sword and fire, and plundering the churches, monasteries, and other houses, of whatever was most valuable. In their return, loaded with spoils, they were overtaken by the imperialists, at a place called Muinbrocan, in Meath, where, after a most bloody contest, they received a complete overthrow, having had no less a number than 7000 killed, besides above 10000 prisoners! But this victory was dearly purchased, for the Irish suffered considerably; and amongst the slain was Roderic O'Cannanan, prince of Tyr Connell, Righ-Damhna, or declared successor to the monarch, and general of the imperial army.

In the mean time the Danes got to a great head in Munster, A.C. having received considerable supplies from the Baltic. They fortified Limeric by new works, and made Scatterry a place of arms. Cork and Waterford received also great recruits of men and arms, but they acted so circumspectly during the reigns of Ceallachan and Cineidi, that their real power was neither known nor suspected.

In the latter end of the year 950, died the gallant Cineidi, king of Thomond, without enjoying the crown of all Munster, which his virtues and intrepidity so justly entitled him to. He was succeeded by his son Lachtna; and the same year Dunchuain and Eichthiarn, sons of Cineidi, were slain by the troops of Congalach. 951 as they were gallantly opposing their passage into Thomond. In 952, died Ceallachan-Casil, king of Munster, as is expressly mentioned in *his life and exploits*, an epitome of which I have already given. And here let me advert to the objections made by the translator of the Book of Munster, to the account which Keating gives of this prince *; because it appears that Cineidi and Ceallachan were early at variance, he *presumes*, that they could not afterwards become friends, and that Cineidi would never suffer his son Dunchuain to accompany this prince to Dublin, or Ceallachan entrust Cineidi with the government of Munster in his absence. And as Sitric, is said by Keating, to be the son of Turgesius the tyrant, who was destroyed by Malachie the monarch, near a century earlier, his sister Beibhion, (says the translator), must have preserved her beauty to a wonderful old age to match Ceallachan. For these reasons, he treats the union of Ceallachan and Cineidi, and the exploits attributed to the Mamoniens, in redeeming the first, as mere fables; and is very severe in his animadversions on this reverend writer. That princes at

* Laws of Tanistry illustrated, p. 458, &c.

A C. variance may be reconciled, and afterwards become warm friends, cannot be doubted; and though the authority from which I have faithfully extracted the exploits of Ceallachan, expressly says, that Sitric, was the son of Turgesius, yet it does not affirm, that this Turgesius was the tyrant above alluded to. Turgesius, like Sitric, Ivorus, Avlavus, &c. was a name peculiar to these foreigners. We read of many Sitricses, Ivoruses, &c. in our annals, and why not many Turgesiuses. Thus, though this Sitric is said to be the son of Turgesius, yet it is not a consequence, that he must be son to that Turgesius drowned in Loch-Ainin. Besides, our history mentions him, with his chiefs and family, to have been then cut off; so that there could be no authority whatever, for even supposing it. Thus his proofs, when examined, appear, like most modern attacks upon ancient history, but merely *presumptive*. But had this gentleman perused the work relative to this prince, he would be convinced, from its style and language, not only that it was *genuine*, but wrote immediately after the transactions therein recorded. From this hero Ceallachan, his posterity assumed the name of O'Ceallachan, and preserved a considerable part of their ancient property, even to the days of Cromwell. This tyrant obliged them, as he did many other great families, instead of their ample fortunes at home, to exchange them for smaller ones in other counties. It was a policy he adopted in too many instances, in order to weaken ancient family-interests, to transplant people from one county to another; and then it was, that the chief of this princely line, was removed from the county of Cork into the county of Clare, where his posterity have still an ample property. The present O'Ceallaghan, a youth of great hopes, is now on his travels; and, from his conduct and prudence, his friends form great expectations.

952 On the death of Ceallachan, Feargradh, the son of Ailgenan, an Eugenian, was proclaimed king of Munster, in preference to
Lachtna,

Lachtna, who should certainly in justice have succeeded Ceallachan; but I suppose the incursions of the Danes into his territories, (who now were possessed, not only of Limeric, but of all the islands in the Shannon to it), disabled him from supporting his right by arms. Lachtna however had wars on his hands; and in the third year of his reign, the Book of Munster tells us, he fell in battle by the hands of O'Flin and O'Cearny. A.C.

Mahon, brother to Lachtna, was his successor in the kingdom of North Munster, a prince of uncommon bravery and conduct; and such an one was highly necessary, as the Danes had already possessed most of the strong holds in the province, from which they made sudden and dreadful incursions. Mahon, for a time assisted by his brethren, particularly his brother Brien, unable to face them in the field, carried on a kind of partizan-war against them, watching opportunities of surprising and cutting off their different scouting and detached parties, the success of which gave new spirits to his people, so that in some time his forces became considerable and respectable. 954

The Lagenians, Danes, and Normans, of Ulster and Leinster, entered into a confederacy against Congalach. He raised an army to oppose them; but fell in the action that ensued near Ardmach, as the Annals of the Four Masters note. 956 957

His successor was Domhnal O'Neil, the son of Murtough, the son of the monarch Neill-Glundubh. Soon after his inauguration, Daniel, son to the deceased monarch Congalach, leagued with the Danes and Lagenians, and, at the head of a potent army, avowed his pretensions to the throne of Tara. The monarch prepared to meet him; and at Cill-Mona a most bloody battle was fought, in which Argal, son to the king of Ulster, the young prince of Oirgial, and other persons of prime quality fell, and with them the hopes of the son of Congalach. The Conacians had not sent hostages to the monarch, nor yet recognised his title. To punish them 958

A.C. them for this neglect and disrespect, he invaded that province, raised contributions on the country, and brought hostages to Tara, from the different free states.

The active and enterprising king of North Munster, with his brother Brien, were perpetually in arms against the Danes, constantly harassing them; but, at the same time, never attacking them but where they had the advantage of situation; so that far from repeating their depredations on the public, they durst not now venture from their strong holds, but in large bodies. Alarmed at the success of Mahon in this kind of partizan-war, the Danes of Cork, Waterford, and Limeric, agreed to raise a body of men, to crush for ever this rising spirit. Three thousand picked men were raised for this purpose, commanded by Muiris, chief of the Danes of Limeric, under whom were four
959 colonels of great military experience, and other officers of approved valour. Mahon's troops, in flying parties, constantly hovered round them, in their march from Cashell to Limeric, sometimes skirmishing in front, sometimes in the rear, or wherever they found the least advantage! At length at Sulchoid, a noted pass, they attacked them with such spirit and impetuosity, and with such visible advantage, that the front ranks fell in upon the center, and all was soon in confusion. In vain did their chiefs exert all their courage and skill, and oppose themselves to the greatest dangers to reanimate the troops. Two thousand of them were cut to pieces on the spot, with their general and principal officers, and the remainder fled towards Limeric, whither they were so closely and eagerly pursued, that the victors entered the town with them, putting to the sword all opponents, breaking down the walls in several places, and setting fire to all the gates of the city.

This victory having secured and enlarged the boundaries of Mahon's territories, he thought the opportunity favourable to be avenged on the Conacians. These last always deemed the pre-
sent

sent county of Clare as part of their dominions, (though in the original partition of Ireland, between Heber and Heremon, as well as in the subsequent one, between Eoghain-More, and the monarch Con, it was determined, that it belonged to Leath-Mogha, or southern Ireland), and made several unsuccessful attempts to recover it, during the late scenes of distress of that people. Mahon having made a truce with the Danes, collected at Cin-Currtha, and the places adjacent to Killaloe, a large number of sloop and flat-bottomed boats, in which he embarked with a select number of his brave Dalgais, on the Shannon, making descents on different places on the Conaught coasts, and raising contributions every where, till he went beyond Lough-Righ. Here he landed his whole force, and marched far into the country. Feargal, the son of Ruarc, narrowly watched his motions, and near the banks of a river which runs into that lake, Feargal with his whole force attacked Mahon; but the Dalgais (Cassar like), unacquainted with fear, received them with their wonted firmness and intrepidity, and, after a very bloody contest, put them to a shameful flight. This was so precipitate, that Feargal himself plunged into the river, and in his hurry and confusion threw away the shield, which Mahon got, and was ever after carefully preserved by the posterity of this prince, and used in all succeeding wars with the Conacians. To lose one's shield or arms in battle, much less to throw them away, was deemed, not only in Ireland, but amongst the ancient Celtæ, the greatest reproach, as Tacitus observes; and Horace himself acknowledges by his "*relictâ non bene parmula*," how dishonourable it was even in ancient Rome. This transaction, and the loss of Feargal's shield are preserved in a well pointed poem in the Book of Munster. The late translator of this work says, that the invasion of Conaught was by land; but not to advert to the improbability of Mahon's

A.C.

960

A.C. Mahon's being able, at this time, to raise forces enough for so great an undertaking, the Book of Munster assures us that it was an aquatic expedition.

960 Feargradh, king of Munster, being cut off, Mahon claimed the crown as his right, according to the law of alternate succession; and the better to support his claim, marched a respectable army to Cashell. This gave such weight to his solicitations, that he was elected king by a considerable majority, and was consecrated by the archbishop of Cashell or Munster. But nothing could be more disagreeable to the foreigners than this dignity conferred on their mortal enemy. The Danes of Cork, Waterford, Limeric, and Dublin, formed an alliance for their mutual defence; and most likely were privately encouraged, if not supported, by some of the Eugenians. This they kept
962 secret till sufficient provision was made for carrying on the war; this being effected, the troops from the different quarters rendezvoused at nearly a central place—I suppose about Thurles, since the march of the confederates combined was towards Limeric, by the way of Cashell.—Their leaders, says the book of Munster, were Corran, chief of the Danes of Leinster, Magnus of Limeric, Toralp and Sithmoll. Mahon waited for them at the pass of Sulchoid. The Danish horse, who came to reconnoitre his situation, were briskly attacked by the Irish cavalry, commanded by his brother Brien, and very roughly handled. This brought on a general engagement, in which the Danes were defeated with very great slaughter. This battle is said, in the *Chronicon Scotorum*, to have been fought An. 968. after this, it is said, that he defeated the Martini of Munster in a general engagement.

963 This same year Murrough, king of Leinster, leagued with the Danes, and committed great depredations in Meath; but the monarch

monarch attacked them with such vigour and spirit, that their army was cut to pieces or dispersed. A.C.

The Eugenians, who had so long governed Munster, but particularly Maolmuadh, the son of Brain, could not bear to see Mahon so strongly rivetted in the throne of that province. He leagued with the common enemy, but Mahon defeated their whole combined forces in two different battles. Maolmuadh, despairing to succeed by open force, had recourse to treachery. The bishop of Cork, and other clergy of Munster, interposing their good offices, it was agreed that both princes should meet, with a few friends on each side, in order to settle their differences amicably. The house of O'Donovan, chief of Carbre-Aobhdhda or Kenry, in the county of Limeric, was the appointed place of meeting; and thither Mahon repaired with only twelve noblemen and their suite in his train. In the interim Maolmuadh tampered with the infamous O'Donovan, and he was base enough to promise to secure the body of his prince. The son of Brain, attended with a strong party of horse, at some distance, and the gallant Mahon was carried off to the county of Cork, and basely murdered at a place called Leacht-Mathuin, near Macroon, in that county. By this insidious action Maolmuadh was proclaimed king of Munster. 964 965

C H A P. V.

History and exploits of Brien, till crowned king of Munster—disposes the Danes of Inis-Catha and other islands of the Shannon, whose churches and monasteries he caused to be rebuilt and re-edified—other reforms of Brien—annual revenues of the Munster kings, and the stipends paid by them to their tributaries—review of the military power of Munster—state of Leinster and Ulster, and death of the monarch Domnald.

965

BRIEN, the son of Cineidi, succeeded his brother in the crown of North Munster; and, after securing internal peace and good order, his next objects were to be revenged on the betrayer and the murderer of his brother. But though all our writers agree as to the great exploits of this immortal prince, yet they are by no means in *unison* as to the length of his reign. Keating, M^cCurtin, and others, reckon fifty-six years from his being called to the crown of North Munster to his death; and Bruodinus makes it still more. The *Chronicon Scotorum* reduces it to thirty-eight years, in which opinion is the translator of the Book of Munster. The first writers confound these actions which he performed under his brother, with his own exploits when king of Thomond, and so extend his reign as much beyond the true time as others unreasonably contract it. The *Leabhar Oiris*, or *Chronicle of the O'Maolconneries*, which is an express relation of the wars of this prince from his first enthronement to his death, clearly affirms that the whole of his reign was forty-nine years; the first thirty-seven of which he

was king of Munster, and from that time, to his death, was monarch of Ireland. He was born in the year 926, and fell in the battle of Cluan-Tarbh, A. C. 1014; from which it must follow, that he commenced his reign A. C. 965, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. But as I would wish to bring the exploits of this great hero into as clear and comprehensive a light as I could, in hopes some future biographer may eternize his own name in transmitting to posterity his great exploits, I shall observe, for more accuracy, that of this forty-nine years he was, for the two first, but king of Thomond, Maolmuadh being then king of Munster; that the ten succeeding ones he was king of Munster; was twenty-five years following king of Leath-Mogha; and the remaining twelve, monarch of Ireland.

O'Donovan was too well acquainted with the spirit and resolution of Brien, not to apprehend every thing from him, and therefore took into his pay, besides his own troops, fifteen hundred heavy-armed Danes, commanded by Avlavus, a soldier of great experience. Brien, as was expected, in the spring of 966, entered his territories, and was opposed by the combined forces. A battle was fought with such fury and obstinacy, that not only O'Donovan and Avlavus, but their entire party fell by the sword! Brien then sent an herald to Maolmuadh, denouncing war against him, and acquainting him that he would invade his territories early the next year. Such was the established custom of those days.

At the head of an army, more respectable for courage and discipline than for numbers, Brien enters into action. Maolmuadh, besides his provincials, had collected a large body of Danes, and by mutual consent a battle was fought at Beallach-Lachta, in which Brien was again victorious. In this bloody engagement Morrough, eldest son of Brien, by More, daughter to O'Hine, prince of Jobh-Fiachre-Aidhne, in Conaught, made his

A.C. first campaign,* and though but thirteen years old, engaged hand to hand with Maolmuadh, and slew this murtherer of his uncle ! This victory was doubly glorious for Brien ; he avenged by it the blood of his brother, and secured to himself the crown
968 of the two Munsters. After his coronation at Cashell, which was performed early next year, he returned to his palace at Cinn-Corradh ; and now, having leisure and time, he began to consider the situation of his subjects nearer home. The Danes still possessed all the islands on the Shannon from Limeric to the sea ; and whilst they monopolized all the trade of that city, the country, on both sides, were grievously infested, by sudden landings,
969 from those islands. Brien prepared a large number of ships and flat-bottomed boats, and at the head of twelve hundred brave Dalgais he landed at Inis-Catha, or Scatterry. In this island St. Senanus founded an episcopal see in the fifth century. In it were no less than eleven churches for the use of his monks, besides a fine anchorite tower yet standing. A superb monument was erected to his memory, and was resorted to by pious persons from the most distant parts ; but it is very remarkable, that no women were permitted to land on it from its first foundation to the coming of the Danes. This rich and lovely little island these barbarians had long possessed, and were determined to preserve. The landing of Brien in his flat boats were supported by his ships, from which they discharged showers of stones and arrows. The Danes, however, prepared to give them a warm reception, but were soon routed with the loss of eight hundred of their best men. After the re-consecration of the churches, Brien returned solemn thanks to God, who had enabled him to restore them to his glory. From Scatterry Brien embarked troops who possessed themselves of all the other islands. The churches and monasteries were repaired, the clergy restored, and schools again opened for instruction in piety and letters. After this he
laid

laid siege to Limeric, and, on its surrender, he displaced the Danish magistrates, appointing others in their stead.

A.C.
970

Having subdued the Danes, and restored peace to Munster, his next care was to give vigor to the laws, and see justice and subordination again established. The ruined churches and monasteries were rebuilt or repaired, and the bishops and clergy restored to their livings. At his own expence he rebuilt the cathedral of Killaloe, the church and steeple of Tuaim-Grein, and the churches on Scattery, Inis-Cealtrach, and other islands on the Shannon. He repaired and re-edified all the palaces or royal houses in Munster, which were thirteen in number. But, lest the reader might be surpris'd at this great number, I am to inform him that, by the established laws of the land, among other requisites for royalty, as being of the blood royal, and of the equestrian order, the candidate must also be possessed of three royal houses, the better to support the regal state. The public roads, in times of anarchy and confusion, had been neglected and torn up, and bridges and causeways destroyed. All these he caused to be repaired, and the forts and strong holds strengthened by new works. He summoned a Feis or parliament at Cashell, in which many new and useful ordinances passed. The lands which had been unlawfully usurped by the Danes were restored to the issue of the original proprietors; and for such as clear titles could not be made out, they were sold, and the money converted to the establishment of universities and public hospitals. Such foreigners as did not openly profess Christianity, were allowed twelve months time to dispose of their effects and quit the kingdom. The records of Munster were carefully examined, and new copies distributed to the different senachies. Houses of hospitality (of which no less a number than eighteen hundred belonged to the two Munsters) were rebuilt, and the lands originally appropriated to them restored. Brien himself,

with

A.C. with a magnificence truly royal, lived in the palace of his ancestors at Cean-Corradh. The reader will be enabled to form some idea of this from the annual revenues of the Munster kings, which, according to the *Leabhar na Cleart*, or Book of Rights, agreed to by the states of Ireland assembled at Tara, A. 450, in the presence of St Patrick, and drawn up by his disciple St. Beanan, or Benignus, consisted in six thousand two hundred and forty bullocks, six thousand cows, four thousand sheep, five thousand hogs, five thousand common, one hundred green, and forty scarlet cloaks, four hundred and twenty tons of iron; and the annual revenues of the city of Limeric only were three hundred and sixty-five tons of claret, besides spices, cloths, and silks! This work, now before me, mentions the proportions which the different territories or counties of Munster paid of this great revenue. Besides this, each chief was to have a certain number of light or heavy-armed troops, ready to attend the prince's summons; and the maritime places a certain number of ships ready for sea. The number of these last, in the reign of Ceallachan we have seen, were a hundred and twenty ships, of which south Munster produced eighty. Had Cork, Kinsale, Waterford, Youghal, and Limeric, &c. been then possessed by this prince, as they were by his enemies, the reader may well suppose how much more numerous they must have been.

This work mentions, with great accuracy, the annual presents made by the kings of Munster, to the different states or territories, in return for the troops and ships they were to keep in readiness when called for. They are very considerable both in gold, silver, horses, and arms, and bespeak the splendor and riches of the kingdom. The prince of Gabhran or Offory received annually ten horses, ten swords, ten shields, two suits of armour, and two cloaks with gold clasps and rich embroidery. When a Dal-Cassian was elected king of Munster, he presented to the
chief

chief of the Eoganachts, ten men and ten women slaves, ten gold cups, and ten horses with gold bits, and in full furniture. The prince of Ara (a district of the county of Tipperary, bordering on the Shannon, opposite Killaloe) received six gold-hilted swords, six shields of curious workmanship, and six scarlet cloaks. O'Fogerty, prince of Eile, in the said county, was presented with eight coats of mail, eight shields, eight swords, eight horses, and eight cups. O'Ryan, chief of Unaithne (the country about Tulla in that county), received six shields, six swords richly mounted, and six horses with gold bits and complete furniture. To O'Felan, chief of the Deasies, in the county of Waterford, eight ships, eight men and eight women slaves, eight coats of mail, eight shields, eight swords, and eight horses were given. The chief of Kenry had seven slaves, seven freemen, seven swords, and seven cups. Mac Ennery and O'Sheehan, chiefs of Conal Cabhra, or Upper Connello, received ten swords, ten shields, ten horses, and ten cups, and the honour of sitting at the king's table at Cashell. O'Collins, and O'Ki-neale, chiefs of Lower Connello in the county of Limeric, received the like. The chief of Aine-Cliachall, in the said county, or O'Ciarwic, eight swords, eight horses, eight cups, two suits of armour, and two cloaks. O'Keefe and O'Dugan, chiefs of Gleanamhain and Fearnmuighe, in the county of Cork, were each presented with seven horses, seven shields, and seven cups. The chief of Aobh-Liathan, or Barrymore, in the said county, who was O'Lehane, was sent a sword and shield of the king's own wearing, an horse in full furniture, and an embroidered cloak. To O'Flin, chief of Musgry, one of the king's swords, one of his horses in full furniture, and an hound. To O'Mahony-Fionn, chief of Rathlean, ten horses, ten shields, ten scarlet cloaks, and ten coats of mail. To O'Driscol, chief of Dairinne, or Carbery, seven ships, seven suits of armour, seven
horses,

A.C. horses, seven swords, and seven cups. To O'Driscol-Oge, chief of Leim-Con, all in the said county, the same. O'Donoghue, chief of Loch-Lein, or Killarney, in the county of Kerry, received the same *Tuarasdal*, or military stipend, with O'Driscol. O'Shea, chief of Iveragh, O'Failbhe, lord of Corcaduibhne, O'Connell, O'Moriarty, and other great lords of that county, received similar presents.

The number of troops which each chief was obliged to support, is not mentioned, so that the military state of Munster must only be guessed at. They held by different tenures. The above, and others in their line, were *allodial* proprietors. Each held an hereditary employ in the state, and of course kept in pay a certain number of troops. Those who were of the blood royal neither paid tribute or received subsidies, yet supported a standing force; and those who held by *Fearan-Cloidhemh*, or sword-land, as almost the entire county of Clare, Ormond, and the borders of the county of Limeric, &c. must necessarily keep up a more considerable force, being exempt from every other kind of tribute. Upon the whole, the following calculations may be safely admitted. The naval force of Munster, when its chief cities were held in obedience, may be estimated at three hundred ships. This may be safely inferred, because we have seen Ceallachan's fleet, when they were possessed by the enemy, consisted of a hundred and twenty sail. We can by no means suppose them to be any thing equal to such ships of war as we see now. Even thirty years ago, seventy gun ships were not much larger than fifty gun ships now.

The land forces of Munster—by these I mean the cavalry and heavy-armed infantry ONLY, not the slingers and light-armed troops—it may be affirmed with confidence, consisted of ten Catha, legions, or 30,000 men. Each legion had 500 horse; so that the two Munsters when united, could bring into the field on
a short

a short notice, a regular force of 25,000 foot, and 5000 horse, well armed and well disciplined, and with little or no expence to the state. Thus the revenues of the crown were very great; especially when it is considered, that in this estimate, we have not noticed any duties paid by foreign ships, or the revenues arising from the many rich mines that were worked, or from the mines of amethysts and topazes, for which the kingdom was then so noted as to be called—“*Insula dives opum, gemmarum, vestis, & auri!*” From this slight sketch, the reader may form an idea of the power and splendor of Brien. But this was not all: to avoid all occasion of dispute amongst an haughty and warlike people, Brien revived the law called Illbreachta, by which people's rank were known by their dress; and the law which regarded rank and precedence was again put in force. So exact was his police, that it stands on record, that a beautiful virgin travelled from one extremity of the province to another, with a gold ring on the top of a white wand, without receiving the least injury or molestation! probably Brien himself might have directed the experiment to be made.

Encouraged by the example of Brien, Donald, king of Ulster, attacked and defeated the Danes in many battles; and to be revenged on the Lagenians who openly assisted them, he marched his army into Leinster, committing great depredations on that people, and on their associates. Soon after this Keating tells us, that Cionnath O'Hartegan, primate of Ardmach, openly assisted the Danes of Dublin, by which means Ugaire, prince of Leinster was taken prisoner. I have examined the catalogue of archbishops, not only of Ardmach, but of Dublin, &c. and cannot find one prelate of or like the name, in that century; so that he must be some clergyman of inferior degree, if we admit the fact. But let him be taken how he may, it appears, that after his release he raised a large body of troops, and engaged the Danes of

A.C. Dublin, in which action his army was defeated, and he himself was in the number of the slain. The monarch Domnald, tired of the pageantry of royalty, quitted the throne of Tara, and retired to Ardmach, where he died some time after, in great repute for piety and sanctity.

C H A P. VI.

Malachie elected monarch, and triumphs over the Danes—a confederacy formed against the king of Munster, which he disperses, and is saluted king of Leath-Mogha—the distinctions between a king of Thomond, a king of Munster, and a sovereign of Leath-Mogha—wars between Malachie and Brien—revenue paid by Leinster to the king of Leath-Mogha—battle of Glean-Mamha—states of Ireland propose to depose Malachie—he gets time to prepare for his defence—is disappointed, and is granted further time—surrenders the diadem to Brien—presents received on such occasions.

980

ON the abdication of Domnald, the estates of Leth-Cuin, chose for his successor Malachie II. the son of Domnald, prince of Meath, the son of the monarch Donachad, son to Flan Sionna, &c. The Danes had about this time invaded Meath with a powerful army, exercising their wonted cruelties, but particularly plundering and setting fire to churches and monasteries. Malachie collected the forces of Meath, and gave them battle. This is called the fight of Tara, and a most bloody one it was; for in it fell 5000 Danes and their associates, with Regnald, the son of Aomhlabh,

Aomhlabh, their general, and most of their best officers. After this he laid the district of Fingal, near Dublin waste; and having thus cut off their supplies, he laid siege to Dublin itself, in conjunction with Donochad, prince of Ulster. The third day a general assault was given; the gates were attacked, the walls scaled, and, after a bloody contest, the Danish ensigns were torn down, and Irish ones put in their places! Though taken by assault, yet Malachie acted with great caution: in it were many captives of prime quality; amongst others, Domhnal, king of Leinster, and O'Neil, prince of Tirone, &c. To have all these prisoners restored to their liberty, he saved the lives and effects of the citizens.

But though Malachie was triumphant over the Danes, yet he regarded with a jealous eye the great power of Brien. It was an hereditary quarrel; and his grandfather Donachad, as we have seen, encouraged the designs of Sitric against Munster, seeming thereby better pleased to have that rich province possessed by the barbarians, than by the ancient proprietors. The knowledge of this I suppose determined O'Felan, prince of the Deasies, to form a powerful confederacy against Brien. In it were joined the king of Leinster, the prince of Ossory, and the Danes of Cork, Waterford, and Leinster. At the head of these allies O'Felan marched towards Cork, spoiling the country as he advanced; but on the approach of Brien, he retreated precipitately towards Waterford; thither Brien followed him by forced marches. Near that city the armies engaged; but, after a gallant resistance, the confederates were broke, and fled with great precipitation. The troops of Brien entered Waterford with the fugitives, putting numbers to the sword, and setting fire to the city. From Waterford, Brien marched to Ossory, where he received the submission of hostages from Fitzpatrick, chief of that territory. From thence he proceeded to Ferns, where the king of Leinster paid him ho-

A.C. mage, as king of Leath-Mogha, and delivered hostages for his future good behaviour. Brien marched to Cork, whose citizens he chastised for their rebellion, altered its magistrates, raised heavy fines on the old ones, and carried away hostages for their future good behaviour.

As I have distinguished Brien in his regal capacity as king of Thomond, king of Munster, and king of Leath-Mogha, it is necessary to observe, that as king of Thomond, his power was confined to the present counties of Clare, Limeric, Tipperary, and a part of the present Leinster; that as king of Munster, he commanded the whole province; and as king of Leath-Mogha, or southern Ireland, the king of Leinster was his vassal.

982 Malachie, envious of the success of Brien, invaded Munster, and returned to Tara loaded with spoils and captives. The next year he took into his pay, a body of Danes, and was joined by some Conacians. They laid waste a good part of Leinster and
 983 the Deasies. Domnald Cloan, king of Leinster, engaged them in battle, but was defeated with great loss. Enraged at these depredations, Brien made great preparations by land and water to invade Meath and Conaught. He drew together a very great number of shallops, and flat-bottomed boats, in which he embarked a select body of troops on the Shannon, at Loch-Derg, who were to sail up that river, as far as Loch-Righ, and lay the country on both sides under contributions. At the same time he marched a powerful army into Meath. Malachie saw he had in Brien too powerful a prince, and too able a general to contend with; and therefore made with him a speedy peace. By it, he was to make restitution for the outrages committed by the late invasions of Munster, and restore all the prisoners he had taken. Brien also returned such as fell into his hands; and they mutually agreed to support each other; that is, that if any of the provinces of Leath-Cuin, refused paying their subsidies to the monarch,

narch, Brien was to assist him; and should the provinces of Leath-Mogha in like manner become refractory, he was to receive similar help from the monarch. The translator of the Book of Munster, mentions the present invasion as intended against the Lagenians. I however adhere closely to the Leabhar-Oiris, which mentions its destination to be against Meath and Conaught; and adds, that in the incursion of the Mamonians into Conaught from Athlone, they defeated the Conacians, commanded by Maurice O'Connor their king, who fell in this battle. A.C.

We have seen the revenues of Brien, as king of Munster, to which we shall add, that as king of Leath-Mogha, they became more considerable; the Leinster tribute, consisting of 300 gold handled swords, 300 cows with brass yokes, 300 steeds, and 300 purple cloaks.

The Lagenians ill bore this galling tribute imposed on them by Brien, and therefore confederated with the Danes of Dublin; invited into their service many foreigners, and bid defiance to this prince. At the head of a powerful army he invaded Leinster. A bloody battle was fought at Glean-Madhma, in which Brien was as usual victorious. He pursued the Danes to Dublin; and they saved the city by composition. How much we are not told; but that Brien received a great quantity of gold, silver, rich silks, and manufactures. Grat. Luc. p. 79, attributes this defeat to Malachie, the monarch; and the translator of the Book of Munster, to him and Brien united. The Leabhar-Oiris, declares it the act of the Mamonians only. The Danes waited a favourable opportunity to recover their distressed affairs; and this offered soon after; for having received some considerable supplies from Normandy, from Britain, and Denmark, they again rebelled against Brien, and were again defeated by this victorious prince. Amongst their slain were Harold, son of Amhlaobh, and 999

A.C. and Carolus, called Cloidheamh, or of the Sword, prince of Denmark.

Brien was for ever in arms against these foreigners; twenty-five pitched battles, says my author, did he engage them and their Irish associates in, and victory ever attended his standard. He not only reduced them from a state of independency, to absolute subjection in Leath-Mogha, but assisted the Conacians against them, by whose means 4000 Danes fell in the battle of Succa. The great power, magnanimity, justice, and patriotism of this prince, contrasted with the passive temporising spirit of Malachie, who, after the first five years of his reign, sunk into indolence and apathy, made a strong impression on the chiefs of the kingdom. With such a prince as Brien at the head of the nation, they hoped the whole people would feel these blessings of peace and subordination, which at present were confined to Leath-Mogha. In a convention of the different states of Conaught and Munster, it was agreed to request Brien to assume the monarchy, and they engaged to support him to the utmost. Deputies were then sent from both states to inform Malachie, that as he neither exerted himself like a prince in defence of his country, nor yet protected his subjects—the ends for which he was elected monarch—they judged him no longer worthy to fill the throne of Tara, and desired he would relinquish the crown to one more worthy of it. This kind of language from the electors of Ireland, was not unusual. In the reign of Con of the Hundred Battles, the states convened at Tara, before the battle of Cnucha, addressed him thus—“Resign, O king, the throne of Tara to some prince more worthy, since you do not protect your subjects from the incursions of Cumhal, and the children of Cathoir-More*.”

* Catha-Cnucha.

Malachie heard the proposal with surprize and indignation, and declared, as he lived, he would die monarch of Ireland. But Brien, who we must suppose the very soul of the intended revolution, was too sensible a politician not to expect such an answer, and to be prepared against it. At the head of an army of 20,000 veterans, besides a good body of Danish cuirassiers, (who from rebels he reduced to good subjects), Brien marched to Tara. Malachie was again required to resign the throne; but his ambassadors represented to Brien, that their master would by no means consent to the proposal; that it is true he was at present destitute of troops, but if Brien would allow him a month to collect them, he would then give him battle, or if not in a condition to oppose him, he would surrender the regalia into his hands. At the same time he requested, that his army might not be suffered to commit any excess on the country. These terms Brien agreed to. Malachie sent expresses to all the princes of Leth-Cuin, requiring of them as their chief, and conjuring them as their friend, to repair to Tara with their forces, to oppose the ambitious designs of Brien. He shewed them, that in manfully supporting him, they defended their own cause, and that of the entire line of Heremon, now ready to be crushed by the Heberians. But whether through want of opinion of his capacity, or reverence for glorious deeds performed by Brien, or a dread of his power, they all declined meddling in his affairs. He then summoned the Clan Colman, (so called from Colman-More), or southern Hibernials; but they singly were unable to oppose the power of Munster. Malachie, thus destitute of all support, on the day appointed, at the head of 1200 horse, waited on Brien, at his camp near Tara, with the crown on his head, the sceptre in his hand, and all the regalia. Being introduced to Brien, who was surrounded by a great assemblage of his princes and chief nobility, gallantly attired, he thus addressed, says the Bruodin Chronicle—

A.C. (the Bruodins were the hereditary historians of North Munster—) the king of Leath-Mogha : “ Through the defection of my subjects, and the inability of my friends, I find myself, great prince, “ unable with arms to oppose your pretensions to the monarchy. “ I surrender to you this sceptre (presenting it), and this crown, “ (taking it off his head), which my ancestors of the royal line “ of Heremon for so many generations bore, and which I have “ now for above twenty years wore. They are the rewards of “ your virtues, and I submit.” Here he stopt short: the inward conflict was too visible, not sensibly to affect the spectators; and Brien with great humanity approached the distressed prince, and embracing him said—“ Since, most serene monarch, you have not “ only offered the crown, but surrendered yourself into our hands, “ without demanding hostages for your safe return, or making “ any stipulations whatever, it would ill become us not to reward such confidence with equal generosity. Take back these “ trappings of royalty. I consent that you should retain the “ crown of Ireland in your hands, for twelve months more “ from this day. This will afford you opportunities of shewing “ your virtues equal to so great a dignity, and of supporting your “ title by the sword; but should you in the end, find yourself “ unable to oppose our pretensions, I shall then expect your peace- “ able surrender of the monarchy.” So saying, the conference ended. Brien broke up his camp, dismissed his auxiliaries, and returned to Cean-Corradh, at the head of his intrepid Dalgais.

Malachie employed the time granted to him, in the best manner he could, to raise up a spirit against Brien. He sent ambassadors to Conaught, to Ulster, to Orgial, and to every territory within the district of Leth-Cuin. Hugh O'Neill, who was the most powerful chief in Ulster, he employed all his rhetoric to engage in his interest! The abbot of Benchoir remonstrated to him on behalf of the monarch, that if he did not powerfully exert himself

himself on the present occasion, he sacrificed for ever the power of the Heremonians. That the monarchy had been for some centuries confined to their houses—i. e. the northern and southern Hi-Nialls—and that by preventing the present revolution, the crown might revert to him, or to his posterity. But O'Neill, for a general answer to all these solicitations, observed, “that
 “when the crown of Tara was possessed by his ancestors of the
 “house of Tirone, they bravely defended it against all claimants;
 “that Brien was a prince, whose virtues, bravery, and patriotism,
 “merited the applause of all good men; and that he could not
 “think of unsheathing his sword against the gallant tribe of Dal-
 “gais, who he so highly esteemed.” It was of the last consequence to the monarch, to make O'Neill of his party; as his example would greatly influence the other princes of Leth-Cuin; and not willing to confide the method he proposed to gain him over to any one, he in person visited the king of Ulster, in hopes his own presence would have greater influence. Hugh seemed unmoved by all his solicitations. At length Malachie proposed to him, a formal surrender of the throne of Tara, provided he united with him, to give battle to the troops of Munster. On this, a provincial Feis, or parliament, was assembled to consider of these proposals; but after maturely weighing every thing for and against them, they were unanimously rejected, so formidable did the power of Brien appear to them. It was however proposed to Malachie, that if he surrendered to them half the domain of Tara and of Meath, which they contended, by the will of their common ancestor Neill the Grand, was their property, they would then unite heart and hand in his cause. These terms seemed to Malachie so exorbitant, that he quitted the court of Ulster, without coming to any resolution. Much time had been spent in these different negotiations; and Malachie informed Brien exactly of

A.C. his situation, and proposed, that if he ceded to him the peaceable possession of Tara and Meath, he would no further attempt to oppose him. To this Brien consented, more from principles of generosity and compassion, and to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, than through any doubt of his own power and influence.

1001 At the time appointed Brien appeared on the plains of Tara, at the head of his invincible legions; and then and there, in the presence of the princes and chiefs of the land, Malachie made a formal surrender of the crown and regalia of Ireland to him, at the same time paying him homage as his vassal. Brien then dismissed him, with large presents to him, and to his retinue. The custom of making presents when different competitors appeared candidates for the monarchy, was always observed in Ireland. It was the mark of sovereignty in the monarch, and of acquiescence to his power in the others. It was a *Tuarasdal*, or wages received, and an acknowledgement of superior sway. Core, king of Munster, received presents from his competitor Neill the Grand, in the fourth century, and thereby gave up his pretensions to the monarchy. In the year 1260, tired with the cruelties and outrages committed by the foreigners, the chiefs of the Irish at length saw the necessity of forming a general confederacy, and restoring the constitution to its original state, by electing among themselves a monarch. A meeting was held at a place called *Caoluisge*, on the borders of the river *Erne*, in *Ulster*. The candidates were O'Brien, of *Thomond*, and O'Neill, of *Tirone*. O'Brien, who was an excellent commander, and who some time before this, defeated the English and their Irish associates, in a general battle near *Limeric*, imagining that the majority of voices was in his favour, sent to O'Neill 100 beautiful steeds, with gold bits, and in full furniture, by way of subsidy; but his
com-

competitor, persuaded that he was elected, returned the present, and with them sent 200 horses to O'Brien, with rich gifts to his courtiers, none of which were received. By this means the assembly broke up, without forming any general resolves; and thus were the public at large left exposed to the outrages, and base machinations of these pretended reformers *, through the ambition of the two chiefs, neither of whom could be prevailed upon to acknowledge the superiority of the other.

C H A P. VII.

The conduct of Brien and Malachie, in the preceding revolution justified—Brien receives hostages from the different princes of Ireland, and is crowned at Tara—holds an assembly of the national estates—surnames established, with observations on them—his attention to justice, and to the restoration of religion and letters—his exchequer revenues as monarch, and improvements at Cincoradh, with the etiquette of his court.

IN perusing the above extraordinary revolution, it is necessary to guard the reader against misconceptions. Though he will be apt to consider Brien as an usurper, yet will he deem his conduct, in general, great and noble. Malachie may also be probably censured, for carrying his hatred to Brien so far, as even to offer a surrender of the crown to another prince, provided he could be disappointed, and this, after granting him a farther time of twelve months to try to establish his affairs! If we judge of the

* Caithreim Thoirdhealbháicc.

A.C. conduct of the Irish on this occasion, by what is generally pursued in other nations, in similar circumstances, or by the general line of politics, we shall think Brien's behaviour, with his enemy in his power, to be rather romantic than prudent; but the Irish seemed of a different *cast* from the neighbouring states, and to view objects through mediums peculiar to themselves; so true is that character of the nation, given many centuries earlier—" *In-clyta gens hominum, milite, pace, fide!*"

That Brien should form the resolution to dethrone Malachie, had nothing of novelty in it: too many similar instances have occurred in the course of this history; and, provided the claimant was of *the royal line of Milesius*, had received the order of *chivalry*, and could *shew three royal seats in his family*, his success was not deemed an usurpation. In all our history a single instance only occurs of usurpation, and this marked down so, namely, that of Carbre, called Cin-Ceat in the first century, who got himself proclaimed monarch though a Danaan! Certain it is, that the throne of Tara had been possessed by the Heremonian line for some centuries, in exclusion to the other royal houses, particularly that of Heber, eldest son to Milesius. But their antiquarians contended that—" *it was not seniority, but intrepidity, not a vain claim, but the power of supporting it, that gave a solid title,*" according to a stanza of one of their most celebrated bards and advocates:

Sinfireacht ni ghabhan Ceart
A ttir do ghabhtar le neart:
Calmacht no bhfear is Ceart an,
Sin sinfireacht fhear nanbhan.

But in the case of Brien there was not only seniority (being descended from Heber) but power to support it; and thus much to obviate the charge of usurpation against this prince. As to the
notice

notice and time given to Malachie to collect his forces, it was the constant practice in Ireland from all antiquity. Did a prince attempt any other mode, he would not only be abandoned by his own party, but he would be held forth as a mirror of baseness to latest posterity. In the beginning of the third century, when Mac Con denounced war against the monarch Art, this last demanded twelve months time to prepare for the battle; but Mac Con's ambassadors shewing the impossibility of granting so long a time, as their master's army was mostly composed of foreign mercenaries, hired for a certain time only, this plea was admitted by Art's ministers, and the battle fought much sooner. Had his army been natives he could not refuse the demand. The same mode was observed in every other revolution; heralds were constantly sent, and the day of action was mutually agreed on. Thus, the time granted to Malachie was not, we see, a single case, nor the use he made of it to be censured.

Brien now received hostages from Malachie, as sureties for his peaceable behaviour. He also demanded fresh ones from the king and princes of Leinster, and the Danes of Dublin. He marched his army to Athlone, requiring the king and princes of Conaught to meet him there, by a certain day, to render him homage as monarch of Ireland, and to give sureties for their dutiful demeanor. From thence he proceeded to Ulster, where like ceremonies were performed, and hostages put into his hands. Marianus, the successor of St. Patrick, at the head of his clergy, paid his duty to Brien. He received the holy communion at his hands, and made an offering on the altar of the great church of an ingot of gold of twenty ounces. He also made large presents to ornament the cathedral of Ardmagh, at the request of Marianus, and declared his intentions of being there interred. He returned to Tara, where, in the presence of the princes and chief nobility of the land, he was solemnly anointed and crowned
by

A.C. by the archbishop of Cashell; and it was then announced to the people, “ that Brien, the son of Cineidi, the son of Lorcan, and “ so on to Milesius, was monarch of Ireland;” which was confirmed by their giving what is called, *The Royal Shout*.

After his coronation, says the *Bruodin Chronicle*, a *Feis*, or national assembly, was convened at Tara, where many new and wholesome laws and regulations were made, the national history revised, and a decree was passed, by which great families should, for the future, be distinguished by certain surnames to avoid confusion. But these were not to be arbitrarily imposed as in other countries. Each chief was to be called after some certain ancestor, whose particular virtues would always remind him of his origin. This custom had been introduced into Munster in the days of Ceallachan, and into other provinces, but it was confined to a very few families; from the present reign it came into general use. Thus the successors of the present prince, from him, assumed the name of O’Brien, or the descendants of Brien. The issue of his brother Mahon were called Mac Mahon. The O’Neils were so called from Neill the Grand, or of the Nine Hostages; and so on of other families. The adjuncts O’ or Mac, which imported the son, or the descendant, were prefixed to each name. The chief of each family was distinguished from its branches, by preserving the surname *only*, as O’Brien, O’Neil, Mac Carthy, &c. whilst to all the rest the christian name was added. These titles were so highly esteemed in Ireland, that when it was known to a certainty, in the reign of Henry the eighth, that O’Brien had rejected his for the more degrading one of earl of Thomond, the chiefs of his own blood set fire to his noble mansion at Cluanroad, near Ennis, and would have consumed him in the flames but from the timely interposition of Mac Clanchy, chief justice of North Munster. John O’Neil, in the reign of Elizabeth, returned the patent of

earl of Tyrone, granted to his father, and complained of the dishonour he affixed to his blood in accepting of it. He also bitterly reproached Mac Carthie for accepting of the title of earl of Clancarthy. In short, the Irish chiefs regarded these titles of nobility as degradations; and this is the reason why, in the Irish peerage, so few Milesians are to be found. Certain it is, that the few Irish who have still preserved their family honours, should, in justice, take precedence of the present nobility of Europe, as being *allodial*, or titles from the most remote antiquity, whereas these last are at best but of modern date. A.C.

Having wisely regulated the national system, Brien dissolved the assembly, and sent ambassadors (says the Bruodin Chronicle) to the different princes of Europe, announcing his election to the Irish monarchy. With these embassies were sent presents of fine horses, wolf-dogs, and hawks, &c. His next care was to see the laws every where executed with strictness and impartiality, and the money appropriated to public uses, justly applied. It was astonishing to see what a new face the whole kingdom assumed, in a short time, through his care and attention. The cities, from a ruined state, became more ample and splendid; the churches, monasteries, and public hospitals were repaired or rebuilt with additional majesty; and piety, peace, and plenty spread far and wide! The edict, which he published when king of Munster, against the heathen Danes, had so visible an effect on the conduct and morals of that barbarous people, that it became now national; and this, with the exhortations and examples of the clergy, wonderfully facilitated the conversion and civilization of them.

We have already observed the splendor and dignity with which he supported the character of king of Leath-Mogha; the title of monarch of Ireland was a new accession of power, and an additional increase of revenue; and these were but fresh incitements to hospitality

A.C. pitality and philanthrophism. As monarch of Ireland the following were the annual contributions from the provinces of Leth-Cuin, for the support of his dignity : from Conaught he received eight hundred fat oxen, a thousand wethers, eight hundred pigs, and four hundred pieces of cloth. From Tyrone, in Ulster, three hundred oxen, five hundred sheep, one hundred and seventy swine, one hundred and fifty pieces of cloth, and three hundred tons of iron. From Tyrconnel, six hundred beeves, five hundred sheep, four hundred swine, a hundred tons of iron, and three hundred pieces of cloth. From the Clana-Ruighruidhe, or posterity of Ir, in Ulster, eight hundred oxen, sixty-six wethers, and a hundred and fifty pieces of cloth. From Leinster, as monarch, two hundred oxen, eight hundred wethers, a hundred pigs, two hundred pieces of cloth, and five hundred and fifty tons of iron. The Ossorians paid a hundred and sixty bullocks, two hundred wethers, a hundred pigs, and fifty tons of iron. The city of Dublin, with the ports of Wexford and Drogheda, &c. paid three hundred and sixty-five tons of French, and two hundred and sixty-eight tons of Spanish wine, besides money and other duties, the quantities of which are not expressed. From this relation it will appear, that the *EXCHEQUER revenues* of the monarch Brien were equal to those of any prince at this day in Europe (being appropriated to the splendor of the diadem only), and his expences were proportioned to them. The regal seat of Cean-Corradh, about a mile beyond Killaloe, being very old, he pulled down, and converted to kitchens and offices, and at a place, some distance from it, called to this day Ball-Boirhumhe, or the Habitation of Boirhumhe (i. e. the Raiser of Tributes, the epithet of this prince), he erected a noble banqueting house. From the kitchens were two long galleries, or corridors, parallel to each, carried across a flat, to this banqueting-house. An hundred servants were every day,

at

at dinner and supper, arranged in each of these galleries. The business of one set was to pass from hand to hand, from the kitchens, the different dishes for the entertainment; and of the others, with equal celerity, to return them. From Ball-Boirumhe, a wooden bridge was carried across the Shannon for the convenience of this house (the stone one, lower down, being strongly fortified, as is evident at this day); and opposite to it, were his wine cellars. The place yet bears the name of Cloch-na-Fhionne, or the wine stone, or building.

Here did this monarch entertain the princes and nobles of the nation in regular rotation, with a splendor and politeness unknown for at least two centuries. So exact was the etiquette of his court, that the rank, station, and places of his different visitors were ascertained, so that no confusion or dispute could arise on account of precedence. He saw both the inconvenience and the impropriety of any prince's followers appearing at his court in arms; and it was a rule he established, that none but his brave Dalgais, or body-guards, should be permitted to carry arms at Ball-Boirumhe. Besides his army, he increased his navy considerably; amongst the rest he built three ships of enormous size, much like those carracks which appeared so formidable in later times. We may judge of their strength and force by his son Donough, with a single ship of this structure, attacking, sinking, or destroying fourteen of the enemies ships, as the Annals of Inis-Fallen, under the year 1056, note!

C H A P. VIII.

The king of Leinster offended at the court of Brien, returns home in disgust, and confederates with the Danes—invades Meath—Brien pitches his camp near Kilmainhim, and lays Leinster under contribution—returns to Munster for the winter—great preparations for the ensuing campaign—a list of some of the principal chiefs who attended the standard of Brien—number of foreigners in the Leinster army—dispositions for battle—an account of the battle of Cluantarff—defeat of the Danes and death of Brien—detail of the slain on both sides—character of Brien Boirumhe.

FOR more than ten years had the kingdom enjoyed a most profound and undisturbed peace; and, during that period, IN NO INSTANCE, were the laws of the land violated. An incident, in itself of the most trifling nature, however, soon destroyed this so long wished-for happiness, and left the kingdom once more a prey to faction and party.

Among the many royal visitors at Ball-Boirumhe, was Maolmordha Mac Murroch, king of Leinster. Between this prince, and Morrogh, eldest son to Brien, the Tanaisite, or heir apparent to the crown of Munster, no real friendship subsisted. Morrogh always deemed him a base enemy to his country, and the constant associate and protector of the heathen Danes. He had more than once publicly attacked his abilities as a general; and to his ill conduct he attributed the defeat he himself had given to the Lagenians and Danes in the battle of Glean-Mamha. Where

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ill blood has long subsisted, the slightest innuendo will often throw it into a flame. Among the amusements of the Irish chess and back-gammon were favourite games. Morrogh engaged one day at a party at chess, Maolmordha looking on, advised his antagonist to a movement, which lost Morrogh the game. He tartly remarked, “That if Maolmordha *had given as good* “*advice at the battle of Glean-Mamha, the Danes would not have* “*received so capital an overthrow.*” This was touching him in the most tender point; he felt the utmost force of it, and spiritedly answered, “*That he hoped his next advice to them would* “*be attended with better success.*” Laws of hospitality and politeness prevented Morrogh from noticing this threat. Maolmordha hastily retired to his apartment, and early next morning, without any kind of ceremony, departed from Ball-Boirumhe for his own territories. He calls together his council, and relates the behaviour of Morrogh. He recapitulates all the hardships his country and his associates suffered by the power of Brien, and his speech breathes nothing but war and revenge. The chiefs of the Danes of Leinster are invited to a conference, and a league is formed, by which they engage to assist him, with all their power, to reduce Munster. Emissaries are sent to Denmark and Norway. The Danes of Normandy, Britain, and the isles, joyfully enter into the confederacy, pleased at the prospect of once more gaining possessions in this land *flowing with milk and honey.*

Whilst Maolmordha was waiting for the arrival of his foreign auxiliaries, in order to inure his troops to action, it was judged advisable to make an incursion into Meath, by way of commencing the war. With a body of troops, Danes and Lagenians, he penetrated into Meath, as far as Tearman-Feichin; and on his retreat destroyed the country, and carried off an immense booty. To be revenged for this affront, Malachie sent his son Flan, with

A.C. a good body of troops, into Fingal, and the environs of Dublin; but Sitric, the son of Amhlaoibh, laid an ambuscade, in which they were severely handled, and among the slain was Flan himself, with several officers of prime quality. Malachie, on this defeat, waited in person on Brien at Ball-Boirumhe, complained of the injuries he had received from the Lagenians and Danes, and claimed support from Brien as his *chief*. Brien, and his son Morrogh, enter Leinster with a powerful army, to chastise that people for invading Meath, and disturbing the public tranquility. Finding no army in Leinster able to oppose them, they fixed their head quarters on the plains near Dublin, from whence parties were sent out, different ways, miserably wasting the country, and enriching the camp with their spoils. By way of making a diversion a fleet of Danes was equipped at Dublin, in which a large body of troops were embarked, who entered the harbour of Cork, and surprised and plundered that city; but before they could regain their ships the greatest part of them were cut off with some of their best officers.

Near four months was Dublin blockaded, and the province of Leinster laid under heavy contributions by the imperial army, till the approach of winter obliged them to retire into winter quarters. Both parties, during this recess, prepare to renew the war with more violence than ever. Troops are pouring into the different ports of Leinster from Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Normandy, Britain, the Orkneys, and every other northern settlement. Maolmordha is also indefatigable, not only in raising new levies, but in labouring to detach different princes from the interest of their country. Never were such efforts made by the Danes as upon this occasion; the best men were every where pitched upon for this service, and the most experienced officers sought for. Among others, Brodar and Aisgiodal, two

Danish

Danish princes, landed at the head of two thousand choice troops, armed from head to foot ! A.C.

These uncommon preparations of the enemy were not unknown to Brien and to his council ; and they were the strongest arguments to determine the Irish to make their utmost efforts to render them abortive. To shew the world, that Brien wished not that his race and name should survive the liberties of their country, there attended his standard, (of his own family), his five sons, and his grandson, his fifteen nephews, and the whole tribe of Dalgaish, *with all the chiefs of North Munster*. The people of South Munster were equally conspicuous in the cause of liberty, *not one prince absenting himself on this trying occasion*. Cathal, the son of Conchabhar, or Connor, (from whence O'Connor), king of Conaught, attended by O'Heine, prince of Aidhne, O'Kelly, prince of Hi-Maine, O'Flaherty, prince of West Conaught, Mac Dermod, prince of Maigh-Lurg, and many other great chiefs and their followers, with all their posterity of Luig-Dealbha, both in Conaught and Leinster, joined the imperial standard. The great stewards of Leamhna or Lenox, and of Mar, with many other Albanian chiefs, repaired to the army of Brien. Hugh O'Neill made an offer of his troops, and his service to attend the imperial standard ; but Brien politely declined the offer. He had not forgot the former negotiation between Malachie and him ; and the conduct of Malachie afterwards, justified how well founded his suspicion and jealousy of both these princes were.

At the head of 30,000 chosen men, highly appointed, Brien marched into Leinster, about the beginning of April 1014, in three divisions, and was joined by Malachie, king of Meath. He encamped, as he had done the year before, near Killmainhim ; and after both armies viewing each other for some days, it was agreed to determine the fate of Ireland by a general battle, on the plains of Cluantarff. Early on the 23d of April, being Good-Friday, the

A.C. the Danes appeared, formed in three separate bodies for battle; and by their dispositions Brien regulated his own. The auxiliaries from Sweden and Denmark consisting of 12,000 men, amongst whom 2000 were heavy-armed, commanded by Brodar and Airgiodal, formed the right division; the left, of nearly an equal number commanded by Sitric, consisted of the Danes of Ireland, and their neighbouring associates; and the center, composed of the flower of Leinster, under the direction of Maolmordha, who acted as general in chief, formed the enemies disposition of battle. It was judged, that by placing the troops in this manner, under their own leaders, that it would raise a spirit of generous emulation amongst them, and that they would vie with each other in feats of bravery.

The right wing of the imperial army, was composed of the *household troops*, filled up by the prime nobility of Munster; the invincible tribe of Dalgais, with all the princes of Brien's blood, were also in this division, and Malachie, with the forces of Meath. This was to be commanded by Morrogh and Sitric, prince of Ulster. In the left wing, commanded by the king of Conaught, all the Conacian troops were placed; but as it did not form so extended a line as the enemies, several detachments were added to it, from the troops of Arra, Coonach, Muscry, and Corca-Baisgne. The troops of South Munster, under their different chiefs, with these of the Deasies, formed the central division, commanded by Cian, the son of Maolmuadh. Brien rode through the ranks with a crucifix in one hand, and his drawn sword in the other. He exhorted them as he passed along, "to do their duty as soldiers and
 " Christians, in the cause of their religion and their country. He
 " reminded them of all the distresses their ancestors were reduced
 " to, by the perfidious and sanguinary Danes, strangers to reli-
 " gion and humanity! That *these* their successors waited im-
 " patiently to renew the same scenes of devastation and cruelty,
 " and,

“ and, by way of anticipation, (says he), they have fixed on the
“ very day on which Christ was crucified, to destroy the country
“ of his greatest votaries; but that God, whose cause you are to
“ fight this day, will be present with you, and deliver his enemies
“ into your hands.” So saying, he proceeded towards the center
to lead on his troops to action; but the chiefs of the army with
one voice requested he would retire from the field of battle, on
account of his great age, and leave to the gallant Morrogh the
chief command.

At eight in the morning the signal for slaughter was given. The Dalgais, with the whole right wing marched to attack, sword in hand, the Danes commanded by Brodar and Aisgiodal; but an uncommon act of cowardice or treachery had like to have destroyed the whole imperial army: for at this very critical minute, Malachie, with his Meathians, retired suddenly from the field, leaving the rest of this body exposed to a far superior number of enemies. But Morrogh, with great presence of mind cried out to his brave Dalgais, “ 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.” And now, whilst close engaged with battle-ax, sword, and dagger on the right, the left, under the command of the king of Conaught, hasten to engage the Danes of Leinster and their insular levies, whilst the troops of South Munster attack the apostate Maolmordha, and his degenerate Lagenians! Never was greater intrepidity, perseverance, or animosity, displayed in any battle than in this; as every thing depended on open force and courage. The situation of the ground admitted of no ambuscades, and none were used. They fought man to man, and breast to breast, and the victors in one rank, fell victims in the next. The officers and generals on both sides, performed prodigies of valour. Morrogh, his son Turlogh, his brethren and kinsmen flew from place to place; and

A.C. and every where left the sanguinary traces of their courage and of their fortitude ! The slaughter committed by Morrogh, determined Carolus and Conmaol, two Danes of distinction, to attack in conjunction this prince, and they both fell by his sword ! It was observed, that he, with other chiefs, had retired from the battle more than twice ; and after each return, seemed to be possessed of redoubled force. It was to slack their thirst, and cool their hands, swelled with the use of the sword and battle-ax, in an adjoining brook, over which a small guard was placed, and this the Danes soon destroyed. On rejoining his troops the last time, Sitric Mac Lodair, with a body of Danes, was making a fresh attack on the Dalgais, and him Morrogh singled out, and with a blow of his battle-ax divided his body in two, through his armour ! The other Irish commanders in like manner distinguished themselves, though their exploits are not so particularly narrated ; and it would seem from the number of prime quality that fell on both sides, that besides its being a general battle, the chiefs every where singled out each other to single combat. The courage of the Irish was not to be subdued : till near four o'clock in the afternoon, did the issue of the day remain doubtful ; and then it was, that they made so general an attack on enemy, that its force was not to be resisted. Destitute of leaders, and of course of order, the Danes gave way on every side. Morrogh at this time, through the uncommon use and exertion of his sword-arm, had both hand and arm so swelled and pained, as to be unable to lift them up. In this condition he was attacked sword in hand, by Henry, the son of Eibhroic, a Danish prince ; but Morrogh closing in upon him, seized him with the left hand, shook him out of his coat of mail, and prostrating him, pierced his body with his sword, by fixing its pommel on his breast, and pressing the weight of his body on it. In this dying situation of Henry, he nevertheless seized the dagger which

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which

which hung by Morrogh's side, and with it gave him, at the same instant, a mortal wound ! The Dane expired on the spot ; but Morroch lived till next morning, employing the intermediate time in acts of piety and devotion ; in making, says my MSS. a general confession, receiving the eucharist, and dying as an hero and a Christian should die ! A.C.

The confusion became general through the Danish army, and they fled on every side. Corcoran, one of the monarch's aid du camps, seeing the standard of Morrogh struck, (for this notified the death of the chief), and in the general deroute unable to distinguish friend from foe, concluded that the imperial army was defeated. He hastily entered the tent of Brien, who was on his knees before a crucifix, and requested he would immediately mount his horse and escape, for that all was lost. " Do you, says " this hero, and my other attendants, (rising up), fly. It was " to conquer or die I came here, and my enemies shall not boast " the killing of me, by inglorious wounds !" So saying, he seized his sword and battle-ax, his constant companions in war, and resolutely waited the event. In this general confusion, Brodar, and a few of his followers, entered the royal tent. He was armed from head to foot ; and yet the gallant old chief pierced his body through his coat of mail ! Two more of his attendants met the same fate ; and Brien received his death by a fourth !

The intrepid Sitric, prince of Ulster, the faithful companion of Brien in all his wars, was witness to the death of Morrogh, and revenged it by that of Plait, a Danish knight of great intrepidity, and by numbers of others of less note. Eagerly pursuing Brodar and his party, he saw them enter the tent of Brien, and cut to pieces the remains of them. But when he beheld the aged monarch extended on the ground, his grief was extreme. He threw himself on the dead body : the many wounds he had received in

A.C. the battle burst forth afresh ; he refused every kind of assistance, and expired in the arms of his friend and faithful ally ! These particulars of the death of Brien, taken from the Leabhar-Oiris, I thought would not be unacceptable to the reader, more especially as I find no two modern writers in accord, as to the manner of his dissolution.

From the acrimony and length of this battle, we may conclude few prisoners were taken, and none certainly were ! Death or an escape, was all the Danes had for it ; and they were eagerly pursued to their ships, and to the very gates of Dublin. From the vast number of chiefs who fell, we may form some idea of the carnage on both sides. On the imperial side were slain the monarch himself, his son and general Morrogh, with two of his brothers, and his grandson Turloch, who, though but fifteen years old, performed prodigies of valour that day ! His nephew Conuing, Sitric, prince of Ulster, Mothla, prince of the Deasies, Eocha, chief of the O'Seanlans, Neal O'Cuin, and Cudula Mac Ceinidi, his chief favourites, received the same fate. The chiefs of Corca Baigín, of Fermoigh, of Coonach, of Kerry Luachra, of Loch-Lene, &c. fell also in this battle ; as did of the Conaught princes, O'Kelly, chief of Hi-Maine, O'Heyne, and many others. The great stewards of Lenox and Mar, with other brave Albanians, the descendants of Core, king of Munster, died in the same cause. Besides these princes, and vast numbers of less note, the Bruodin Chronicle, and other indisputable records, esteem the loss of Irish, horse and foot, that day at 7000.

On the side of the enemy there fell Maolmordha, the cause of all this blood, with the princes of Hi-Failge, or O'Faly, of Magh-Liffe, and almost all the other chiefs of Leinster, who attended his standard, with 3000 of their bravest troops. Their right wing was composed of the new Danes, and the firmest troops

they had. These suffered amazingly by the Dalgais. Their principal officers were cut off to a man, with 7000 common soldiers! Of the left wing, besides most of their officers of note were slain in the field 4000 men, making in all 14000. This, though an amazing slaughter, considering the numbers who engaged, yet I am satisfied, by no means includes the entire of the enemy, who were slain in the battle and in the pursuit; and for this reason: with Brien fell that day, the vitals of the Irish constitution. Almost all the succeeding rulers were *never acknowledged* by our own annalists as monarchs, in the full meaning of the word. They were rather chiefs of different parties; the nation was quite disunited; and if the Danish loss had not been much greater at this time, from the attempts they formerly made, we may presume, that they would not totally relinquish an object, which had for above two centuries, cost them so much blood and treasure. But the fact is, that their power was totally broke at this time. The surviving foreigners took an eternal farewell of the country; and the Irish Danes were content to become obedient to, and crouch under that government, which they so often laboured to undermine and destroy.

Thus fell the immortal Brien, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, the most uniformly perfect character that history can produce. If we consider him in his military capacity, we should suppose, that the study of arms superseded every other object. In twenty-five different rencounters, and twenty-nine pitched battles, did he engage his Danish and other enemies, and victory always attended his standard! By his conduct, prudence, and bravery, he raised his country, from a state of the most abject slavery, to the highest pinnacle of glory! His superior genius and success in war, did not make him fond of it; and he preferred the way of negotiation to arms, where it was admissible—witness

A.C. his relinquishing Meath to Malachie, on his resigning the monarchy. As a statesman and as a legislator, his talents were not less conspicuous. Whatever he recovered by the sword, he preserved by the prudence of his counsels, and the mildness of his administration. The whole tenor of his life proclaims, that the only objects of his pursuits, were to restore to his country its ancient laws and liberties. Munster had been long unacquainted with the blessings of peace, till he became its king ; and when he became monarch, all Ireland partook of this happiness. The wonderful abilities of Brien made him shine in every department of the state. He saw with his own eyes every defect in the political machine ; and his own genius found out the remedies. He gave vigour and force to the laws, and the sons of rapine and plunder instantly disappeared ! He re-established religion and letters, and was the first Irish prince who laboured to reform and convert his Danish subjects. If he was terrible to his enemies in the field, he was mild and merciful to them in the cabinet ; and during his whole reign, a single act of cruelty or injustice cannot be laid to his charge. His great attention to every department in the exalted station he filled, did not make him forget his duty as a Christian. No one was more constant and fervent in their devotions than he, insomuch, that by most of our writers he has been deemed a saint, by some a martyr. He was easy of access, and courteous and polite to all. Whilst he lived at Ball-Boirumhe, with all the magnificence and profusion of Irish hospitality, it was tempered with that decorum and ease, that the dignity of the prince was never lost in the chearful affability of the companion. In short, as a soldier, a statesman, a legislator, a Christian, and a scholar, he had not a superior ; and if any thing can blazon his character higher, it must be his manner of dying. At the age of eighty-eight, when the vital forces sensibly decay ;
when

when the languid motion of the blood mechanically affects the heart and spirits, and naturally brings on dejections; at a time when Brien himself was requested to retire to his tent from the horrors of the day, and leave the conduct of the battle to his son—at this time, and under these circumstances, he was told, that all was lost, and was himself requested to fly! Then it was, that the hero and the monarch blazed forth in their utmost lustre! “Do you (says he), and my other attendants fly. It was to conquer or die I came here; and my enemies shall not boast the killing me by inglorious wounds!” This was closing the scene with true dignity!

His body, after embalming according to his will, was conveyed to Ardmach. First, the clergy of Swords in solemn procession, brought it to the great abbey; from thence the next morning, the bishops and clergy of Damh-Hag, or Duleek, conducted it to the church of St. Cianan. Here the clergy of Lughmhaigh, attended the corpse to their own monastery. The archbishop of Ardmach, with his suffragans and clergy, received the body at Lughmhaigh, from whence it was conveyed to their cathedral. For twelve days and nights, says my MS. was it watched by the clergy, during which time there was a continued scene of prayers and devotions; and then it was interred with great funeral pomp, at the north side of the altar of the great church. The bodies of Morrogh and Sitric, with the hearts of Conuing, and O’Felan, prince of the Deasies, at their own requests, were deposited in the south isle of that church; whilst his grandson Turloch, and most of the other chiefs, were interred at the monastery of Killmainhim.

C H A P. IX.

Writers of the tenth century—St. Cormoc, an account of his famous work, called the Psalter of Cashill—a detail of other eminent men, with the list of the works of some of them.

THOUGH the tenth century has been, by almost universal consent, called the dark and sterile age, on account of the abject state of letters, and the few men of eminence it produced, occasioned by the depredations of the northern nations; yet even at this very period we find, besides the hereditary antiquarians, poets, and historians, Ireland still produce men of uncommon erudition and abilities. Amongst these St. Cormoc merits the first place, on account of his exalted station, and pre-eminence in letters. This great king and holy bishop, had employed the leisure time of many years in revising and correcting his native history, and which he lived to complete, as may be seen by his will, which we have already given. It is not a general history of Ireland, as some have supposed; it is more properly the history of the posterity of Heber, or of the Munster line of kings. It begins with the creation, the fall of man, and the anti-diluvian world; and in the chronology he seems to adhere to the Septuagint account. Phœnius, the great ancestor of the Gathelian race, he declares to be the son of Baath, the son of Magog, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah. He relates the dereliction of Egypt, by Niulus, the son of Phœnius, and the voyages and adven-

adventures of his posterity, to their settling in Ireland. From A.C. this period to his own days, he confines his enquiries to the exploits of his own ancestors of the line of Heber; so that with great propriety he styles it the Psalter of Cashill, or Book of Munster. Besides this most valuable record, he also wrote Sean-asán Cormoc, or Cormoc's Glossary of obsolete words; and this work, with several later editions, was published at Louvain, early in the last century, by O'Clery.

Sealbhach, secretary to king Cormoc, wrote a genealogy of the saints of Ireland, beginning with—Naomh Seanchas, Naomh, Innse-Fail—or the sacred genealogy of the Irish saints *.

Probus flourished in this century; and at the request of Paulinus (as he himself declares in the conclusion), he wrote, in Latin, the Life and Miracles of St. Patrick in two books; which work Colgan gives entire, under the title of the Fifth Life of St. Patrick †.

Archbishop Foranan, renowned for learning and piety, with twelve holy associates, retired from the fury of the Danes to Flanders, where he founded a monastery on the borders of the Maeze, and restored the ascetic discipline to its primitive vigour ‡.

St. Cadroe, educated in the university of Ardmagh, became so celebrated for his universal erudition, as to be deemed amongst the most learned of his country. He visited Britain and Gaul, and succeeded Foranan in his monastery, and in his zeal and piety. His life is given by Colgan.

In this age Flan, the celebrated scribe and chronographer, flourished, as the Annals of the Four Masters declare; as also an anonymous writer, who continued the Psalter of Cashill, or

* Acta. Sanct. Hib. p. 5.

† Ibid. p. 105, 152, &c.

‡ Trias Thaum. p. 51.

A.C. Book of Munster, to the reign of Mahon, king of Munster ; an authentic copy of which, in my possession, has been highly useful to the present work.

In the tenth century may be also placed, the anonymous writer of the Life of Ceallachan-Caisil. This work is much to be valued, not only account of the lights it throws on the period and transactions of which it speaks, but also because it details in a full manner, the modes of attack in those days, with respect to the besieging of towns, and to general engagements, whether by land or by water.

St. Malbrigid, Mac Dornan, who is in our annals styled successor to St. Patrick, St. Columba, and St. Adamnanus, head of the religious of all Ireland, and of the greatest part of Europe, flourished in this century. Rumold, bishop of Cluanard, Mainchas, abbot of Benchoir, Carpre the anchorite, the abbots Paulinus, Colman, and Cormoc, with Joseph, who from a recluse was raised to the see of Ardmagh, are all highly celebrated in the Annals of the Four Masters, for their religion and learning.

St. Columbanus, abbot and anchorite, in the middle of this century, retired to Flanders ; and it is said to be the first who introduced amongst that people, this species of mortification*. After exhorting and preaching with uncommon zeal and devotion, he retired to a cemetery in the church of St. Bavo, in Ghent, in which he continued to his death, which happened in about two years after his retreat, i. e. A. 959. He is still invoked in times of public calamity, as one of the patrons of that city.

* Vita St. Columbani, f. 2.



B O O K XII.

C H A P. I.

No national advantages made of the late great victory—retreat of the Munster and Leinster forces—Cian assumes the title of king of Munster, and demands hostages from the sons of Brien, which are refused—character of Cian—his pretensions opposed by Domhnal—retreat of the troops of North Munster—the prince of Offory demands hostages of them, and is refused—the Munster troops prepare for battle, and are joined by their sick and wounded—the Ossorians generously refuse to attack them—battle of Maigh-Guillidhe.

AFTER so decisive, though dear bought a victory, as the battle of Cluantarff, we should naturally suppose that the first objects of the conquerors would be to proceed to the election of an emperor, and the forming such a new code of laws as would secure to the kingdom that internal peace and security which it stood in such need of. But no such thing! That great soul, which animated this whole party, fled to heaven; and characters so great, and so elevated, are not the product of every age! The king of Conaught, apprehensive of domestic troubles, hastily retired to his own territories, and the Munster army, under the command of its different chiefs, followed the

VOL. II. N n example.

A.C. example. But scarce had these last closed the march of the first day, when old disputes and distinctions arose, and having now no other enemies to fear, they began to look for new ones among themselves.

Cian, the son of Maolmuadh, chief of the Sept of the O' Mahonies, thought that his power and blood justly entitled him to the succession to the crown of Munster. He sent a formal embassy, on the next morning, being the 26th of April, to Teige and Donogh, the surviving sons of Brien, informing them of his intentions of being proclaimed king of Munster, and requesting from them the same aid and assistance he had afforded to their father, at the same time requiring their submission as their chief, and hostages for their future good behaviour. To soften these demands, it was represented to them, that by the will of their common ancestor, Olioll-Ollum, the government of Munster was to pass alternately from the house of Eogan to that of Cormoc; that their father being of the latter house, and last king of Munster, the choice of a successor necessarily fell upon the Eoganachts; and, therefore, besides the ties of affinity—he being married to their sister—those of strict justice strongly pleaded in his behalf. However surprised and shocked at this message, as the brothers necessarily must be, yet they returned a resolute and spirited answer. As to the submission and aid which Cian boasted of affording their father, they observed, “ That it was not voluntary, but exacted by the sword. “ That the will of Olioll had long since been broken through, “ and rendered nugatory by the posterity of Eogan, who “ had usurped to themselves, in too many instances, the right “ of governing Munster. That their father Brien, by force of “ arms, had obliged them to recognize his title, and that, by “ the same means, they would preserve this rank, and transmit “ it to their posterity. It is true, added they, we are not so “ numerous.

“ numerous nor so well prepared for battle as you, having lost
“ most of our brethren and friends in the late engagement ; but
“ we have hearts unacquainted with fear, and the God of armies
“ will support us in the day of trial.”

But, whilst with firmness the sons of Brien prepare for the event, sound policy pointed out to them the means of weakening their enemy. Cian, it must be confessed, was a prince of great bravery and wisdom. In the life of his father he was delivered up, as an hostage, to Brien ; his gallantry and engaging behaviour had so far endeared him to that chief, that he gave him his daughter Saobh, or Sabina, to wife. He constantly attended Brien in all his wars, fought by his side, and shared in his dangers and in his glory. No one seemed more worthy the crown of Munster, or monarchy of Ireland, than Cian ; and had fate so decreed it, in all appearance Ireland would not have felt these calamities which she has so long endured. The troops of South Munster, in the battle of Cluantarff, had not suffered near so much as their brethren of North Munster. These last had to engage with the flower of the Danish troops, above two thousand of whom were completely armed ; and they were besides deserted by Malachie and his forces of Meath. The remains of their forces, after the battle did not amount to quite two thousand men, out of which twelve hundred only were able to bear arms, the rest being desperately wounded in different parts ; whereas the troops of South Munster were infinitely superior, and besides, had not near so many wounded. Cian, alone, was at the head of three thousand men ; but Domhnal, the son of Dubhdabhoran, and chief of the O'Donachoes, commanded a very respectable body of troops independent of Cian. To him the brothers sent an express, announcing the intentions of Cian, and requesting his aid. If the ambition of Domhnal was roused by the attempts

A.C. of Cian, his pride was equally wounded to think he would carry them into execution without consulting him.

He immediately proceeded to the tent of the son of Maolmuadh, and found all his men busied in preparing themselves for battle. He demanded the cause, and Cian, without any reserve, disclosed it to him. After some expostulations, Domhnal, in a few words, informed him, “ That in his junction with the imperial army, he had not the most distant idea of promoting Cian to the sovereignty of Munster in case of a vacancy; and that he now solemnly protested against his proceedings.” Cian fiercely answered, “ That he never once thought of asking either his advice or assistance on the occasion.” On this Domhnal and his army separated from that of Cian, and formed a distinct camp. The brothers, well apprised of these divisions, knew that Cian was too great a politician to think of attacking them, circumstanced as he now was, and, therefore, after standing for some time under arms, ordered a retreat, directing the sick and the baggage to be placed in the front of their little army. Cian, and his party, proceeded, at the same time, to Ibh-Eachach in Carbery, the place of his residence, as did Domhnal to Kerry, but by different routes.

But the sons of Brien were decreed to suffer still more mortifying trials before they reached the mansion of their ancestors. As soon as they approached the borders of Offory, Fitz-Patric, chief of that territory, sent ambassadors, requiring hostages for the good behaviour of their troops, and also for their peaceable demeanour for the time to come. Enraged at so insolent a demand, and from a constant tributary to the crown of Munster, they returned for answer, “ That they were astonished at the presumption of the prince of Offory, in daring to send them such a message; and though their troops were greatly diminished, yet they had still sufficient to punish a dastardly chief,

“ like him, who meanly availed himself of his present seeming
“ superiority.” Nothing can prove more strongly, how delu-
sive and transitory human honours and applause are, than the
present situation of these princes contrasted with the rank they
held a few days earlier ! There we behold them courted and ca-
ressed, honoured and feared, by the army and by the whole
kingdom ! Here, their weight and power being greatly dimi-
nished—for respect and adulation seem to adhere to stations, not
to persons—these honours are turned to insults, and this ap-
plause to contempt ! What availed it to the sons of the immortal
Brien, that their father, their brothers, their nephew, their
kinsmen, and almost the entire tribe of Dalgais, fell a sacrifice
to the glory and independence of their country ; and that their
present situation entitled them to every honour that could be con-
ferred on men ! These great services, we see, are almost instantly
forgot, and their present consequence was only rated according
to their present power !

The ambassadors of Fitz-Patric, sensible of the great superio-
rity of his army (being joined by a body of Lagenians) and
foreseeing the destruction of the remains of the brave Dalgais if
a battle should ensue, conjure the brothers to make some small
concessions to their master, and not to dismiss them with an an-
swer so ill adapted to their present situation. “ At what period
“ of time (replied the intrepid Donogh) did any one of my
“ ancestors do homage, or deliver hostages, to an Ossorian ?
“ That the posterity of Eogan should sometimes make such
“ demands is not surprising, being the issue of the eldest son
“ of our great ancestor ; but is there in history a single instance,
“ besides the present, of the chief of Ossory’s daring to demand
“ hostages from the posterity of Olioll-Olkum ?” So saying he
dismissed the ambassadors, and began to prepare for the ex-
pected engagement.

A body

A.C.

A body of two hundred men were directed to escort the wounded and the baggage to an adjoining fort; but as soon as the purport of Fitzpatric's message became known, a general rage and indignation seized on the whole army. The wounded called out to be led to battle. They conjured their brethren not to desert them, but as they had hitherto lived, so they hoped they would now suffer them to die by their sides. They applied to Donogh and to Teige; and, as a farther inducement, observed to them, "That by permitting them to stand to their arms, their fellow-soldiers would fight with more intrepidity, and would never think of giving way. Let stakes (say they) be stuck in the ground, and suffer each of us, tied to, and supported by one of these stakes, to be placed in his rank, by the side of a sound man; our front will be more extended, and we shall, by this means, be enabled to use our arms." Their importunities, and these reasons, made a strong impression on the brothers, and between seven and eight hundred wounded men, pale, emaciated, and supported as above, appeared mixed with the foremost of the troops. Never was such another fight exhibited! The Ossorians marched to the attack with full assurance of victory; but when they regarded the situation of almost half of the enemy they were to attack, pity and admiration succeeded to rage and resentment! In vain Fitzpatric called them forth to the battle; in vain he urged that so decisive an opportunity, as the present, would never offer again, and that, by losing it, the whole power of Munster would soon be on their backs.—His reasons were of no weight; and his allies absolutely refused to engage with the troops of North Munster in their present situation. The sons of Brien, seeing this defection, prepared for a retreat; but the prince of Ossory, says my MS. with a select body of followers, constantly hovered round this body of men, perpetually harassing, but never daring to come

come to an engagement with them. By this means they lost a hundred and fifty of their wounded, and many others were cut off in the retreat. After this the remains of these heroes reached Ball-Boirumhe without any further molestation. A.C.

We observed that Cian and Domhnal separated on their return to Munster. Cian had not yet lost sight of the crown of that province; and the first object of his resentment, after his arrival, was the son of Dubhdabhoran. He sent heralds, denouncing war, and challenging him to battle, in ten days, on the plains of Magh-Guillidhe. Both parties met, and the engagement was long and bloody. The party of Cian was, at length, defeated with great carnage, and among the slain were this prince, his two brothers, and three of his sons, “ Thus
“ fell (says the Leabhar Oiris) the intrepid Cian, as gallant and
“ generous a prince *as the house of Heber ever produced.*”

A.C.

C H A P. II.

Malachie again saluted monarch by the Clan-Colman, but not elected by the national estates—Righ-go-freasabhra, its import—Malachie's remarkable account of the battle of Cluantarff—takes Dublin by assault—civil commotions of Munster—of Leinster—Malachie repents his former conduct, and devotes the remainder of his life to acts of piety and charity—contentions in Munster—the Heremonians appoint a protector—remarks on this title—Donogh O'Brien over-runs Leinster, Meath, and Connaught—his issue—is defeated by his Nephew Turlogh, resigns the crown, and retires to Rome—the Powers, Plunkets, and Eustaces of the race of O'Brien—the pretences of Rome to the command of Ireland enquired into and refuted.

MALACHIE, it is said, was proclaimed monarch, by the national estates, immediately after the death of Brien. The fact was not certainly so; for we have seen the chiefs of Munster and Connaught return to their different countries the second day after the battle of Cluantarff. Had their suffrages been demanded in favour of a successor, I take it for granted that Malachie would be the last man in the world on whom they would bestow it. He had been formally deposed in 1001, and resigned the crown some time after. During the glorious reign of Brien, in no one instance was he intitled to the confidence of the public. We have seen the late Danish war to commence with an incursion into Meath, and Malachie, in person, claim the protection of the monarch as his chief; yet in the decisive

cifive battle that followed, the year after, forgetful of his allegiance to his fovereign, of the duty he owed his country, of his own honour, and of the juft revenge which the death of his fon and the destruction of his territories demanded—on the instant of trial he basely deferted his ftation, and by this defection hazarded the eternal ruin of his country! Was fuch a character the object of national esteem? The truth of the matter is—Malachie, feeing no formidable competitors, and being at the head of a good army, in the center of his relations, the Clan-Colman, or fouthern Hi-Niall race, he convened an afsembly of the eftates of Meath, in the middle of May, 1014, by whom he was faluted king of Tara and monarch of Ireland; and, in this inftance, gave the example to future powerful princes to affume the title, and, in part, the power of monarchs, without a previous general election; fuch, in fact, were almoft all the fucceeding rulers of Ireland! Thefe princes have been very properly ftigmatized by our fenachies, *righe go freafabhra*, or kings by force or violence, in oppofition to thofe legally elected, who they have called *lain-righe*, or kings, in the complete fenfe of the word.

In this convention, we are told by Mac Liagh, hiftorian to Brien Boirumhe, and it is alfo recorded in the Leabhar Oiris, that the eftates of Meath requested of Malachie fome account of the late battle of Cluantarff, of which fo much had been faid, and that he answered them thus—“ It is impoffible for me to
 “ relate the particulars of this battle, nor do I believe could any
 “ one lefs than an angel from heaven. I retired, with the
 “ troops under my command, to an eminence, feparated from
 “ the combatants by a field and a ditch only. The appearance
 “ of the men, the glittering of fwords, fpears, and battle-
 “ axes, and the brightness of their armour, exhibited at once
 “ a glorious and an awful fight! The engagement foon com-
 “ menced,

A.C “ menced, and, in less than half an hour, it was impossible to
 “ distinguish the combatants from each other; even a father or
 “ or a brother could not be known, except by his voice, so
 “ closely were they mingled together, and so covered with
 “ blood, darting forth from different parts of the body, and
 “ scattered on every side by the wind, which was then sharp
 “ and high. Separated as we were from them, the spears,
 “ swords, and battle-axes of our men were so entangled, by
 “ the quantity of blood and clotted hair flying from the field of
 “ battle, that with constant difficulty and labour only were they
 “ able to disengage them and to keep their ranks; nor was it for
 “ some time after that their arms recovered their former lustre.
 “ The scenes of carnage, which spread far and wide, were ter-
 “ rible beyond description—so much so, that the very sight of
 “ them, to us spectators, appeared infinitely more distressing
 “ and terrifying than they could possibly be to the parties en-
 “ gaged. From sun-rise to the evening did the battle continue,
 “ with such unremitting slaughter, that the returning tide was
 “ stained red!”

This, it must be confessed, if not the description of a battle, is, at least, a lively one of its melancholy effects.

As soon as Malachie found himself in the peaceable possession of a crown which he so ill merited, in order to ingratiate himself with the public, and to endeavour to remove part of the ill impression conceived against him, in conjunction with his ally Aodh O'Neill, he led a powerful army against Dublin, which he took by assault, and, after plundering the city, he set it on fire in different places, in order effectually to destroy that ungrateful and irreclaimable set of traitors, the remains of the Danes. Such of these, however, as escaped the sword, had their revenge, by plundering and destroying the adjacent country, and putting to the sword the peaceable inhabitants.

We

We have, in the last chapter, noticed the death of the gallant Cian and the defeat of his army. Mahon, his surviving son, fled from the rage of the conquerors to the court of his uncles, Donogh and Tiege. To reinstate him in the dominions of his ancestors, they marched a considerable army into Desmond, which soon engaged with that commanded by the son of Dubhdaboran. In this battle the latter was defeated; and, among the slain, was his son Cathal, and others of prime quality. By this victory the sons of Brien secured a powerful ally in their nephew, and obliged his antagonist to deliver up hostages to them, and thus regained the sovereignty of all Munster. But *rara concordia fratrum*! this acquisition of power was a source of fresh commotions. Tiege, as elder brother, insisted that he ought singly to reign; but Donogh, who was an able politician, and, besides, possessed of insatiable ambition, would by no means admit of the arguments of his brother. Both parties had (as usual) recourse to arms: a pitched battle was fought, in which the prince of Aradh, of Ui-Cairbre, and other great chiefs, were slain, with little visible advantage to either party. During these intestine commotions the son of Dubhdaboran was not idle. He artfully recovered his hostages, and, at the same time, made a sudden and unexpected incursion into Carbery. Every thing gave way to his superior power, and, with his own hand, he slew young Mahon in revenge for the death of his son Cathal.

Domhnal prepared, with a considerable army, to invade Thomond, and this circumstance had a speedier effect to unite the sons of Brien than all the remonstrances of the clergy, who, to do them justice, were, on all occasions the ministers of peace. They became reconciled, and, uniting their armies, waited at Limeric the approach of the enemy. By mutual agreement a battle was fought, in which great bravery was displayed, and of course much blood spilt. At length the Eoganachts

A.C. gave way on every side; but not till they saw their chief and almost all their principal officers fall!

Malachi having reduced the Danes, marched an army into Leinster, in order to chastise such chiefs of that country, as had not paid him proper homage; and after his return, in conjunction with O'Neill, he invaded Connaught, returning with prisoners and hostages by the way of Kildare. Some petty princes of Ulster he also chastised, and obliged them to give hostages for their future obedience.

1017 Donagan, a Leinster prince, with many other chiefs, were cut off at an entertainment, by the prince of Ossory; and soon after, to punish this prince for so infamous an act, Malachie entered his territories, laying waste the country with fire and sword, putting him to death with other conspirators, and leading to Tara a large number of prisoners.

1018 During these various intestine broils, the Danes, collected from different parts, had again taken possession of Dublin. It is certainly very surprising, and not easily to be accounted for, that in all the various defeats the Danes received, their enemies never once thought, (except in the days of Malachie I.), to prostrate the walls of their cities and strong holds. They contented themselves with plundering and setting fire to their houses, after forcing their cities, and raising contributions only. By this means, and that of their extensive and lucrative trade, and the supplies of foreigners, they soon became enabled, on ever occasion, to create fresh disturbances, and seldom wanted the inclinations and opportunities of doing so. Thus Sitric, the Danish governor of Dublin, on some dispute, had the eyes of Brien, son to Maolmordha, that degenerate king of Leinster, struck out; but his successor took ample revenge on that insidious crew, and so effectually humbled them, that they never after were able to emerge

emerge from that contempt and obscurity, which their crimes and repeated acts of rebellion had so long merited. A.C.

Malachie now greatly advanced in years, saw, and blamed too late his past conduct. To regain the monarchy, he sacrificed his faith, his honour, and whatever else was dear to man; and he now was convinced, that he wanted the abilities requisite for so great a charge. The power of the common enemy, it is true, was annihilated; but he had neither force nor resolution, to break through party, faction, and intestine broils, with which the kingdom was over-run. As some atonement for these defects, he dedicated the remainder of his life to acts of piety and devotion. He founded St. Mary's abbey, in Dublin; rebuilt and repaired such churches, monasteries, and colleges, as had through time, neglect, or the ravages of war, fallen into decay; and he made foundations in different colleges in the kingdom, for the maintainance and education of 300 poor students. In his last illness he was attended by the archbishop of Ardmach, with the abbots of Ionia and Saghire, and died September 2d, 1022, in the seventy third year of his age, after a reign of eight years, three months, and twelve days. Malachie was the only monarch of Ireland, who survived the loss of the diadem; and the first, who again resumed that title, without a regular and formal election.

On the death of Malachie, none seemed to have better pretensions to the supreme command of Ireland than the sons of Brien; but unnatural jealousies and dissensions amongst themselves, deprived the nation of so wished for a blessing. We have seen them, after the defeat of Domhnal, turn their arms against each other; and now, instead of uniting in the same cause, they proceed to similar excesses. Tiege was the elder brother, and great respect was always paid to seniority. Donogh at best saw that he could be but second in command, whilst Tiege lived; and therefore effected by treachery, what he could not by force. He sent for the
the

A.C. the chief of Eile, in Ormond, who was particularly attached to him, and by large presents, and a promise of making Saor-
 1023 Fearan, or a palatinate, of his country, he engaged him to surprise his brother the following night, and carry him off prisoner to Ormond, where he was cut off soon after. Though Donogh affected great surprise at the sudden disappearance of Tiege; yet both his hypocrisy and treachery were quickly seen into; for soon after his nephew Turlogh fled from Munster to Ferceall, the seat of his uncle, where he was honourably received. It is to be noticed that Tiege, had married Mor, the daughter of O'Molloy, or Maolmuadh, prince of this territory, now known by the name of the King's County.

The Heremonians became alarmed at the rising state of Munster; but not able to agree among themselves, as to a successor to Malachie, Cuan O'Lochain, was by them appointed protector of the monarchy. This, to many antiquarians, seemed a new and unheard-of employment; however, in the fourth century, we find the monarch Criomhthan appoint his cousin Conall protector of Ireland during his absence. In the will of Niall the Grand, he expressly declares his son Maine, Ard Comairce Eirin Uile, or chief protector of all Ireland, during his absence; and I have met with many instances in old MSS. of the title of governor of Tara, which implies the same thing, as it was the known residence of the Irish monarchs. To have a person appointed, in cases of vacancies to an elective monarchy, in whom the executive power should be lodged during the election, is a measure which no wise government could want; and this seems one of the last efforts, to bring back the constitution to its original state.

This measure, and some troubles in Munster, suspended for a time the ambitious views of Domhnal; but Cuan dying in the
 second

second year of his administration, his successor Corcoran, seemed A.C.
possessed of little or no power. In 1027, says my MSS. * Donogh, at the head of a mighty army, invaded Meath, where he received hostages from the Clan Colman. From thence he marched to Dublin, and sat before that city for some days, till he received the homage of that people, and large contributions. From Dublin he returned through Leinster, compelling both these and the Ossorians to give him tribute, and securities for their future peaceable demeanour, and arrived at Cean Corradh, laden with spoils and glory.

The next year Donogh entered into Conaught, receiving the 1028
homages and the tributes usually paid to monarchs. Though he had not been called to that honour, nor even summoned the estates for that purpose. On a complaint that the prince of Ossory had killed his own brother, Donogh again marched into his country, and raised heavy contributions on the people.

He now commanded, not only in the two Munsters, but also in Leinster, Conaught, and Meath; and yet we do not find, that he adopted any measures to have himself legally declared monarch! However, the estates of Leath-Mogha were convened at Cashel, where several wholesome regulations were made, and severe laws 1030
passed against robbers, murderers, and profaners of the Sabbath. At no one time since the days of St. Patrick, (say our annalists †), were so many wise institutions framed.

Donogh by his first wife had eleven sons, two of whom only left male issue, namely, Lorcan and Morrogh. His second wife, by whom he had a son named Domhnal, was named Driella, daughter to the great earl Godwin, and sister to Harold, afterwards king of England ‡. In 1050, say our annals, Harold fled

* Leabhar Oiris, &c. &c.

† Annal. Innis-Falens. Tigernach, &c.

‡ Bruodin, &c.

A.C. for protection to his brother-in-law, by whom he was honour-
 1053 ably received. He afterwards supplied him with a large fleet, and a considerable body of land forces, with which he made a successful landing in Britain*.

The great power of Donogh was the source of much discontent to the provinces he had over-run. A powerful league was formed against him. His nephew Turlogh, who had already acquired great fame, the kings of Conaught and Leinster agreed to supply with a powerful army, in order to recover his inheritance. This had the appearance of justice, and they knew he had a considerable party to support him. At the head of these troops
 1054 he invaded Munster, and gained many advantages over Donogh. In 1058, Turlogh, at the head of his aliens, gained a complete victory; but in order to lessen the number of his enemies, Donogh agreed the next spring, to exonerate the Conacians of all claim to tribute, provided they would withdraw their troops. In 1060, he made the same concessions to the people of Leinster; but the party of Turlogh was now too strong in Munster to be injured by these defections. Donogh made one effort more to expel his nephew the province. He collected all his forces, and at the foot
 1063 of Ardagh mountain, engaged the army of Turlogh, and received a complete overthrow. These repeated defeats, his advanced age, the murder of his brother, and the injuries he did his nephew, began to oppress him. Religion is the only resource for the guilty, and for the unfortunate, and this pointed out to Donogh to make all the atonement he could. To his nephew he peaceably surrendered the crown of Munster; and, as some expiation for fratricide, he went on a pilgrimage to Rome, where
 1064 he took on him a religious habit, in the monastery of St. Stephen,

* Baker's Chronicle, Rapin, vol. i. p. 133.

in which he remained to his death, which happened some years after, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. A.C.

The Bruodin Chronicle affirms—and tradition has it—that from this prince Donogh three noble families are descended, supposed to be of foreign extraction; namely, the Powers, the Plunkets, and the Eustaces. Dr. Keating, mistaking the relation, denies the fact. For he supposes, that it had been asserted that Donogh, after his arrival at Rome, had this issue; a thing he justly observes, impossible in his advanced stage of life. It was by the princess Driella he had a son named Domhnal, “a renowned hero, say our historians, but of whose posterity we have no perfect accounts.” But it is reasonable to suppose, that as a cadet, on the retreat of his father, he repaired to Britain, where his posterity might assume those different names; and as the Bruodins were the acknowledged hereditary historians of the O Brians, great credit is due to their relations, especially in the article of genealogy. It has been asserted, that on Donogh’s dereliction of Ireland, he carried with him the crown, which he laid at the feet of the then pope, Alexander II. and this is offered as one proof, that the donation of Adrian IV. was valid. But admitting that he surrendered his crown to the see of Rome, it is evident that it could not be the imperial crown, because he was neither elected nor crowned monarch. It could not be the crown of Leath-Mogha, as from unerring records it appears, that he peaceably surrendered that to his nephew! But let us for once suppose, what was not the case; namely, that Donogh made a formal tender of the crown of Ireland to this pope; could he or his successors, from this donation, found any kind of claim whatever to the sovereignty of Ireland? Could an exile, an usurper, as he undoubtedly was, transfer to any other a power,

A.C. which he had already surrendered to the legal proprietor? But for argument sake, let us admit him to be acknowledged as monarch in the fullest sense of the word, and that in this character he made a formal surrender of his crown and dignity to this pope, or to any other prince—still, by the laws of Ireland, the moment of his death put a period to his delegation. Of the truth of this we are furnished with a proof, so late as the reign of Elizabeth.

John O'Neill was questioned, for refusing the title of earl of Tirone, granted to his father and his successors; and he answered, "that no act of his father, except confirmed by the estates of Ulster, could be binding on his successors. That the title of O'Neill was to him superior to any other, and that only he would take *."

* Camden Annal. Rer. Angl. & Hib. Regn. Eliz. p. 78.

C H A P. III.

Of Dermot, nominal monarch, and his exploits—of Turlogh II. monarch—receives hostages from different provinces, but is defeated in Ulster—appoints his son governor of Dublin, and prevents commotions in Conaught—his transactions with some Ulster princes—death and character—Mortogh, king of Leath-Mogha, assumes the title of monarch—receives the submissions of some provinces—wars with Ulster—bad conduct of his brother—are reconciled—a continuation of his wars—a reconciliation between him and the Ultonians—further accounts of the exploits of Mortogh—dedicates the city of Cashell to the church—death of this prince, and his great antagonist Domhnal, prince of Tyrconnel.

SINCE the death of Brien Boirumhe, we have seen how flagrantly the constitution was violated! No convention of the estates at Tara, no election of a monarch, no generous attempt whatever, to restore dignity and weight to the national laws! Malachie was contented to be declared monarch by the estates of Meath only; and Donogh, conscious of his crimes, dared not to meet a national assembly. By this means every feudatory prince formed on independent interest, and it was not his wish to be eclipsed by another. In this confusion, and to preserve a consistency in the history, the antiquarians have considered the prince of the greatest power, as the nominal monarch of the day. In this light some have viewed Dermot, king of Leinster *, because, in conjunction with the king of Conaught,

* Grat. Luc. p. 81. Ogygia, p. 437.

A.C. he reduced the power of Munster, and obliged Donogh to re-
 1064 linquish that crown to the lawful heir. He after this assisted in
 crushing a rebellion, raised by Murchad, the son of Donogh.
 He compelled the king of Conaught to give him hostages ; and
 the people of Meath and Dublin paid him tribute. The continu-
 ator of the Annals of Tigernach affirms, that the Welsh and the
 Hebrides, were his tributaries also. In the beginning of February
 1072, he again entered Meath, but was defeated on the 7th of
 of said month by Connor, the son of Malachie, king of that pro-
 vince, with great slaughter, in the bloody battle of Odhbha, he
 himself being amongst the slain.

Though Turlogh, the son of Tiege, son to the immortal Brien,
 has been placed as *nominal* monarch, after his uncle ; yet, as it
 appears evidently, that to the king of Leinster he owed his ele-
 vation, and that, during his reign, this prince's power and military
 glory far eclipsed that of Turlogh, I have placed him next in
 order to Donogh. But on his death, in 1072, Turlogh certainly
 was the most potent prince in Ireland, and had the fairest claim to
 that title.

1072 From this time we date Turlogh, Righ go Freasabhra, or no-
 minal monarch of Ireland ; and this will reconcile the accounts
 of antiquarians, with respect to the length of his reign ; some
 making it twenty-two years, others allowing him but fourteen *.
 For those who have placed him in the WHITE LIST, immediately
 on the resignation of his uncle, are right in allowing him a reign
 of twenty-two years ; but those who have arranged him after
 the above Dermot, cannot be censured for cutting off eight
 years from this period. The first public act of Turlogh, was to
 to raise the power of Munster, with which he marched into Lein-
 ster, receiving homage, and taking hostages from the different

* Grat. Luc. p. 82.

princes and chiefs. His army halted at Kilmainhim, and here the Danish chiefs and magistrates waited upon him in form; and as the other tributary princes did they kneeled, and each put his hands into those of Turlogh, which implied, that their power was for the future to be employed by him. After this he entered the city with great splendor; the gates being thrown open, the keys were presented to him, and he was acknowledged as their sovereign. He confirmed the former governor and magistrates in their different posts; and from thence proceeded to Meath, to receive hostages and punish Murrogh O'Mealsachlin, for the inhuman murder of his brother Connor, king of that territory. After this, he returned to his palace of Cin-Corradh, where he was received as king of Leath-Mogha, in the most extensive meaning of the word.

1073

In 1075, he marched an army into Conaught, and received homage and hostages from Roderic O'Connor, king of the province, from O'Rourk, prince of Breffni, from O'Reily, O'Kelly, Mac Dermod, and others. From thence he proceeded to Ulster on the same errand; but his troops were severely handled by the Ultonians. However, understanding that Godfrey, governor of Dublin, gave early intelligence to the king of Ulster of his designs, and even privately assisted him; on his return he banished him the kingdom, and appointed his own son Mortogh, governor of Dublin, and the territory of Fingal, in his stead. The Conacians, encouraged by the checks which Turlogh received in Ulster, were preparing to shake off the yoke; but he receiving timely information of it, suddenly invaded that province, surprised, and made a prisoner of king Roderic, who on the most solemn assurances, and the receiving of fresh hostages for his future good behaviour, he released from his captivity.

1076

In 1079, Dunlevy, king of Uladh, applied to Turlogh for succours, to reinstate him in his dominions, from which he had been

1079

been

A.C. been expelled. He supplied him with a good body of men, by whose assistance the malcontents were defeated. This same year he sent his son Dermot into Wales, with a powerful navy, who laid waste the country, and returned with considerable spoils. O'Mealfachlin, attended by the archbishop of Cashell, in 1080, waited on Turlogh, at his palace in Limeric, (since then a monastery, and now the cathedral church), and got his pardon for the murder of his brother, and was received into favour. In 1082, Dunlevy, king of Uladh, with his principal nobility waited, on Turlogh in Limeric, to thank him for the recovery of his dominions, and to do him homage as his chief. Turlogh dismissed them with great marks of royal munificence; there being distributed amongst them, by his orders, a thousand cows, a hundred and twenty cloaks of different colours, according to the quality of the people, forty ounces of gold, with swords and bucklers, &c. In 1084, being on a royal tour, O'Rourk made a sudden irruption into Thomond, burned and plundered Killaloe, Tuam-Greine, Seariff, and Magh-Neo, (then flourishing cities on the banks of the Shannon, now scarce retaining the traces of villages!) and returned to Breffni loaded with spoils; but Turlogh had his revenge, for the forces of O'Rourk were cut off and himself slain, soon after, by the troops of Munster.

This generous and intrepid prince had long laboured under a chronic disorder, which at length deprived him of life at Cin-Corradh, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, in the month of July, and year after Christ 1086. He has been placed high in the list of fame by our writers, not so much for his success and intrepidity in war, (in which he appears to have been very successful), as for his justice, his humanity, his piety, and love of his country. His cousin Murchad, in the second year of his reign, raised a formidable rebellion in Thomond, which, with great loss of blood only was suppressed, and he obliged to take refuge in Conaught.

In some years after he returned, and was the cause of fresh outrages, yet the only punishment inflicted by Turlogh, was to assign him ample possessions in Cuonagh and Aharla, in the county of Limeric, which his posterity enjoyed for many generations. He shewed the same humanity to other delinquents, and framed a set of laws, much wanting and highly applauded in these days. The fame of the splendor, power, and justice of this prince, was not confined to Ireland. St. Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, addressed a letter “To the magnificent “Turlogh, king of Ireland;” in which he praises God for his blessings to the Irish nation, in granting them a prince of his piety, moderation, and equity, to rule them *.

A.C.

Turlogh had by his queen Saibh, daughter to the king of Desmond, four sons; Tiege, who died soon after his father at Cin-Corradh; Mortogh, who was his immediate successor; Dermod, who succeeded him; and Donogh, slain in Meath.

Immediately after the death of Turlogh, his son Mortogh was proclaimed king of Leath-Mogha, and is ranked next among the monarchs of Ireland. But to insure his power, we find the first public acts of his reign, were to banish his brother Dermod, and to lead an army into Leinster, to receive the homage of that people. Godfrey, the former governor of Dublin, in whose place Mortogh had been placed by his father, had resumed the command of that city in his absence; but hearing he was so near, again fled beyond sea, and Mortogh appointed his eldest son, Domhnal, to that charge.

1086

Having thus gained the sovereignty of Leinster and Meath, he entered Ulster in an hostile manner, and compelled the petty chiefs to pay him tribute; but Domhnal, prince of Tyrconnel, being a warlike and enterprising prince, embraced this opportunity, to

1087

* Usser. Epist. Hib. Syllog. Ep. xxvii.

A.C. cause a diversion in Munster, being invited so to do by Dermod, brother to Mortogh. His army proceeded through Conaught, which country paid him homage. The palace of Cin-Corradh he laid in ashes; and amongst his prisoners, were 150 of Mortogh's household troops, with three of their principal commanders; namely, the sons of O'Kennedy, O'Hogan, and O'Linshe. Limeric underwent the same fate with Cin-Corradh, as did other towns of less note; and Domhnal returned to Ulster, loaded with trophies and spoils.

If laying waste a country, and impoverishing its miserable, though innocent inhabitants, may be called satisfaction, Mortogh had this; for he forcibly entered Ulster, laying waste the country, destroying its towns, and levelling the palace of Aghle with the dust. His brother Dermod was a very formidable enemy, on account of the party he had in Munster. We see the thirst of ambition and revenge supersede every other consideration in him; and with astonishment we behold this prince mean enough to accept the command of the Conaught navy, and base enough to convert that force to the ruin of his own country. For with it he scoured the coasts of Munster, making sudden landings in different places, and plundering the country. Some time after, the archbishops of Armagh and Munster, with several other dignitaries, interposed their good offices, by which means the brothers became reconciled. Mortogh passed a general act of amnesty for all past offenses whatever; and Dermod solemnly swore in the presence of the clergy, "*by the staff of St. Patrick, and by all the holy relics of Ireland,*" to behave as a dutiful brother and subject, for the remainder of his life. In 1094, Mortogh again invaded Leinster and Meath; defeated the forces of O'Connor Failge, or Falia, and made him prisoner. He after this attacked the Meathians, and slew Donald O'Maolseachlin,

king of Tara, whose territories he afterwards divided between his two brothers. A.C.

Next year he encamped in the center of Conaught for above two months; and the Shannon was covered by his fleets, with which he subjected all the neighbouring states; but Domhnal was his most formidable enemy, yet mostly on the defensive. Though Mortogh had three several times invaded Ulster; and though with a numerous and well appointed navy, his land operations were always seconded, yet the advantages he gained were very inadequate to his losses and expences. Frequently the clergy interposed their good offices, and strove to reconcile these contending chiefs; but their amity was neither lasting nor sincere. In 1099, with a mighty army Mortogh invaded Ulster, and was met on the plains of Muirtheimhne, in the county of Down, (so memorable for the defeat and death of the famous Cucullin, some time before the incarnation) by Domhnal, with the whole power of Ulster. The armies on both sides were arranged, waiting for the signal to engage; when, happily, the successors of St. Patrick and St. Ailbe, (i. e. the archbishops of Ardmagh and Cashell), with several other dignitaries, threw themselves between them, and by their exhortations, their prayers, and their entreaties, a solid and lasting peace was made. By this peace, Domhnal was acknowledged as king of Leth-Cuin, says Giolla-Moduda, a celebrated antiquarian, and contemporary; and Mortogh, king of Leath-Mogha; but to me it is clear, that this last reserved to himself the nominal title of Ard-Righ, or monarch. By his bravery, conduct, and prudence, Mortogh became highly esteemed by the neighbouring states, who sent ambassadors to congratulate him on his victories. St. Anselm, successor to Lanfranc, in the see of Canterbury, some time after his consecration, addressed his letter "To Mortogh, the magnificent king of Ireland," in which

A.C. he pays high compliments to his prudence, fortitude, and justice *. Some time after, the estates of Man, and the adjacent isles, sent ambassadors to this prince, requesting he would grant them an able and prudent governor to rule them, till their king came of age †. In the said chronicle it is asserted, that Magnus, king of Norway and Man, some time after, sent ambassadors to Mortogh, requiring, as a mark of vassalage, that he should publicly on Christmas-day, carry his shoes on his shoulders, which the other meanly complied with, rather than expose his country to fresh insults; and yet nevertheless Magnus, with a mighty fleet, invaded the country, being allured so to do, from the report of its great fertility and riches. But Dr. Warner, (as would every other man of sense), thinks it impossible, that a prince of Mortogh's high blood, could ever be brought to submit to such meanness; and the Bruodin Chronicle puts it beyond question. For that valuable record tells us, that a Danish prince did send such a message to Mortogh, who ordered, in the presence of his court, their ears to be cut off, and to inform their master, that such was his answer to so insolent a demand. The barbarian, highly incensed, prepared with a large fleet and a considerable body of land forces to invade Ireland; but Mortogh being informed of the place of their intended descent, waited with a select body of troops, which soon attacked, cut to pieces, or otherwise dispersed this formidable banditti ‡. This happened in the year 1101.

After this reconciliation and the above defeat, these rival princes lived in peace and harmony, and seemed greatly struck with the ravages and distresses their wild ambition had involved the nation

* Usher. Epist. Hibern. Syllog. Ep. xxxvi.

† Camden Brit. sub. fin.

‡ De Regibus Hibern. p. 933.

in. Both became great penitents, and laboured by acts of piety and charity, to obliterate their former crimes. In 1101, Mortogh convened the estates of Munster at Cashell, with all the bishops of Leath-Mogha; and he there, WITH THEIR CONSENT, alienated for ever that city from the crown of Munster, dedicating it to God, to St. Patrick, and St. Ailbe, and affixing it to the diocese of Cashell. Mortogh being in a declining state of health, in 1116 solemnly renounced the crown of Munster, in favour of his brother Dermot, and retired to the monastery of St. Carthagh at Lismore, where he lived with great piety and austerity, and died the 3d of March 1119, and was buried with great funeral pomp at Killaloe. In like manner, some time before his death, Domhnal entered the monastery of St. Columba at Derry, where he died A. 1121, in his seventy-third year. Colgan gives him a very high character, both for the graces of his mind and body, as well as for his justice, liberality, and humanity.—Mortogh had three sons—Domhnal, who he appointed governor of Dublin, and who in 1118 embraced a monastic life; Mahon, who was ancestor to the Mac Mahons of Corca-Bhaiforgin; and Kennedy, of whom no further mention is made.

A.C.

C H A P. IV.

Council of Fiadh-Ængusa—state of the church of Ireland, its privileges, and the great power of its metropolitans—reformations wanting in it—the first instance since the days of Patrick, of a legate, with powers from Rome, presiding at a council of Irish bishops—acts of this council, with a remarkable prayer—writers of the eleventh century.

WE have given a remarkable instance of the piety and munificence of Mortogh, in his prevailing on the estates of Munster to unite with him in conveying for ever to the church of Cashell that ancient city, the royal residence of the Munster kings for so many centuries, and which was so called from Cios-Ol, *the place of tribute*, as here the regal revenues were paid in, every May and November. Besides this, in 1118, Mortogh by his royal proclamation convened a synod of the clergy, to meet at Fiadh-Ængusa, or Aongus's Grove, in Meath. In this synod, which continued by adjournment for some years, many useful reforms were made in the church of Ireland. For first, it is certain, that bishops were multiplied amongst us at the will of the metropolitan, and often without any fixt places of residence; secondly, the power of nominating bishops to certain dioceses, was reserved to certain royal and noble families in the different parts of the kingdom, and to them only; thirdly, though the church of Ireland, was in exact conformity with that of Rome, in the doctrines of faith, and submitted to her decisions in

in many instances of discipline, as in the tonsure, the celebrating of Easter, &c. yet it does not appear, that the popes ever enjoyed any direct power or authority whatever over that church. We have seen briefs and letters directed to the Irish bishops; but I cannot find, that they deemed themselves schismatics, when they thought fit to refuse the decisions of Rome, as they did for more than two centuries with respect to the feast of Easter; fourthly, in some instances bishops had been married men; but no proofs whatever can be produced that the popes nominated to bishopricks amongst us; and fifthly, it appears evidently, that the Irish bishops enjoyed no exclusive privileges whatever; though Columba formerly strongly contended for the church's being an asylum. On the contrary, the Irish clergy were subject to temporal laws, and temporal taxations. They were obliged in person to attend the royal standard; and I take it for granted, that, as foedal lords, they were obliged to bring a certain quota of troops into the field also. Yet, with all this, in no part of the world were the clergy more respected; but to the exemplary lives they lead, they owed this. Synods and councils they held from time to time, to correct abuses in the church, but the archbishop of Ardmagh constantly presided as patriarch, and their decisions were for near two centuries received in England, and until the twelfth century in Scotland.

Such in miniature was the state of the Irish church and its privileges, which I have with no small labour and reading extracted from our most authentic records, ecclesiastical as well as civil; and which I judged highly necessary to be laid before the reader, the better to understand the subsequent parts of our history. From this account it will appear, that reformations were wanting in ecclesiastical discipline.

The Irish archbishops, particularly him of Ardmagh, from the days of St. Patrick, assumed a power of consecrating bishops, not
only

A.C. only for Ireland, but for the neighbouring states. The Venerable Bede, in different parts of his Ecclesiastical History of Britain, is as clear in this as words can express it, with respect to the Saxons. It is also evident that they consecrated bishops for the missions in France, Germany, &c. and in Scotland, till the end of the twelfth century, the Irish consecration only was known. By this power they increased the number of bishops at home at pleasure; but whatever necessity there might be for it formerly, it now became a burthen to the state, and demanded an abridgment. It was also useful to religion and good discipline, that the right of nominating to bishopricks should be altered, since, by the mode in use, the hierarchy was mostly confined to certain septs in the different parts of the kingdom, and the respect due to religion seemed to require a relaxation of the temporal laws with respect to the clergy. Celsus, or Celestin, was, at this time, the successor to St. Patrick, a prelate of great erudition, of unfeigned piety, and of a most exemplary life. Maol Josa O'Duncen was archbishop of Munster, of a most edifying life and conversation; and almost all the bishops were highly eminent for their sanctity and learning.

Under such a prince as Mortogh, and influenced by such prelates as the above, great matters were expected, and much good was done. Pope Pascal II. had frequently importuned Mortogh to call a national council; and he appointed Gilbert of Limeric, his legate, to preside in it. It is the first instance we read of, since the days of St. Patrick, of a legate from Rome presiding over a council of Irish bishops; and this, with the presence of the monarch and chiefs of the land, brought a great conflux of the clergy. At this council were assembled no less a number than fifty bishops, fifteen mitred abbots, three hundred and sixty priests, and near three thousand regulars. As matters of much importance were to be here debated, great caution,
time,

time, and deliberation were necessary. From ancient writers A.C. calling the place of meeting sometimes Fiadh-Ængusa, at other times Uisneach, and Rath-Brefail, later ones have imagined that there were three different councils, and called at different places; but a knowledge of ancient topography will explain this.

Uisneach was in the center of Meath, and here, in the days of Druidism, was the grand temple of Bel. It was erected in the middle of a large grove, as all Druid houses were: this grove was called Fiadh-Ængusa, and a fort adjoining it, called Rath-Brefail. In this place the monarch, the princes, and the clergy met; and, amongst other regulations, the following were unanimously agreed and subscribed to.—1. The clergy were, for the future, to be exempt from public taxations and temporal laws; and, whatever they contributed towards the support of the state, was to be by way of *free gift*. 2. The archbishops resigned the right they derived from St. Magonius, the patriarch, or (as he is generally called) St. Patrick, of consecrating bishops at pleasure. 3. The number of bishops in Ireland, for the time to come, was to be limited to twenty-eight, but without encroaching on the rights and privileges of the present bishops. Of these twelve were to be under the see of Leth-Cuin or Ard-magh, twelve under that of Leath-Mogha or Cashell, and two in Meath; these last at the appointment of the monarch. 4. The rights in spirituals, over all Ireland, was confirmed to the see of Leth-Cuin, and the archbishop of Cashell presided over Leath-Mogha. A survey of the church-lands was taken; and the lands and extent of jurisdiction of the future bishops was settled with great precision. We find no mention made of the archbishops of Leinster or Conaught in this celebrated council.

After subscribing to these, and many other regulations of less consequence, the following prayer was added—"The blessing of the Almighty, and of St. Peter, and St. Patrick, and
" of

A.C. “ of the representer of St. Peter’s successor, the legate Giolla
 “ Aspuig, bishop of Lomeneach, of Ceallach, St. Patrick’s
 “ successor, of Maol-Josa Mac Ainmhire, archbishop of Leath-
 “ Mogha, and of all the bishops, nobles, and clergy in this
 “ holy synod of Rath-Bresail, assembled, light upon, and re-
 “ main with all who shall approve, ratify, and observe these
 “ ordinances.”

O’Maolconry was a celebrated poet and antiquarian of the eleventh century. We have yet preserved a chronological poem of his, beginning with the monarch Logaire, A. C. 428, and ending in the year 1014.

An anonymous writer of the history of the archbishops of Munster, and church of Cashell, is placed by Colgan in this century, as it is brought down no lower than the year 1017*.

The author of the *Anala, ar Chogaibh Eirion*, who I take for granted to be the famous antiquarian Mac Liag, lived also in the eleventh age; because he closes his work with the abdication of Donogh, A. C. 1064; and yet, as historiographer to the immortal Brien, we should be apt to conclude that he could not live so long; and that the continuation of this work, after the death of Brien, must be by some other hand.

Dubdaleth, archbishop of Ardmagh, wrote the annals of Ireland to 1021; as also the history of his predecessors in that see to his own times†.

The celebrated Marianus Scotus flourished in this century, and was as eminent for his uncommon austerity and piety, as for his great erudition and knowledge of the sacred writings. Of all his numerous works, his *Chronicon Universale* holds the the first place in public estimation. Sigebert, of Gemblours, says of him‡, “ That, without comparison, he was the most

* Act. Sanct. Hib. p. 5. c. iv.

† Trias Thaummat. p. 298. col. ii.

‡ Writers of Ireland, fol. 66.

“ learned

“ learned man of his age ; an excellent historian, a famous
 “ mathematician, and a solid divine.” The writer of a Chron- A C.
 icle, in the Cotton Library, carried from the incarnation to
 the year 1181, under the year 1028, says, “ This year Ma-
 “ rianus Scotus, the Irish chronographer, was born, who wrote
 “ the *Chronicle of Chronicles* †.” Walsb seems guilty of a great
 anachronism in declaring the present Marianus to be the precep-
 tor to Adrian IV. for in 1052 he embraced the monastic life,
 and in 1056 retired to Germany, where he lived mostly a recluse
 to his death, which happened in 1086 ; whereas Adrian was ad-
 vanced to the papacy in 1154, sixty-eight years after the death
 of Marianus * !

Gilda Coamhain is placed by most writers in the present age ;
 but, I think, with great impropriety ; for he brings his his-
 tory no further than the reign of Loagaire, which work Gilda
 Moduda resumed, and carried on to the death of Malachie II.

Tigernach O'Braoin, successor to St. Ciaran, or abbot of
 Cluan-Mac-Nois, and who died in the year 1088, wrote a chro-
 nicle from the earliest period, which he brought down to his
 own times. This work is highly esteemed ; and an anonymous
 writer has carried it on to the seventeenth century.

Maol Josa O'Brolchain, a religious of great reputation for
 sanctity and letters, is said to be the author of many valuable
 pieces ; but their titles are not specified. The Annals of Du-
 negal declare him to be among the first doctors and writers of
 Ireland.

Errard, secretary to Malachie, king of Meath, is said by Col-
 gan to have been a profound antiquarian, and the author of
 some antiquities ; and Maol-Josa O'Stuir, is mentioned as an
 excellent philosopher, and to have wrote some physical tracts.

† De Britan. Eccles. Prim. p. 735.

* Prospect of Ireland, p. 448.

C H A P. V.

Turlogh nominal monarch — character of Connor O'Brien—wars of these princes—assembly of Tailtean—Turlogh invades Munster by sea and land—Connor unites his brothers, and, in his turn, invades Conaught—returns the next year, and brings immense spoils from Ulster and Conaught—death and character of Connor O'Brien—Turlogh O'Brien proclaimed king of Munster—policy of Turlogh, the monarch, in dividing Munster—invades that province, and is defeated—returns the next year—fatal battle of Mon-Moir—Turlogh resigns the crown of Munster, and retires to the North—is restored to his crown by the king of Ulster—death and character of Turlogh O'Connor—a moral reflection.

TURLOGH, the son of Roderic O'Connor, king of Conaught, is placed next on the list as *nominal monarch* of Ireland. Sir James Ware, and others *, think, that the factious parties in the land were so counterpoised, that, for seventeen years after the death of Morrogh, no prince was powerful enough to assume this title; yet it was agreed that Turlogh was so saluted (at least by his own subjects) immediately after Morrogh.

He was son to Roderic, king of Conaught, and twenty-third in descent from Eochaidh Moighmheodin, monarch of Ireland in the fourth century, and the first of this branch of the Heremonian line, who, in that long interval, from kings of Con-

* Ogygia, p. 439.

ought had assumed the title of monarch. In times of faction and turbulence, like the present, where the estates were not convened to proceed to a regular election, or the parliament of Tara assembled to correct national abuses, every thing was determined by the sword. Connor O'Brien, called Slaparfalach, or of the Spattered Robe, the son of Dermod, last king of Leath-Mogha, and nephew to Mortogh the Great, succeeded his father A. D. 1120, and possessed all those qualifications which are generally supposed to constitute the hero. He was as ambitious for obtaining the monarchy as Turlogh, and as little scrupulous as to the ways of attaining it. Turlogh may be with propriety styled king of Leth-Cuin, as he was the most powerful chief in that district, and, for the same reason, may Connor be called king of Leath-Mogha. A.C.

Two powerful princes, of opposite interests, must necessarily become enemies, and such were there these. Dermod, the father of Connor, some time before his death, invaded Conaught, and laid the country under military execution; and this compliment Turlogh returned the second year of Connor's reign, by marching his army to Cashell and Lismore, &c. and sorely distressing the people; but the Mamonians attacked them on their retreat, near Ardfinan, dispersing their army with great slaughter of very many of its chiefs, among whom were O'Heyne, O'Flaherty, O'Lorcan, &c. However, early in November, we find Turlogh enter Munster at the head of a more powerful army than the last. He remained encamped near Birr till the end of the January following. But though his troops remained inactive, yet was not he nor his ministers. During this interval he was labouring to disunite the Eugenians from the Dalgais, by representing how long their family had been deprived of their right of succession to the Munster crown. A hint of this kind was enough to blow up the coals of dissension. 1121

A.C. Mac Carthy, and other Eugenian princes, immediately entered into private treaty with Turlogh. But this was not enough; the tribe of Dalgais, connected and united, were still a formidable body; and even among these, parties must be formed. When Connor was proclaimed king of Leath-Mogha, his next brother, Turlogh, was declared king of Thomond. The king of Conaught, spirited up Tieve Gle O'Brien, a younger brother, who seized on him by surprise, had him conveyed to the Conaught camp, and thereupon usurped himself the title of king of Thomond. Thus did Turlogh O'Connor, by his negotiations, without the loss of a man, more effectually distress his antagonist than he would have done by several battles. The Dalgais were by this means divided, and by supporting Donogh Mac Carthy against his elder brother Cormac, he sowed similar dissensions among the Eugenians.

1122 *Having cut out work enough for the Mamonians at home, in the middle of February he decamped from Birr, and obliged the Lagenians, Meathians, and people of Dublin, to deliver up hostages to him. After this he made great preparations, both by sea and land, to invade Ulster, and oblige that gallant race of*
 1123 *people to acknowledge his sway. In the spring of the following year he entered that province, at the head of a gallant and well appointed army, whose operations were seconded by a fleet of a hundred and ninety ships. With these he defeated the different armies and navies that every where opposed him. He spoiled Tir-One and Tir-Connel, and compelled the chiefs of these two great houses, and those of Dal-Airidhe, &c. to submit to his power and acknowledge his sway.*

1126 *In July, 1126, the great assembly at Tailtean, in Meath, was opened for the first time for near a century. It generally lasted a month, beginning fifteen days before the first of August, and ending the fifteenth of that month. In this meeting horse-races,*
 I charioteering,

charioteering, tournaments, and feats of arms, hurling, and all the gymnastic exercises, were exhibited with great splendor. Days were set apart for these different amusements; rewards were appointed for the victors; and these sports were resorted to from different parts of Europe. From Tailte, daughter to Maghmor, a Spanish prince, were they called, by Lughaidh, monarch of Ireland, who, to her memory, and in gratitude for the care she took in his education, instituted them; and from this prince the month of August was called Lughnas, (Lunas) from which the English adopted the name of Lammas for the first of August. A.C.

In the year 1127 Turlogh collected all the power of Leth-Cuin to fall upon Munster. He crossed the Shannon at Athlone, and marched, without the least interruption, as far as Cork. At the the same time his navy, consisting of an hundred and fifty ships, were directed to ravage the coasts to draw off the attention of the enemy. Here he was joined by Donogh Mac Carthy, and other Eugenic Princes, and then deposed Cormoc, the elder brother, and caused Donogh to be proclaimed king of Desmond. Thus Turlogh made Tieve O'Brien king of Thomond, and Donogh Mac Carthy king of South Munster, or Desmond; by which means the power of Connor, king of the entire province, was much strengthened. But Connor, having reconciled his contending brothers, and strengthened his own interest, marched his army into Desmond, where O'Sullivan, O'Donoghoe, O'Mahony, O'Keefe, O'Moriarty, O'Felan, and other Eugenic chiefs, with their forces, joined him. In the interim Cormoc had retired to the monastery of Lismore, from which he was drawn forth, and a second time saluted king of Desmond, whilst Donogh and his party were banished to Conaught. To avenge this insult Turlogh directed his navy to scour the coasts of

A.C. of Munster ; in which expedition they did great mischief to the poor exposed borderers and to the country.

Connor having solidly established his authority at home, compelled the Lagenians to return to their duty, and being once more actual king of Leath-Mogha, with a mighty army he invaded Conaught. Near Athlone he was opposed by the collected forces of Turlogh. A bloody engagement ensued, in which the Conacians were routed with considerable slaughter. Among the slain were O'Flaherty, and many other persons of prime quality ; at the same time his fleet from Cincoradh scoured the adjoining coasts, and committed great depredations, whilst, with another from Cork, he plundered the sea coasts of Conaught.

1133 The next year he again invaded Conaught, defeated the forces of Turlogh, and slew Cathal O'Connor, presumptive heir to the crown, O'Floin, and other chiefs of eminence. In 1134 he attacked *Mac Murcha, king of Leinster, who favoured the party of his antagonist*, and gave a most complete defeat to his army. He now
1134 marched his victorious troops into Conaught, and determined to subdue Turlogh or perish in the attempt ; but the archbishop and clergy of Conaught interposing their good offices, a peace was concluded, by which Connor was acknowledged as king of Leath-Mogha, and Turlogh king of Leth-Cuin, and (I suppose) with the title of monarch. But Connor, we find, did not, as usual, dismiss his auxiliaries. He marched, at their head, into Ulster, carrying on a war rather of depredation than conquest. The people of Tyrone, in this consternation, had their plate and treasures deposited in the church of Derry, and other sacred edifices, as places of the greatest safety ; and these Connor caused to be seized. In like manner the treasures of Tyrconnel, lodged in the cathedral of Raphoe, &c. were carried off. In Meath he committed the same sacrilegious excesses, possessing himself of all the treasures of the province,
laid

laid up in the church of Clonard ; then crossing the Shannon, conveyed to Cin-Corradh whatever he found of public property, in the abbies of Conga, Eithne, Roscommon, &c. We shall pass by other incidents of less moment to his death, which happened in November 1142, to which time he preserved all the rights and powers, which had ever been annexed to the sovereignty of Leath-Mogha, and those in as ample a manner as had been possessed by any of his ancestors. He was interred in the cathedral of Killaloe. A.C. 1142

Connor was a prince of invincible courage and a great politician, which made him always find certain resources, when his affairs seemed most desperate. He had been also celebrated for his munificence, his hospitality, and piety. He was so fond of building and improving, that he got the surname of Catharach, or of the Cities, on account of the many he founded and improved ; likewise that of Slaparfalach, or of the Dirty Robe, as his attention to these works was so great, as often to have his robes spattered with the mortar. He is said to have been the founder of many churches and monasteries, but I cannot find their particular names specified. It is much more probable, that he rather repaired and restored such as had fallen to ruin. His piety and munificence in these articles, were not entirely domestic ; since it is acknowledged, in the chronicle of the Irish abbey of St. Peter's, at Ratisbon, that he it was who restored and repaired this abbey from its foundation ; and to prove in how masterly a manner it was done, it is added—
 “ The erecting so spacious a cloister, of such famous workman-
 “ ship, abounding with stately turrets, walls, pillars, and vaults,
 “ so expeditiously constructed, must be wholly attributed to the
 “ immense sums of money and riches furnished for that pious
 “ end by the king of Ireland, and by other princes of that na-
 “ tion *.” Besides this, we find that Connor sent a great num-

* Chron. Monast. St. Jacobi Ratisbon.

A.C. ber of noble knights, and other persons of quality to the Holy Land. They were charged (says the above Chronicle), with many rich presents to the emperor Lotharius, towards defraying the expences of the croisades, and they were directed to fight under his banners.

1142 Turlogh, the brother of Connor, was proclaimed by the estates king of Munster, immediately after his death, according to the law of tanistry, by which the uncle or next in blood to the deceased, of the greatest experience and abilities, was elected in preference to the heir apparent; and Mortogh, the son of Connor, succeeded his uncle, as king of Thomond. His mother was Saibh, daughter to O'Mealseachlin, king of Tara.

1143 Soon after Turlogh's accession to the throne of Munster, he made a successful irruption into Conaught; but the next year his

1144 own territories were invaded by Donogh Mac Carthy. From thence he entered the Deasies, where he was seized on by O'Flanagan, and sent under a strong guard to Turlogh, who had him conveyed to the strong fortress of Loch-Goir, in the county of Limeric, where he soon after ended his days. The great policy of Turlogh the monarch consisted in creating divisions amongst the Mamonians. He represented to the Eugenians, that for near two centuries, were they and their ancestors deprived of the right of succession to the crown of Munster; and how mean they must appear in public estimation for so long and so tamely submitting to such injustice. This was what stimulated them in the reign of Connor, to oppose him in many instances. Turlogh, sensible of all this, judged that the surest means of supporting his authority, was to humble the king of Conaught, by which means the Eugenians would be less fond of shewing their hostile intentions. With a large army Turlogh, in conjunction with his nephew
1145 Morrogh, invaded Conaught. A bloody battle was fought, in which the Conacians were worsted. Roderic O'Flaherty, and other

other persons of note were slain; and O'Kelly, chief of Hy-Maine, with many others were made prisoners. Dermod, the son of Cormac, late king of Desmond, with most of the Eugeni-
 A.C.
 nians, were resolved to support his claim to the crown of Munster, and the monarch Turlogh determined to assist them with all his power.

At the head of the forces of Conaught and Breffni, Turlogh
 1150
 marched into Desmond, where he was joined by the Eugenians. At the foot of Sliabh-Mis, in Kerry, were the combined forces attacked by the king of Munster, who, after a gallant resistance and the loss of much blood, obliged them to make a precipitate retreat. Dermod however collected his scattered forces, and having received considerable reinforcements, this same year entered the county of Limeric, and received a complete defeat, his entire army being cut off or dispersed. Dermod, by his ambassadors,
 1151
 represented to the monarch the distressed situation of his affairs, and claimed a more powerful support, than he had yet received. A council was called, and it was resolved to dethrone the king of Munster, cost what it would. He sends expresses to Leinster, to Meath, to Breffni, and to all his tributaries, to attend his standard early in March; but whilst these formidable preparations were making, his son and heir young Roderic, at the head of a chosen party, suddenly entered Thomond, and, amongst other excesses, surprised, plundered, and set fire to the palace of Cincora, "*the most stately royal edifice in Ireland,*" says Tigernach's continuator. Encouraged by this success, the imperial army marched into Munster, headed by the monarch in person, under whom were Mac Murcha, king of Leinster, O'Mealsachlin, king of Meath, O'Ruark, and O'Beilis, princes of Breffni, and many other chiefs. Dermod Mac Carthy and the Eugenians, immediately pour in to his assistance, and the state of the Munster army seems very precarious. The night before the bloody battle of
 Vol. II. S s Monmoir,

A.C. Monmoir, the imperial army had encamped on the side of the Black Water, whilst their opponents, headed by Turlogh and his gallant nephew, were lodged about Cork. Early next morning these last marched to Glean-Mahair, and at Monmoir the two armies engaged. The imperial troops, as may well be supposed, were much more numerous than their adversaries ; yet, amongst these last were three Dalgasian brigades, or 9000 men, whose intrepidity and fortitude could be depended on. The engagement as usual began with the projection of stones from slings, with the discharge of arrows, of lances, &c. Soon they came to close, when the sword, the battle-ax, and dagger, exposed a new scene of carnage ! In battles like this, strength and numbers must ever prevail. After a long and bloody conflict, the Mamonians began to give way on every side : it was resolved to sound a retreat ; and the Dalgais, whose province it was to lead on to the battle, always claimed the honour of covering the retreat. The son of the gallant Connor, at the head of his brave associates, opposes their impenetrable column to every attack of the enemy. Unacquainted with fear, they could not think of retiring, and they scorned to ask for quarter. Turlogh, by this means, and the shattered remains of his forces, gained time enough to reach Limeric, but with an almost irreparable loss to North Munster. For to effect this, the generous Mortogh and almost the entire of his corps fell in their ranks ; and it may be said, that the Dalgais never effectually recovered the loss of that day !

The day after this decisive battle, the monarch marches to Limeric ; but Turlogh not choosing to stand a siege, submits to the conqueror, does him homage, puts hostages into his hands, procures his own liberty by paying down 200 ounces of pure gold, with many other valuable presents, and surrenders up his crown. Hereupon Tiege-Gle was proclaimed king of Thomond, and Dermot Mac Carthy king of Desmond ; each to be supreme in

his own territories, and no farther. Turlogh, now an exile, retired to the court of Tirone. O'Neill, prince of that territory, received him with singular honours; a league is formed between the princes of Ulster, jealous of the overgrown power of the monarch, and they determine to restore the exile. The troops of Tirone, Tyrconnel, Oirgial, &c. assemble; and in their march through Meath, are attacked by those of the monarch; who, after a bloody contest, they defeat with great slaughter of men, besides nine princes left dead on the field of battle! After this, Turlogh is reinstated in his kingdom, and the eyes of Tiege-Gle put out, who retired to the abbey of Lismore, where he died in great repute for sanctity, in 1154. This success of the enterprising prince of Ulster, encouraged him to make further attempts to restrain the power of Turlogh O'Connor. He invaded his territories by land, and with his navy, composed of his own ships, with others that he had taken into his service, from North Britain and the Orkneys, he scoured the Conaught seas, and at length compelled him to put hostages into his hands, as sureties for his peaceable demeanor for the future. The remainder of the reign of Turlogh he spent mostly in acts of piety and devotion, and died the 13th of June 1156, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. By his will he ordered that his body should be deposited in the church of St. Ciaran, at Cluan Mac Noise, close to the great altar.

The actions of this reign have been very superficially narrated by Keating and Bruodinus. Grat. Luc. is more detailed, but without attending to dates, &c. The Scoto-Chronicon, the Annals of Tigernach, of Innis-Falen, and the translation of the Book of Munster, have, however, enabled me to throw the whole into a clear point of view. From the whole, it appears evident, that Turlogh was not only a great general, but a profound politician, who successfully employed these different talents, according to exigencies. That he protected trade and manufactures must

A.C. be presumed, from his rebuilding causeys and repairing the public roads. He threw two spacious bridges over the Shannon; one at Athlone, the other at Ath-Crochta, and one across the river Suick. He repaired the cathedral of Tuam, erected there a spacious hospital, and founded and endowed with great splendor a priory in that city, under the invocation of St. John the Baptist. He augmented the funds of the abbey of Roscommon, and founded a new professorship of divinity in the university of Ardmagh. He directed the host to be carried with great solemnity, attended by many religious, through the kingdom, and afterwards to be deposited in the abbey of Roscommon, in a tabernacle of inestimable value. He presented to the cathedral of Cluan Mac Noise, a number of silver crosses, some curious gold chalices and goblets, and erected there a mint. By will he directed, that all the valuable furniture of his palace, his vessels of gold and silver, his diamonds and precious stones, the horses and cattle of his domain, his musical instruments, and five hundred and forty ounces of pure gold, with forty marks of silver, should be distributed amongst the clergy and churches, and he noted down the proportions to each. Besides, he directed that his horse and arms, with his quiver and arrows, should be deposited at Cluan Mac Noise, on account of his singular reverence for St. Ciaran.

Thus died the great Turlogh O'Connor, in the highest estimation for piety! But say, ye casuists, did he, or his formidable rival Connor O'Brien, really merit this epithet, so liberally bestowed on both? Will the erecting a few churches and monasteries, atone for the immature death of thousands, and the ruin of as many more? Were the objects of these contending princes to establish peace and subordination, and restore to their country its ancient constitution? If these were not their views, as we know they were not, then must there be something extremely defec-

defective in the heads and hearts, and in the education of both ! What avails it, that the Christian system exhibits the most exalted notions of morality, that human nature can conceive, if mankind are not the better for it ? The same crimes, the same thirst of ambition and of empire, that have hurried men to the greatest excesses in days of heathenism, are exhibited in every region and every age of Christianity since the incarnation ! Turenne in one morning, had twenty-five villages and two cities of the Palatinate set fire to, and consumed to ashes, and yet was deemed a prince of great piety and humanity ! It is said of the great duke of Berwick, that he heard two masses every morning ; and yet, after his devotions, we see he could sit down with great composure to calculate the numbers of lives such an attack, or such a siege would cost him ! It may be alledged, that Turenne and Berwick were but subjects, bound implicitly to obey the orders of their prince. This may be a good argument in the Mahometan system, which enjoins the most servile obedience to the commands of their emperors, but not in the Christian, which admits of a free will. But whilst Alexanders and Cæsars, the devastators of countries, and perverters of constitutions, are exhibited as models for princes ; whilst historians seem to dwell with pleasure on sieges and battles, state convulsions, and state revolutions, and slur over the blessings of peace, it cannot be otherwise ! How much more enlivening would the description of a royal progression be, in which virtue is called forth from modest obscurity, industry cherished and rewarded, arts and sciences protected, and peace and plenty smiling over the land !

C H A P. VI.

Mortogh assumes the title of Monarch—opposed by O'Connor—falls in the battle of Litterluin—state of the Irish church—St. Bernard's charges against this church and clergy, candidly examined and refuted—necessity of circumscribing its powers—council of Kells—four archbishops presented with palls, with a list of their suffragans.

1156 **M**ORTOGH O'Niall, the son of Niall, the son of Lochlin, of the royal blood of Tirone, of the posterity of Niall the Grand, and house of Heremon, was saluted by his faction long before the death of Turlogh, monarch of Ireland; and this circumstance will reconcile what has been affirmed, that the famous council of Kells was held in his reign. Soon after the interment of Turlogh O'Connor, we read of Mortogh's triumphantly marching his army through different territories, and receiving the submissions of their several chiefs. So expeditious was he, that after over-running Ulster, Meath, and Leinster, we find him early in the year 1157, encamped before Limeric, where the princes of both Munsters, and people of that city delivered him hostages, and did him homage.

1157 The young king of Conaught, Roderic, far from submitting to his authority, or confessing his sway, bid defiance to his power; and invading Tirone both by sea and land, desolated the whole country, particularly Inis-Eoghain, with all its costly buildings
1158 and elegant improvements. The next year Roderic invaded
Leinster

Leinster and Meath, and obliged both territories to deliver up hostages to him. However, after much blood being spilt, in the year 1162, a peace was concluded between these princes, by which Roderic, on delivering of hostages to Mortogh, got the peaceable possession of Conaught; with sovereignty over half the principality of Meath, which power he ceded to Dermot O'Mealfachlin, its natural chief, for an hundred ounces of pure gold. Mortogh, though in the main of a very religious cast, yet was violent and impetuous in his temper. Eochaidh, prince of Ulida, and his neighbour, had refused to pay tribute; and in revenge Mortogh entered his territory with an armed host, committing great depredations, and carrying off many of his vassals. Through the mediation of the archbishop of Ardmagh, and prince of Oirgial, a peace was concluded, and Eochaidh received into grace and favour. The prelate and prince were guarantees of this peace; and the reconciled chiefs solemnly swore before the great altar of Ardmagh, "By the holy staff of St. Patrick, and by the
 "relics of Ireland," faithfully to observe all the articles of it; yet the very next year (for what reason we are not told) he caused Eochaidh to be seized, and his eyes put out, and his three chief confidants to be put to death. The prince of Oirgial highly enraged at so flagrant a violation of public faith, and at the injury offered to himself, who pledged himself to Eochaidh on the part of the monarch, at the head of 9000 veterans suddenly rushed into Tirone, laid waste the country, and attacked the troops hastily collected to oppose him. In this engagement, which our annalists call the battle of Litterluin, the monarch's army was cut to pieces, and he was himself found buried under heaps of his enemies. "Thus fell, say our writers, the generous
 "Mortogh, the most intrepid and gallant hero of his day, the ornament of his country, the thunder-bolt of war, and the Hector
 "of

A.C. “ of Western Europe ! He was victor in every battle he fought
 “ except this ; but, forgetting his solemn vows, he fell a sacri-
 “ fice to justice.”

As it is universally agreed upon, that it was in the reign of Mortogh that the famous council of Kells, in Meath, was held, in which cardinal Paparo presided on behalf of pope Eugene III. and in which he distributed palliums to the Irish archbishops, the state of the Irish church, since the last general council of Uifneach, merits our attention.

In that council great advances were made by the clergy, and by the national states, towards acknowledging the absolute supremacy of Rome in spirituals. The archbishops gave up the power which their predecessors, since the days of Patrick, enjoyed and exercised, of creating bishops at will : the bishops agreed to a reduction of their number, and the monarch and estates exonerated the clergy, for the time to come, from temporal laws and temporal taxations ! Still more was to be done before the power of Rome was completely established. Different great families, having the power of presentation to bishopricks, deprived the popes of the full exercise of the power of making the bishops, for the future, to depend immediately upon themselves.

As this was an affair of the utmost consequence to Rome, no wonder all the artillery of her advocates, both at home and abroad, should be employed to destroy so great an obstacle to her ambitious and interested views. From this cause, says St. Bernard *, “ arose that universal dissolution of ecclesiastical dis-
 “ cipline, that disregard of censure, and decay of religion, over
 “ all Ireland !” The holy primate Celsus seemed so sensible of this, that, dying, he sent the staff of St. Patrick to St. Malachie, declaring him his successor in the see of Ardmagh ; and he

* Opera, p. 1937.

conjured, by letters and messages to Mortogh the monarch, and to Domhnal, king of Leth-Cuin, that they would use their influence and authority to confirm his nomination. “For (says St. Bernard) a most pernicious custom had been established, by the diabolical ambition of some men in power, of getting possession of the seat of St. Patrick by hereditary succession; nor would they permit any to be elected bishops who were not of their own sept and family; for fifteen bishops, of the same blood, had successively governed this church.” The abbot had, with much more intemperance than Christian charity, already given a most horrid account of the state of religion in Ireland; and to this hereditary succession of bishops he attributed all these disorders; but he confesses† that, in the early days of Christianity, Ireland abounded with most holy and edifying ecclesiastics; and yet nothing is more certain than that ecclesiastical dignities were hereditary in families, all over the kingdom at that time, and from that period down to his days! From this custom he also dates another flagrant abuse: “Hence (says he) a practice became established, unheard-of since the promulgation of Christianity, of multiplying bishops at the pleasure of the metropolitan.” And yet this also was practised by St. Patrick and by his successors, to the great advantage and increase of Christianity, as Bede and almost all other early ecclesiastical writers acknowledge! Patrick consecrated himself no less a number than three hundred and sixty bishops in his life-time; and his successors not only consecrated their domestic bishops, but also dignitaries for the British, Gallic, and German missions! Thus it appears, contrary to the assertion of the abbot of Clarevalle, that, in the days of the highest splendor of the Irish church, in those days when, by universal consent, the country

† Opera, p. 1937.

A.C. got the title of *Insula Sanctorum*, the hierarchy was not only hereditary in families, but the successors of St. Patrick and St. Ailbe, consecrated bishops at pleasure! If then, from the fifth to the ninth and tenth centuries, when the piety, learning, and zeal of the Irish nation were so universally admitted, these customs of her church, far from injuring, highly served the cause of religion; how account for their producing so contrary an effect in the twelfth? Nor was there then “*that universal dissolution of ecclesiastical discipline*,” in the Irish church, which St. Bernard affirmed; since, in the enormous volume of his works, now before me, of which the life of St. Malachie is a part, he acknowledges, that through the recommendation of his preceptor Imarius, St. Gelasius ordained Malachie deacon and priest, “though he had not then arrived at the exact age prescribed by the canons, which were then strictly observed,” that is, twenty-five years for deacons, and thirty for priests orders! For Gelasius himself was of the hereditary line of the successors of St. Patrick, as was Malachie also.

But as this work of St. Bernard’s is the grand reservoir from which all succeeding defamers of the Irish church and nation have drawn their authorities and arguments, it necessarily demands a more critical examination. St. Magonius, the patriarch, was endowed with uncommon privileges, by pope Celestin, on his mission to the Irish nation, all which he exercised in the fullest manner. After remaining twenty-nine years, preaching and converting the nation, he returned to Rome early in the year 461, to give an account of his mission to Leo the Grand, then pope, who received him with distinguished honours. He remained in Rome near two years, and then returned to Ireland, where he continued till his death. Benignus, and his successors in the see of Armagh, even in the life-time of St. Patrick, exercised these privileges, which seemed peculiar to the

the Irish church ; and Patrick himself frequently convened synods and councils, at which he presided as legate, to direct the affairs of the church. It is not particularly said, but I think it must be admitted, that the powers originally granted to St. Patrick, were, on his return to Rome, confirmed to his successors ; because we see them exercised even in his own life-time (and he lived to 493) without the least restraint ; and had they been irregular or usurped he certainly would forbid them. Thus the unlimited powers of the Irish archbishops were powers they derived from Rome, and which they employed for the advancement of religion only. It is certain, now that all Europe became Christians, that this power was too great, and seemed to eclipse, in some measure, that of Rome. The Irish clergy were admonished on this head ; and we see, that thirty-nine years before St. Bernard wrote the life of St. Malachie (i. e. A. 1111), they, in full convocation, resigned it, *though he adds it to the other charges against the nation !* We see also, in that famous council, that they agreed to lessen the number of Irish bishops ; and St. Malachie himself, in 1139, made a surrender of all the other exclusive privileges of the Irish church to Innocent II. “ who was so pleased, that, after appointing him legate, “ he placed the mitre that was on his own head, on the head “ of Malachie, gave him the stole and manipule which he used “ himself at the altar, and giving him *the kiss of peace*, he dismissed him with his benediction.” St. Malachie, on his return to Ireland, called synods in different parts of the kingdom ; “ and every where, says St. Bernard *, *were his counsels and instructions received, and submitted to, as if they had come directly “ from heaven !*” These surely are not marks of a barbarous people, Christians only in name ! Thus, we see, at the very

* Divi Bernardi Opera, p. 1944.

A.C. time Bernard was employed in writing the present work, that Ireland acknowledged the supremacy of Rome; but the popes, though they got the power of approving of future Irish bishops, had not yet that of *nominating them*! This was the grand desideratum, and the want of this the source—"of that universal
 "dissolution of church discipline, and that decay of religion
 "over all Ireland," which has been so confidently affirmed, though by no means proved. Had the Irish ecclesiastics, like the Saxons in the reign of Alfred, been so totally ignorant as not to understand the Latin tongue, or could it be recorded of them, as we find it in a council held at Oxford, A. 1222, where the "archdeacons are directed to take care that the clergy shall
 "rightly pronounce the Formulary of Baptism, and the words
 "of the consecration in the Canon of the Mass," there might be some pretence for so severe a charge!

As to the hereditary episcopal right, it is to be noticed, that, in Ireland, all posts and public employments whatever, were confined to certain septs. When Christianity superseded Druidism, those great families, who founded bishopricks, reserved the power of nominating to them to their own blood. Persons were set apart for the clerical function, but none were nominated or ordained who had not given the clearest proofs of pious and irreproachable lives. Hence the remarkable piety and humility of the Irish ecclesiastics, proved in every period of our history. We have but two instances where the impetuosity of our ecclesiastics hurried the nation to war, and both were in defence of clerical power; and yet, in both instances, were their proceedings condemned and themselves censured, though both of the blood royal, namely, St. Columba in the sixth, and the abbot of Inis-Catha, in the tenth age! But we have thousands of instances where they have been indefatigable in their endeavours to restore peace and concord between the princes of the land!

As to our princes, certain it is, that they were proud, haughty, and ambitious, fond of war, and ready to decide every contest by the sword. But, amidst all these excesses and ravages, *I challenge any nation under the sun to produce so few instances of proscriptions or deliberate cruelties.* But to return from St. Bernard.

The privileges exercised by the Irish church were, it must be confessed, too great, and, held longer, might endanger a schism. It was a wise measure to reduce them; but we see it was unjust to suppose *them usurped*, or that “an universal dissolution of church discipline” was the consequence: it was not; and the moment the churches of Rome and Ireland became united, proved it, since all the difference found between them* was, *that the Irish nation paid these small dues, called Peter’s-pence, to the see of Ardmagh, which the rest of Europe paid to Rome!* The bishops, in full convocation in 1111, surrendered up to Rome the rights which they till then enjoyed; and great pains were every day taken to lessen the other privileges of the Irish church. What then remained for Malachie to do, but, as the successor of St. Patrick, to make a formal surrender of his see to Rome in his own name, and in the names of his successors? But it required no small difficulty to persuade these princes and chiefs, who hitherto inducted to bishopricks, to resign so great a power. This it was that Innocent required of Malachie; for this purpose he appointed him his legate; and to promote it, did he assemble so many synods in the different parts of the kingdom. Early in the year 1148 a finishing hand was put to the great work of reformation; for at a council then held at Holm-Patrick, composed of Gelasius, successor to St. Patrick, and fifteen bishops, with two hundred priests, many abbots and others, and in which St. Malachie, as legate, presided, it was agreed to send him again to Rome, with full powers to compose all differences between the church and the Irish nation; but he died at Clarevalle in his way

to

A.C. to Rome. Immediately after, through the interest of St. Bernard, Christian I. abbot of Mellefont, and who had resided some time at Clarevalle, was appointed legate, and soon after bishop of Lismore. In 1150 he repaired to Rome with fresh authority from the princes and clergy on the same business; and the following year he was dispatched, in company with cardinal Paparo, but they did not arrive till early in the year 1152.

A council was then held at Kells, in which the legate presided, and which, besides the prelates and principal clergy, was also honoured by the presence of Mortogh O'Neill (who, it appears, even at this time, was ranked as monarch), with several other princes and nobles. Many useful regulations took place: among the rest, the state of the hierarchy was taken into consideration. In the general council of Uisneach the number of Irish bishops were reduced to twenty-eight, under two metropolitans. The instructions to cardinal Paparo were, to have the church under the government of four archbishops, namely, Ardmagh, Cashell, Tuam, and Dublin; but we find that it met with great opposition in the council. It was observed, that the most general division of Ireland was that of Leath-Mogha and Leth-Cuin: that in the days of St. Patrick it was so, for which reason he himself ordained St. Ailbe archbishop of Munster. It is true, that afterwards St. Jarlath had assumed the title of archbishop of Conaught, and St. Conlaeth, of Leinster; but they were not regularly consecrated or generally acknowledged. That, in the council of Uisneach, two archbishops only were appointed, and under them a certain number of bishops; but if the present regulation took place, these must necessarily be deprived of some of their suffragans, or a new creation of bishops must take place. But the cardinal observed, that Conaught and Leinster were always particular kingdoms, and therefore entitled to those marks of distinction; but that the archbishops of Ulster and Munster should not

imagine that he intended to encroach upon their rights, or lessen the number of their suffragans, he would, by virtue of the apostolic power, appoint particular bishops as suffragans to the new metropolitans. He was positive, though we are unacquainted with the reason, and it did not become new subjects to disobey the papal authority. The following, taken from an *ancient Roman provincial*, was the regulation then received and adopted. A.C.

Under the archbishop of Ardmagh, primate of all Ireland, were twelve suffragans; namely Meath, Down, Clocher, Connor Ardachd, Raphoe, Rathlure, Duleek, Derry, Dromore, Breffni, and Clanmacnois. Under the archbishop of Munster or Cashell twelve; to wit, the bishops of Killaloe, Limerick, Inis-Catha, Killfenuragh, Emily, Roscrea, Waterford, Lismore, Cloyne, Cork, Kofs, and Ardfert. The archbishop of Conaught had nine suffragans, who were the bishops of Cilmac Duach, of Mayo, of Enachdun, of Inis-Caltra, Roscomon, Clonfert, Achonry, Killalalla, and Elphin; and under the metropolitan of Leinster, were the bishops of Glendaloch, Ferns, Offory Leighlin, and Kildare. In all thirty-eight bishops: and because it was known that the archbishops of Conaught and Leinster had no certain fixt seats, it was decreed that Dublin should be the future residence of the metropolitans of Leinster, and Tuam of those of Conaught. Some regulations were made in this council with regard to marriages; but this must certainly regard the clergy, because, in no other country, was the purity of blood more carefully attended to, as all posts of honour were hereditary. After this cardinal Paparo presented palliums to the four archbishops in great pomp and form; and remained, says M. Fleury *, in Ireland till the Easter of 1153.

* Hist. Eccles. tom. xiv. p. 685.

A.C. From this time, to the arrival of the English, provincial fynods, or general councils, were frequently held for restoring ecclesiastical discipline; among other regulations, to shew how solicitous they were for a firm union with Rome, it was decreed that none should keep divinity schools, for the future, but such as had taken out their doctors degrees in the university of Ard-magh, as here the reformation first began.

C H A P. VII.

Roderic O'Connor receives the submissions of Munster, Leinster, and Meath—prepares to invade Ulster—diverted by the complaints of O'Ruark—his letter—grants troops, and appoints him general against Leinster—Mac Murchad flies to England—Roderic invades Ulster by sea and land, and succeeds—sessions of the estates of Leth-Cuin—Mac Murchad applies to Henry II. and is permitted to raise troops, but with no success—leagues with Strongbow and Fitz-Stephens—returns to Ireland—submits to the monarch, and makes peace with O'Ruark—the indirect use made by him of this peace.

1166 **O**N the death of Mortogh, Roderic O'Connor, son to Turlogh the Great, assumed the title, and was saluted monarch of Ireland by his faction. Soon after this he collected his troops, and called his tributaries to his standard; and at the head of a respectable army invaded Tyrconnel, which he subdued, and had hostages put into his hands. On his return he was joined by O'Ruark and O'Reily, princes of Breffni, and O'Mealfachlin, king of Meath, and with his combined forces he

he proceeded to Dublin, where he was most honourably received and entertained. Here the Dublinians rendered him homage as monarch of Ireland, and they received from him a present of 4000 oxen. From hence he marched to Drogheda, and took hostages from O'Cearbhoil, prince of Oirgial, who also did him homage; that is, *on his bended knees put his hands closed into those of Roderic*; and as a mark of his being a vassal, the monarch ordered him a *Tuarasdel*, or subsidy of 2000 bullocks. In the interim Mac Murchad, king of Leinster, made an incursion into Meath, for which insolence he was severely punished by Roderic. For he hastily marched into Leinster, attacked and defeated his troops, and obliged him to submit, and give sureties for his good behaviour, and greatly abridged his power. The prince of Ossory acknowledged his sway, and received the usual presents of a vassal; from thence he marched into Munster, received hostages from Desmond and Thomond, and then returned to Conaught with great glory and triumph.

In the spring of 1167, he was making great preparations both by sea and land to reduce Tirone, and oblige the chief of the northern Hi-Neills to submit to him; but an extraordinary accident retarded for some time the execution of this enterprize. The king of Leinster had long conceived a violent affection for Dearbhorgil, daughter to the king of Meath; and though she had been for some time married to O'Ruark, prince of Breffni, yet could it not restrain his desires. They carried on a private correspondence, and she informed him, that O'Ruark intended soon to go on pilgrimage, (an act of piety frequent in those days), and conjured him to embrace that opportunity of conveying her from a husband she detested, to a lover she adored. Blinded by licentious desire, Mac Murchad too punctually obeyed the summons, and had the lady conveyed to his capital of Ferns. An outrage of this kind, so new and so unheard of, astonished every one; but

A.C. the feelings of the injured husband, will be best expressed by the letter which he addressed to king Roderic on this subject *.

“ O’Ruark, to Roderic the monarch, health.

“ Though I am sensible (most illustrious prince), that human
 “ adversities should be always supported with firmness and equa-
 “ nimity; and that a virtuous man ought not to distress or afflict
 “ himself, on account of the levity and inconstancy of an im-
 “ prudent female; yet, as this most horrible crime (of which I
 “ am fully satisfied), must have reached your ears, before the re-
 “ ceipt of my letters; and as it is a crime hitherto so unheard of,
 “ as far as I can recollect, as never to be attempted against any king
 “ of Ireland; severity impels me to seek justice, whilst charity
 “ admonishes me to forgive the injury. If you consider only the
 “ dishonour, that I confess is mine alone: if you reflect on the
 “ cause, it is common to us both! For what confidence can we
 “ place in our subjects, who are bound unto us by royal autho-
 “ rity, if this lascivious adulterer, or rather destroyer of chastity,
 “ shall escape unpunished, after the commission of so flagitious a
 “ crime? The outrages of princes so publicly and notoriously
 “ com-

* O’Rorcus, Rotherico monarcho, S.

Eti non sum nescius (illustrissime princeps), humanos casus equo semper animo frendos, & hominis esse, virtutis prestantia excellentis, ob meretricis inconstantiam mutabilitatemque non effeminari; tamen cum atrocissimum hoc crimen, quod ad te, certò scio, prius omnium rumore, quam meis literis allatum est, ita sit hætenus in auditum, ut ante hunc diem, non sit, nostra memoria, contra ullum (quod sciam) Hibernicum regem susceptum; severitas me jubet, justitiæ concedere, quod caritas monet, vindicta recusare. Si dedecus spectes hoc ad me unum, fateor pertinet, si causam consideres, en tibi mecum est communis. Qualem enim, in nostris hominibus, nobis regia dominatione devinctis, spem collocabimus, si mulierosus hic Mæchus, ac potius pudicitie expugnator, tanti sceleris impunitatem fuerit consecutus? Quippe, inulta principum flagitia (qui in omnium oculis habitant) perniciosam

“ committed, if not corrected, become precedents of pernicious
 “ example to the people. In a word, you are thoroughly con-
 “ vinced of my affection and attachment to you. You behold
 “ me wounded with the shafts of fortune, affected by numberless
 “ inconveniencies, and sorely distressed with the greatest afflic-
 “ tions ! It only remains for me to request, as I am entirely de-
 “ voted to you, that you will, not only with your counsels assist,
 “ but with your arms revenge these injuries which torment and
 “ distract me. This when you will, and as you will, I not
 “ only demand, but *require* at your hands—farewel.”

A.C.

On receipt of the express the monarch held a council ; and the
 result was, that Mac Murchad was unworthy to govern, and
 therefore must be deposed and banished. He immediately detached
 a body of his troops, and sent with them orders to the king of
 Meath, and to the people of Dublin and Offory, to join O’Ruark,
 whom he nominated general in this expedition. Mac Murchad
 endeavoured to oppose their passage into Leinster ; but on
 this occasion found himself deserted by the nobility, the military,
 and even by his principal favourites and dependents, so horrible
 did the crime he was charged with, appear in their eyes ! Thus
 circumstanced, he retired to Ferns, and not daring to stand a siege
 he fled from thence, and had himself and about sixty persons in
 his suite (says his secretary O’Regan), conveyed to Bristol. The
 castle of Ferns soon surrendered, his country was divided between

niciosam imitationem exempli populo prodere consuecunt. In summa meam erga
 te voluntatem satis exploratum habes. Vides me fortunæ telis sauciatum, maximis
 incommodis adfectum, summis difficultatibus afflictum ! Reliquum est cum totus
 animo & studio sim tuus, ut injurias, quibus laceror, tam consilio togatus, quam
 auxilio armatus persequaris. Hoc cum velis, & ut velis, non solum à te postulo,
 verum etiam flagito. Vale.

A.C. the prince of Ossory, and Murcha, a prince of his blood; and seventeen hostages were brought to the monarch.

Publick justice being thus rendered to the prince of Breffni, the monarch prepared with a royal army to invade Tirone, whilst with a fleet of a hundred and ninety ships he scoured the seas, cut off their supplies from North Britain, and assisted the operations of the army. At the head of thirteen legions, or 39,000 foot, and seven legions, or 14,000 horse, he marched into Ulster; says Lucius *; nor shall we be surpris'd at so great a force, when we consider, that it was to act against the greatest chief in Ulster; and that Roderic had under him O'Brien and Mac Carthy, kings of the two Munsters, O'Mealsachlin, king of Meath, O'Reily and O'Ruark kings of the two Breffnis, the princes of Oirgial, Ulida, and of Leinster, &c. The troops from the fleet landed at Derry to attack it, whilst with the land forces he penetrated into Tirone. In vain did O'Neill attempt to oppose their passage, and try by surprise to attack the imperial camp at night. Through treachery or the darkness of the night, his troops marching different ways, fell upon each other; nor was the mistake discovered till much blood was spilt. Thus circumstanced, he judged it better to submit, than to see his country laid waste and himself deposed. He sent his ambassadors to Roderic, propos'd to pay him homage, and to deliver into his hands hostages for his loyalty, for the time to come. The terms were accepted: in the presence of the other princes and nobles, O'Neill uncovered and kneeling, placed his hands clos'd between those of the monarch, which implied surrendering his power into his hands, and was immediately after received into grace and favour. After this Roderic dismissed his auxiliaries with rich presents, and returned to Conaught, attended

* Cambrens. Everf. p. 88.

by the kings of the two Munsters, whom he royally entertained, and on their departure presented them with gifts of great value, particularly a sword of exquisite workmanship to O'Brien, and a curious goblet of pure gold to Mac Carthy. A.C.

In this same year it was *, that Roderic sent forth notices, for 1167
a general convention of the estates, (*not of all Ireland*, but of Leth-Cuin), to meet at Athboy, in Meath, called Ath-Buie-Flaeta, as it was here that the famous temple of Flaeta, sacred to Samhuin, or the moon, was erected in the days of Druidism. This Feis, besides the monarch in person, was honoured with the presence of O'Mealfachlin king of Meath, O'Ruark and O'Reily, princes of the Breffnis, O'Dunlevy king of Ulida, O'Felan prince of the Deasies, &c. Besides these, St. Gelasius the primate, St. Laurence O'Toole archbishop of Dublin, Caeda O'Dubthig archbishop of Tuam, with a great number of bishops, abbots, and inferior clergy, attended this convention also. In this Feis (says my authority), many wholesome laws and regulations took place, as well for the government of the church as the state. How long this sessions held is not said; but that it broke up the same year, and that no less a number than 13,000 horse attended it, are positively affirmed.

In the beginning of this year Morrogh O'Brien, king of Tho- 1168
mond, was killed by the people of Desmond (says Lucius), who paid an Eric of three thousand one hundred and twenty beeves; but the Munster Annals affirm, that he fell by the hands of his own cousin Connor, grandfons to the famous Connor na Catharach; nevertheless Domhnal, brother to the deceased, succeeded him. Soon after, the people of Dealbhna attacked O'Fennelan their natural lord, and put him and his adherents to the sword. The

* Trias Thaumatis. p. 310, &c.

A.C. people of Meath, who joined in this insurrection, were fined eight hundred bullocks, and those of Dealbhna severely fined, but how much is not said. Early this year the great fair of Tailtean was proclaimed, and held the usual time, (i. e. from the 16th of July, to the 15th of the following August), with great splendor and solemnity.

We observed of Mac Murchad, that, deserted and detested by every one, he fled to England, hoping, that in a strange country, where his tyranny and crimes were not so well known, he might procure friends and followers to assist him. After remaining some time at Bristol, he proceeded to Normandy, to claim the protection of Henry king of England. Henry gave him a favourable reception, heard his tale, but excused himself from at present engaging in his cause. Mac Murchad requested at least his permission, to convey to Ireland such volunteers as he could procure in England, which Henry agreed to, and sent with him the following proclamation:

“ Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitain,
 “ earl of Anjou, &c. unto all his subjects, English, Nor-
 “ mans, Welsh, and Scots, and to all nations and people,
 “ being his subjects, greeting.

“ Whereas Dermot, king of Leinster, most wrongfully (as he
 “ informeth), banished out of his own county, hath craved our
 “ aid ; therefore, forasmuch as we have received him into our
 “ protection, grace, and favour, whoever within our realms,
 “ subject unto our command, will aid and help him, whom we
 “ have embraced as our trusty friend, for the recovery of his
 “ land, let him be assured of our grace and favour.”

Mac Murchad, by sound of trumpet had this proclamation frequently read in Bristol, and some adjoining cities. He offered great rewards in money and lands to such as would enlist under his banners; but his success was not great. After a month's stay at Bristol he retired to Wales. He applied to Richard earl of Strigul, commonly called Strongbow, a powerful and popular chief in Wales. He made him considerable offers to attach him to his service. He went so far as at last to promise him his daughter in marriage, and the reversion of his kingdom, after his death, if by his means, and those of his friends and associates, he should be restored to his dominions. So tempting an offer could not be resisted. Strongbow immediately entered deep into all the schemes of the exile. The treaty was signed and sworn to on both sides; and Mac Murchad bound himself by oath, to give him, at a proper time, his daughter in marriage, and to settle the reversion of his kingdom on him; though this last he knew was contrary to the fundamentals of the constitution, for the right of election was vested in the chiefs of the country, and none could be put in nomination for the crown of Leinster, who were not of the line of Cathair the Great!

Earl Richard, now entirely devoted to Mac Murchad, advised him by all means to gain to his interest Robert Fitz-Stephens, a nobleman of great interest, but who had been for three years confined by Rice ap Griffen, prince of South Wales. Mac Murchad waited on this prince, and not only procured his enlargement, but liberty to transport himself and his friends and followers to Ireland. To him, and to his half-brother Maurice Fitz-Gerald, 1168 he promised to give up the town of Wexford, with two cantreds of land adjoining, on condition of their support and assistance; and now he set sail for Ireland, with as many volunteers as he could

A.C. could collect. He privately advertised some of his most faithful adherents of his landing with some forces, which were soon to be followed by more considerable succours, and he conjured them to repair to his standard. Those who first joined him, laboured of course to engage as many as they could in the same cause; and Mac Murchad found himself powerful enough to be acknowledged, at least in his hereditary territories. His mortal enemy O'Ruark, had soon notice of this, and advertised the monarch, who sent him troops, with orders to pursue and reduce him. Mac Murchad, diffident of his own subjects, and sensible how unequal the contest must be, between his few auxiliaries and his opponents, had recourse to negotiation. He made the most abject offers of submission to the monarch, and conjured him to interpose his good offices, to bring about a reconciliation between him and O'Ruark, whom he confessed he had greatly injured. That he was still making expiations for the horrid crime he had committed, as the unhappy lady long had been amongst the holy nuns of St. Bridget at Kildare; and he hoped that he would not drive an unfortunate prince to indigence and despair, but allow him some small portion of the possessions of his ancestors, to support the remains of a miserable life. His representations were favourably heard; he was allowed ten cantreds of the lands of Hi-Cinsellag (Wexford); he paid homage and delivered up seven hostages to the monarch; and he gave to O'Ruark a hundred ounces of pure gold, as an Eric for the injury he did him.

Having thus artfully gained a solid settlement at home, Mac Murchad, forgetful of his oath and his hostages, sent his confident and secretary O'Regan privately to Wales, to remind his friends of their promises and engagements, and that he was ready to receive them with open arms. As the season was now far advanced

vanced, he advised them to send a few troops by different ways ; A.C.
but to be ready by spring, with what forces they could collect,
to land on the Leinster coasts, where he would be ready to receive
and support them with a good body of troops. O'Regan was
also instructed to procure as many recruits as he could, and for
this purpose to spare neither money nor promises to allure the
people to his standard.

B O O K XIII.

C H A P. I.

Landing of the Welsh adventurers, and junction with the army of Mac Murchad—assault Wexford three different times and are repulsed—delivered up by composition—Mac Murchad invades and lays waste the principality of Ossory—the monarch, alarmed at his success, directs him to cease further hostilities, and dismiss his auxiliaries—through the intercession of the Leinster clergy Mac Murchad agrees to a fresh peace, and breaks through every article of it—enters into treaty with the king of Thomond—New Spain discovered—landing of Strongbow, and capture of Waterford—they march to Dublin—Dublin surprised, and the massacre of its inhabitants—remarks on this success, and on the council of Ardmagh.

1169 **W**HILST Mac Murchad was preparing to assert his right to the kingdom of Leinster, his foreign associates were equally active in his cause. In May, 1169, Fitz-Stephens, Fitz-Gerald, Barry, Hervey, &c. landed near Wexford with thirty knights, sixty esquires, and three hundred archers, and these were next day joined by Maurice Prendergast, at the head of ten knights and two hundred archers. By letters, dated May 11, 1169, they advised Mac Murchad of their safe arrival, and waited

waited his orders as to their proceedings. He immediately sent his natural son Donald, at the head of five hundred horse, to join them, whilst, at the head of his infantry, he followed. He received them with every expression of joy, and they immediately concerted their plan of operations. Wexford being nearest to them, and a port of consequence, it was resolved to attack. The garrison (considering the abject state of Mac Murchad's affairs, and how universally detested he was) imagined they were strong enough to disperse, in the field, this troop of invaders, and marched some distance from the town to give them battle; but when they beheld a regular and well disciplined body of men, horse and foot, exceeding three thousand, they retreated, burning all the villages and houses contiguous to the town, making close the gates, and manning the walls. This retreat of the Irish inspired their antagonists with fresh courage, and orders were instantly given to make a general assault on the town. But, notwithstanding "*the sounding of trumpets, the*" "*neighing of their barbed horses, their shining armour, and regu-*" "*lar discipline,*" which Cambrensis, Campion, Stainhurst, Hanmer, and later writers affirm, were new and terrifying spectacles to the natives, we find, by the resistance they made, that prudence more than fear determined their retreat. Fitz-Stephens and Barry led on the troops to the assault. They soon filled the ditches, and fixed their ladders against the walls and turrets; but the Irish, regardless of "*their shining armour and*" "*their regular discipline,*" every where received them with their accustomed courage. Their knights were hurled headlong from the walls, their ladders were broke, and after the loss of many gallant soldiers they sounded a retreat. This repulse greatly depressed the spirits of the invaders; and Fitz-Stephens, apprehensive that his followers would desert him, instantly, at the head of a select body of friends, with great resolution and pre-

A.C. fence of mind, set fire to all the ships in the harbour, to shew his men that they had no alternatives for the future but victory or death. For three succeeding days (says Campion) did they renew the assault, and with no better success. At length the bishop and clergy of Wexford, to prevent the further effusion of Christian blood, exerted their utmost influence to bring about a reconciliation between the contending parties. After many messages backwards and forwards, Mac Murchad agreed to accept the submissions of the citizens: they renewed their oaths of fidelity, and put into his hands four of their principal burghesses as hostages for their future good behaviour. Mac Murchad, according to treaty, made over the lordship of this city, and liberties, to Fitz-Stephens and Fitz-Gerald.

The reduction of Wexford, and the report of the numbers of foreigners who came to the aid of Mac Murchad (which, as usual in similar cases, was greatly exaggerated), increased his reputation, and made numbers of the Lagenians resort to his standard, though much against their inclinations, for few princes were more detested. His army being considerably increased, he thought it high time to be revenged on Fitz-Patrick, prince of Ossory, on whom part of his territories had been bestowed by the monarch. He imparted his resolutions to the foreigners, who readily agreed to the proposal, stimulated thereto by the hopes of plunder. He collected all his forces, with a considerable body from Wexford, at the head of whom he entered the territories of Ossory. Domnal, chief of that territory, had fortified all the passages into it; so that, after three days constant skirmishing, the Lagenians made no sort of impression. This success determined the Ossorians to quit their entrenchments and attack the enemy in the open field; but, much inferior in number, they were obliged to retire, and Mac Murchad gave full liberty to his troops to burn, plunder, and destroy

stroy the open country without mercy ! He then returned to Ferns, loaded with the spoils and treasures of Offory. The glory of this victory English writers, with their accustomed vanity, attribute to their countrymen, though not the tenth part of Mac Murchad's army ! The English cavalry are also highly extolled, though five ships only wafted *all their forces* to Ireland, in which there was not *a single horse* ; though all the writers agree, that the son of the king of Leinster immediately joined them, at the head of five hundred cavaliers, which was all the horse in the army ! Nay, of so little consequence were they in the main, that, though it appears that immediately after this defeat of the Offorians, Prendergast joined the prince of Offory, the sworn enemy to Mac Murchad, with about half the Welsh adventurers, (for not one Englishman was of the party) yet it produced no alteration for the better or the worse in his affairs !

Thus did Mac Murchad, by uncommon fortitude and invincible perseverance, notwithstanding his accumulated crimes, repossess himself of all the dominions of his ancestors ! Revolutions of this kind, we have seen, were frequent in Ireland, but never on so flagrant an occasion as the present. He had already made his peace with O'Ruark, and the repossession of his country was an affair in which the public at large were not interested. Princes were frequently deposed, or their power circumscribed, according as they stood attached to the monarch for the time being, and this without any public convulsions. Such was the light in which the present revolution was considered ; but to Roderic, and to his party *only*, it became an alarming affair. If Mac Murchad held his kingdom of Leinster without doing homage for it, his own power, as monarch, must become precarious. Add to this, that Donald O'Brien ; son-in-law to Mac Murchad, being now king of Thomond and Ormond, that is, of North and East Munster, Roderic dreaded his power and suspected

A.C. pected his fidelity. By dispersing the forces of the Lagenians, or compelling Mac Murchad to confess his sway, he dissipated all apprehensions of a confederacy against him, which might end in his deposition.

Roderic summoned a meeting of all his friends and tributaries, to take their advice on the present ticklish situation of his affairs. The result was, that messengers should be sent to Fitz-Stephens, and his followers, to demand “by what right or authority they presumed hostilely to invade and display their banners in this land? and ordering them immediately to quit the country, or expect to be treated as pirates and robbers who had taken up arms without the sanction of their lawful sovereign.” As their ships had been burned, he also offered them ships and money to transport themselves: but these adventurers were between two rocks, Sylla and Charibdis. Fitz-Stephens, their chief, had been taken out of prison, after a confinement of three years, at the earnest request of Mac Murchad and the bishop of St. David’s, on condition of quitting the kingdom; and we must suppose that his followers were not in a much more respectable situation. That they were ALL persons of desperate fortunes is universally admitted; and that they were men of the most dissolute morals, rapacious, blood-thirsty, and cruel, the whole tenor of their lives, from their first landing in Ireland to their different deaths, sufficiently proclaim! Outcasts of their own country, what other would wish to receive them? Was it a virtuous attachment to the interest of Mac Murchad, or their own desperate situations, that made them reject offers so full of humanity? Any one can answer the question. A cause like Mac Murchad’s was worthy such supporters: *simile simili.*

But whilst these orders were given to the ambassadors of Roderic, others were given to his troops, and to his confederates,
to

to assemble without delay to add greater weight to this negotiation. The answer was such as was expected ; but it acquitted the monarch, in the eyes of the public, from the consequences that might be supposed to attend such refusal. At the head of twenty thousand men, horse and foot, highly appointed, Roderic entered Leinster ; but the rebels, unable to face such an army, retired from post to post until they reached the fastnesses of the country about Ferns, which they strongly fortified, hoping to protract the war till they received new succours from their friends in Wales. But Roderic, resolving to finish the campaign as soon as possible, divided his army into different detachments, appointed the troops who were to attack the different posts, and those who were to support them ; and, addressing them in an animating speech, he ordered them to march on to victory ; but (in an unlucky hour for this devoted kingdom !) the clergy of Leinster, assembled in a body, presented themselves before the monarch, and conjured him, in the most pathetic terms, to avoid the effusion of Christian blood ! Mac Murchad was at his mercy ; and all he could require by a victory should be granted without striking a blow. Thus, first at Wexford, and again near Ferns, was Mac Murchad and his associates preserved from inevitable ruin, through the interposition of the Irish clergy ! The credulous monarch became again a dupe to the sincerity of his own heart ; and the perjured Mac Murchad gained a further length of days to complete the ruin of his country ! Through the mediation of the clergy a peace was concluded on the following terms : 1st Mac Murchad was to possess the country of Hi-Cinseallagh, or Wexford, with the title of king of Leinster. 2d. He was to do homage to the monarch for this territory, as holding it in vassalage under him. 3d. He was to dismiss all the foreigners, with proper rewards for their trouble, and never admit any more of them into his country. All this

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was

A.C. was ratified by oath before the great altar of the church of St. Maidog at Ferns, and he delivered his base son Art into the hands of Roderic as a further security.—This proves upon what light grounds these writers go, who affirm, that with the messengers sent to Fitz-Stephens by Roderic, he sent others to Mac Murchad, requiring his immediate submission and the dismissal of the foreigners; since we see that he thought himself now happy to compound for such a sacrifice. But the Lagenian meant as little security in this as he did in his former treaty. The truth is, he was so universally detested by his own people, that he apprehended falling a sacrifice to their resentment the moment his foreign satellites quitted him, and was therefore determined to stick to them to the last.

The credulous monarch, relying on the faith of this treaty, solemnly guarantied by the clergy of Leinster, dismissed his auxiliaries and retired to his own domain, whilst Mac Murchad, under various pretences, delayed the time of fulfilling his engagements. It was the interest of the foreigners to appear useful and necessary to him, to their counsels he adhered; and what confirmed him the more was the arrival of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, at Wexford, with ten knights, thirty esquires, and an hundred archers, at this critical time. With this addition to his army Dermot suddenly appeared before Dublin, laying waste the country all around. The citizens, to get rid of so troublesome a guest, agreed to give him hostages, and a considerable sum of money, which last was the sole object of this expedition.

Domhnal Mor O'Brien, king of Thomond, beheld with secret pleasure the errors committed by Roderic. He was son-in-law to Mac Murchad, and secretly encouraged his defection. He was in hopes to extend his power, and that of his house, at the expence of the monarch, and he entered into a private treaty with Dermot, by which they engaged to support each other.

The season was now far spent, and Mac Murchad sent pressing letters to Strongbow to join him, with all his forces, early next year. This year Maidoc, or Maidog, third son to Owen Gwineth, prince of North Wales, by an Irish princess, finding his country in great commotions, and his brothers engaged in civil wars against each other, retired to his maternal patrimony of Clochran, in Conaught; and being a prince of great experience in maritime affairs, he fitted out a number of ships, with which he sailed from Ireland (say my authorities, Clin and Stow) so far north as to discover lands till then unknown; and these regions, in the opinion of the antiquarian Humphrey Lloyd, and others, must have been part of New Spain; if so, Irish and Welshmen may claim the honour of this discovery prior to Columbus or Americus Vesputius.

The winter was spent in negotiations and secret preparations, the effects of which appeared early in the summer; for the king of Thomond openly disclaimed all allegiance to the monarch, and set his power at defiance. Roderic invaded Thomond, and Donald claimed aid from Mac Murchad, who sent him a good body of troops, Irish and English, under the command of Fitz-Stephens; and this was the first footing of the foreigners in this fertile province. Many sharp and bloody encounters ensued, with various success; but Roderic, called away by more pressing engagements, was obliged to relinquish this object for the present.

1170

Strongbow, during the winter, was very active in raising troops for his intended expedition; but sensible how highly enraged Henry II. was with Fitz-Stephens and his party, for presuming to enter into the service of the king of Leinster, without his particular licence, he laboured to procure his permission to serve in the same cause. He applied to the king several times, who, tired with his importunities, contemptuously answered at last—"That he might go as far as his feet could carry him;

A.C. “ nay, if he would get Dedalus’s wings, as far as he could flie.” Equivocal and insulting as this answer was, Strongbow took it for a permission ; but he first sent Raymond Le Gros, with ten knights and about a hundred archers, as his vanguard, to announce to Dermot when he himself intended to land, that he might be ready to support him. This small body of men landed about four miles from Waterford, and immediately took possession of an old neglected fortress, which they repaired, and then sallied out on the great object of plunder. They collected a large quantity of horned cattle, which they obliged the countrymen to drive before them ; but O’Felan, O’Ryan, and some of the burgeses of Waterford, tumultuously assembled to re-take the cattle and chastise these bold invaders. With great difficulty, and some loss, the cattle, and part of the guard, gained the fortress ; but the remainder were in a fair way of being cut off, which O’Raymond perceiving, with great resolution he sallied forth, and slew, with his own hand O’Ryan, and his associates many more. The loss of one of their chiefs deranged the Irish for awhile ; and in this state of irresolution, Raymond, with uncommon presence of mind, ordered the cattle, with sword and pike, to be drove against the enemy, whilst his troops followed. It was a critical moment to save his party from destruction, and he availed himself of it : the wounded beasts rushed with great fury through the midst of their ranks, and all was confusion. Raymond, and his troops, gave them no time to form or rally, and, after a great carnage, took seventy prisoners, with which they marched back in triumph to their fortress. But because Englishmen, when they commit acts of cruelty, choose to do them deliberately, Cambrensis, &c. tells us, that Raymond called a council of war to determine on the fate of these prisoners ; and it was agreed that they should first have their limbs broke, and then be all precipitated into the sea ; which was instantly

stantly after executed, and this for attempting to regain their properties from the hands of lawless banditti ! Immediately after this inhuman and bloody sacrifice, Raymond was joined by a body of Irish and English of Mac Murchad's faction.

A.C.

We are told, that whilst Strongbow was preparing to embark his men at Milford, Henry sent an express, commanding him, on pain of his allegiance and life, to dismiss his troops, and return to court to give an account of himself ; but he had gone too far, and the tenor of the message itself seemed too menacing to abide its consequences. Strongbow, therefore, weighed anchor, and, in a few hours after, landed in the bay of Waterford, on the 23d of August, at the head of two hundred knights and one thousand two hundred foot soldiers, well appointed. Here he was joined by Mac Murchad, Fitz-Stephens, Fitz-Gerald, and Raymond, with their forces, who attended his arrival. A council of war was held, and, as it was of the utmost consequence to possess themselves of Waterford, as well for the facility of receiving succours from South Wales, as for their own security in case of a future defeat, the dispositions were made to assault it next day, without waiting the tedious form of a siege, which their critical situation would by no means permit. The combined forces advanced to the assault with great intrepidity, and were as bravely received by the besieged, who, after a bloody conflict, obliged them to sound a retreat. Next day they renewed the attack, in different places, with fresh forces, but succeeded in none ! Raymond, who commanded as general in this siege, became very doubtful of the event. He carefully surveyed all the walls and approaches to the town : he noticed an house projecting from the walls, the beams of the floors of which were lodged in them, and wooden posts fixed in the ground, outside the walls, to support this airy mansion. Silently, in the night, he had these supporters knocked off, and,

A.C. as he expected, down fell the house, and, with its weight, a part of the wall. A considerable breach being thus suddenly made, in rushed a body of troops, prepared for the purpose, who, traversing the walls, put to the sword all they met; and then, proceeding to the gates, threw them open for the admission of their companions. The city was soon one scene of carnage, and the licentious and dissolute foreigners, glutted themselves with every species of cruelty, and partly satiated their avarice with the plunder of that commercial city.

The relentless Mac Murchad, callous to the feelings of humanity, and, as if to add insults to the distresses of the surviving citizens, sent express to Ferns for his daughter Aofe, whom he immediately after married there to Strongbow, and then had him saluted Righ-Damhna, or presumptive heir to the crown of Leinster. But love speedily gave way to ambition, and the taking of Dublin (with Waterford and Wexford already in their possession) must give to Mac Murchad the absolute command of a considerable part of the kingdom. They immediately began to prepare the army for the march, of which the monarch was well apprized, and which called him from his attacks on Thomond. He caused all the passes and defiles, in the road towards Dublin, to be fortified and manned, and the road itself to be broke up in several places to retard the march of the enemy, whilst he attended with a respectable army to hang over their march, or give them battle, as he judged most proper. But the confederates evaded all these toils, by taking another and a less frequented route; and crossing the mountains of Glendeloch, got the start of the royal army, and entrenched themselves near the walls of Dublin, at a time that they thought them many miles from it. The object for which this army was raised being thus defeated, the different chiefs demanded their dismissal of the

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monarch,

monarch, which he was obliged to grant, and so leave Dublin A.C. exposed to all the horrors of war and desolation.

The citizens, who had expected the attack, took every prudent precaution to defend themselves; and Mac Murchad and Strongbow, who, by the obstinate defence of Wexford and Waterford, judged that the taking of Dublin must cost much blood, wished to be in possession of it on easier terms. O'Regan, in the name of his master, summoned the citizens to surrender, and promised to preserve their immunities, and pass a general act of oblivion for all past offences. St. Laurence O'Toole, their archbishop, desirous to avoid the effusion of blood, exerted his influence to prevail on the burghers to enter into a treaty. A deputation of the citizens, with this most venerable prelate at their head, waited on Mac Murchad at the head quarters. Numberless difficulties were started to protract signing the capitulation, whilst Raymond le Gros, and Miles Cogan, were carefully examining the walls of the city, to find out the most likely place of assaulting it with success; who, as Cambrensis expresses it—"were more earnest to fight under the banners of Mars in the field, than sit in the senate with Jupiter in council." Whilst the deputies were amused in the camp, and the burghers, unguarded, impatiently waited their return, the two generals led their troops to the lowest and least defensible part of the walls, the summits of which a few gained, and these were followed by numbers. Notice was given to the camp of their success, the gates were forced open, and in less than two hours the city was one scene of blood. The cruelty of the soldiery could not be restrained; houses were plundered and fired, the citizens butchered in cold blood, and matrons and virgins violated in the sight of their expiring husbands and fathers! In the height of this carnage and conflagration, Mac Murchad and Strongbow entered the city in triumph, to enjoy,
with

A.C. with their own eyes, the bloody effects of their hellish machinations; and, as a reward to Cogan, for the unsoldier-like part he acted in this most perfidious plot, they created him, on the spot, governor of Dublin, and to the soldiers they gave the pillage of the town! The 21st of September, 1170, was the day of this tremendous massacre. In a few days after Dermod and Strongbow invaded Meath, and burned, despoiled, and wasted the country without mercy. Roderic, roused from his lethargy, sent a message to Dermod, menacing the death of his son if he did not immediately withdraw his troops, and atone to O'Ruark for the devastations and murders committed in his country; but to this he returned a most insolent answer, and, far from avowing himself his liege man, he declared he would not lay down his arms till he made all Ireland acknowledge his sway, and him in particular. Roderic, enraged, had the head of young Art, and two more of Dermod's hostages, cut off, and declared war against him.

The perfidy, cruelty, and butchery of Mac Murchad and his foreign associates, astonished and terrified the whole kingdom. The reader has seen the manner in which the Irish carried on their domestic wars. Every thing was managed above board; armies met on a day appointed, and, by mutual consent, battles were fought. Treaties of peace were most religiously observed; conquests were never followed by cruelties and butcheries; and properties were constantly preserved in families! How could such a people—indeed any people—guard against an enemy devoid of every principle of honour or humanity—who the most sacred ties of religion could not restrain? Such were their present ones; and Cambrensis, Stainhurst, Campion, Hanmer, &c. their own historians, are my evidences. No wonder then if the astonished clergy should assemble in council, as they did this winter, under the presidency of St. Gelasius the primate, to explore

explore the cause of such dreadful massacres practised by one set of Christians against another! They concluded them to be permitted by the will of heaven, for their *still* countenancing an unnatural traffick with England, which consisted in purchasing their children and relations as slaves!—For they were already in perfect accord with Rome in every point of discipline. They requested of Roderic to abolish this custom, and to emancipate these English slaves! and this public act proves at once the piety and simplicity of the clergy, and the general innocence of manners and piety of the people, which Bede, on a similar occasion in his own days, acknowledged!

C H A P. II.

Henry, by proclamation, recalls his subjects from Ireland—the situation which this, and the death of Mac Murchad, reduces them to—offer a formal surrender of their conquests to Henry, which he refuses—Dublin besieged by Roderic—the garrison offer to submit and surrender—their proposals rejected—surprize the camp of the monarch and disperse his troops—the siege of Dublin raised—Henry receives the submission of Strongbow, and invades Ireland—the princes of Leath-Mogha submit to him—remarks on the parade of English writers.

WHILST Dermot, and his associates, thus carried every thing with an high hand, the fame of their exploits was wafted to Aquitain; and Henry, with indignation and jealousy heard, that, not content with his kingdom of Leinster, Mac Murchad laid public claim to the monarchy of Ireland, and
his

A.C. his subject Strongbow was declared presumptive heir to the crown of Leinster! He quickly foresaw that their success would endanger the peace of his own dominions, and by throwing the war into Wales the Welch might again become an independent people, and proclaim the sound of liberty through the rest of Briton. A proclamation was therefore immediately issued forth in the following words, and sent to Ireland.

“ Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy, and Aquitain, &c.

“ We forbid and inhibit, that, from henceforth, no ship from
 “ any place of our dominions, shall traffic or pass into Ireland;
 “ and likewise charge, that all our subjects, on their duty and
 “ allegiance, which are there commorant, shall return from
 “ thence into England, before Easter next following, upon pain
 “ of forfeiture of all their lands, and the persons so disobeying
 “ to be banished our land and exiled for ever.”

It may be easily conceived what a mortifying and unexpected blow this must prove to the ambitious expectations of Strongbow and his partisans; but their situation became presently more critical and alarming, when they heard of the sickness and
 1171 death of their protector Mac Murchad in his capital of Ferns. This execrable wretch died a shocking spectacle to insatiable and vicious ambition. His body became covered with foetid sores; he was attacked with the morbus pedicularis; and he died in the greatest misery, without friends, pity, or spiritual comfort! This was attended with still worse consequences, for it detached Donal O'Brien from this interest, who presently made peace with the monarch, and most of the Lagenians themselves followed the example: however, some septs of them adhered closely to the interest of Strongbow.

In this distressed situation Strongbow called together his most faithful friends, who resolved on the only expedient which sound sense could dictate. Raymond le Gros was dispatched with the following letter to Henry.

“ Most puissant Prince, and my dread Sovereign.

“ I came into this land with your majesty's leave and favour
“ (as far as I remember), to aid your servant Dermot Mac Mur-
“ chad. What I have won was with the sword ; what is given
“ me, I give you. I am yours, life and living.”

He presented this letter to Henry, still in Aquitain, but was received with marks of high displeasure ; and, after a long attendance, was obliged to return to Ireland without any answer. This irresolution of Henry's is ascribed to the murder of the archbishop of Canterbury about this time ; as if the great object of acquiring one of the finest islands in the world, was to give way to the consequences attending the death of a prelate, whose life had been long devoted to destruction ! It is an absurdity to suppose it ; and Henry's behaviour shewed how little he attended to the consequences of it. Henry's irresolution proceeded from a more important consideration ; to accept the offers of Strongbow was to involve himself in a war with Ireland, the issue of which might be uncertain, especially now that he was so deeply engaged with Rome. When he had procured the bull of Adrian IV. in 1156, his mother charged him to avoid all altercations with Ireland, and he had not forgot this inhibition. The time allowed by his proclamation had now elapsed ; Strongbow, and his adherents, were proscribed in Britain, and their avarice and cruelty made them universally detested in Ireland. Roderic once more appeared in arms ; he summoned all his friends and allies to his standard, and he resolved to get rid of this set of banditti. Thirty ships of war had, for some time, guarded the bay of Dublin,

A C. to prevent any succours being received by the garrison, and, at the head of a large army, Roderic appeared on the plains of Dublin. The garrison were not in the mean time idle; they called in all their out-posts, and they drained their other garrisons to strengthen that of Dublin. Donal Cavenagh, &c. at the head of a select body of Irish, after encountering a variety of dangers, threw himself and his men into that city also; so that Strongbow, Fitz-Gerald, Raymond, Prendergast, the Cogans, with their best men at arms, were there assembled.

Roderic, at length, invested it in form. The disposition of his troops shewed him well versed in the art of war; and if his vigilance had been equal to his abilities, he would have got a speedy riddance of the foreigners. The head quarters were fixed at Castle Knoc, three miles to the west of Dublin, O' Ruark and O'Cearuibhil, were posted at Cluantarff to the north of the Liffe, whilst O'Cevenagh, successor to Mac Murchad in the kingdom of Leinster, with his Lagenians, occupied the opposite shore, and O'Brien, and his Mamonians, entrenched themselves at Kilmainhim. By this disposition, aided by the ships in the harbour, they were cut off from all relief, they proposed taking it by famine; and the blockade continued two months. In this distressed situation Strongbow called a council of war to deliberate on what should be done, and it was unanimously agreed to make a formal surrender to Roderic of all their castles and strong holds; to render him homage as their lawful sovereign, and to hold them for the future under him as his vassals. They requested of St. Laurence O'Toole to carry these proposals to the monarch, and to intercede for them. The holy prelate accepted the commission; they were formally deliberated on, and they were found inadmissible. Another prince of the blood of Cathoir-Mor had been elected king of Leinster; and these chiefs, whose territories had been unlawfully usurped, now reclaimed them.

The

The only terms that would be granted to the foreigners were, that, upon condition that they would peaceably surrender the city of Dublin, with the ports of Waterford, Wexford, and their other strong holds, by days assigned for each, they should then be provided with transports to convey them and their effects back to Wales without the least hurt or injury; but if these terms, so reasonable and equitable, were not agreed to, then they would speedily prepare for a general assault, and put the garrison to the sword. The archbishop returned with this answer, and, very probably, his own importunities made it so favourable. But, alas! What availed these concessions to the besieged! They had been already proclaimed traitors in Britain; their natural sovereign rejected the offers they made him, and gave them up as a people devoted to certain destruction. In so deplorable a situation they took a resolution worthy gallant men, who had no alternatives but victory or certain ruin. They unanimously agreed to make a desperate sally, and to fall upon the monarch's own quarters, which, they had reason to think, were but carelessly guarded, especially while this negociation was carrying on. The archbishop was in their hands; and while the troops without, and he within, thought they were deliberating on this message, they were every where arming for the sortie. Before day-light they attacked the monarch's quarters, but certainly with a much larger force than their writers set forth. The out-guards, supine and careless, were easily mastered. They threw themselves into the camp, and every thing was soon in confusion. The besiegers concluded that they had received a large supply from England, and their surprize and fear made them magnify the danger. Roderic himself, we are told, was at this time preparing for a bath; and, so hot was the alarm, that he escaped half-dressed, and thus set the example to his followers. The victorious Britons retreated to the city,

A.C. loaden with spoils and glory; and the Irish princes, in imitation of their chief, broke up their camps and marched back to their different territories! Thus the desperate state of Strongbow's affairs, and the inevitable ruin which seemed to await him and his followers, were the very means of his wonderful success! Could he have been assured of an asylum in Britain, he would have thought himself happy to reach thither, but, cut off from such resource, he formed the generous resolution to conquer or die.

The kingdom was once more broke into factions: the irresolute and temporising spirit of Roderic lost him the confidence of the nation, and Donal O'Brien again renounced his authority, and entered into a fresh treaty with his brother-in-law Strongbow. Still we cannot doubt but Strongbow would be glad to be received into the monarch's favour, and render him homage for his territory; and it is a most reasonable presumption to suppose that he made new overtures on this head. He could not hope to remain independent; and the probability is, that he would rather hold his dominions by Irish tenure, than put himself into the power of Henry, whose dominion he dreaded, and whose hatred to him he was well apprized of; but Roderic possessed all the pride and haughtiness of an Irish monarch, without that determined spirit so necessary to support them.

1172 Henry heard with amazement the new change in Strongbow's affairs; he blamed his own timidity for not accepting the tender he made, and the former apprehensions of his mother he saw were imaginary. He repaired to Britain, and made large levies to invade Ireland. He sent over for Strongbow, received him graciously (say the Chronicles of North and South Wales), restored him to his estates in England and Normandy, and declared him steward of Ireland. Whatever might be his inward dislike to Strongbow, it was his interest to soothe and flatter him, and it

was equally the other's to seem persuaded of his good intentions. A.C.
Thus reciprocal interests, without love or sincerity, brought about a firm coalition between Henry and Strongbow! Their conferences ran on the reduction of Ireland; and, from what Strongbow had already effected, Henry could not doubt but his expedition must be crowned with glory. By treaty Henry was to be put in possession of Dublin, Waterford, and all the maritime towns which Strongbow held, and he was guarantied the peaceable tenure of the rest of his territories.

But whilst Henry was preparing, during the whole summer, for his Irish expedition, with astonishment we behold no attempts whatever to oppose his landing, or even to retake any of those cities, so necessary for the security of his fleet and army, except an unsuccessful attack made by O'Ruark on the city of Dublin! But how could it be otherwise? Roderic had let slip several opportunities of annihilating his enemies, and every new accession of power to them was a fresh source of reproach to him. Under a prince, who had lost the confidence of his people, no vigorous measure could be adopted; and those from whom the nation might hope for protection publicly betrayed its cause! The two Munsters, after renouncing the authority of Roderic, entered into treaty with Strongbow; and the event would seem to prove, privately encouraged the invasion of Henry, since we behold Mac Carthy and O'Brien the two first to render homage to him immediately after his landing!

Every thing being at length prepared, Henry, with a fleet of four hundred ships (say some; with others, but of two hundred and forty), weighed anchor from Milford Haven with a fair wind, and in a few hours entered the harbour of Waterford, October the 18th, 1172. His whole force consisted of but four hundred knights and four thousand men at arms. On his landing Strongbow, kneeling, presented him the keys of that city,

A.C. city, and putting his hands closed into those of Henry, did him homage for his kingdom of Leinster. *The very next day* Dermot Mac Carthy presented him the keys of his capital city of Cork, and rendered him homage as monarch of Ireland. After a few days repose Henry marched his army to Lismore, where he rested two days, and from thence proceeded to Cashell, at which city he was waited upon by Donal O'Brien, prince of Thomond, who tendered to Henry the keys of his capital of Limeric, and did him homage as his sovereign; and his example was soon after followed by Fitz-Patrick, prince of Ossory, O'Felan chief of the Deasies, and other princes. When Henry arrived at Cashell, he there produced the bull of Adrian IV. confirmed by his successor Alexander III. by which the sovereignty of Ireland was transferred from its natural princes to this stranger. At his desire a synod of the clergy was immediately summoned to meet there, and deliberate on the admissibility of the bull, in which Christian bishop of Lismore, as legate, was to preside; but, in the next chapter, we shall give an account of this bull, and the result of the council held thereon. In the mean time it may not be amiss to advert to the vain and ridiculous parade of English writers, and their Irish associates, with respect to this prince. We are told that his army proceeded in slow and solemn marches through the country, in order to strike the rude inhabitants with the splendor and magnificence of their procession; and we have been already entertained with the terror which the appearance of Fitz-Stephens, and his armed forces, impressed on the natives, *who had never beheld the like!* Assertions of this kind, indeed, might appear plausible had this people dwelt on the other side the Atlantic; but when a brave and polished people were the subjects, the futility of the assertion diverts our thoughts from choler to contempt! The reader has been already sufficiently acquainted with the distinguished figure which the Irish nation

cut

cut in arts and arms. He has heard how remarkably attentive A C. they were to the article of their armour; that their corslets and head-pieces were ornamented with gold; that the handles of their swords were of the same metal, and the shields of the knights, and of the nobility, were mostly of pure gold or silver! He has been informed that their heavy-armed infantry were cased in armour from head to foot; and he must be convinced, that the equestrian orders among the Celtæ of Europe originated from hence! Yet, in opposition to such stubborn facts, British writers have never once blushed for imposing such falsehoods Europe! It were even an absurdity to suppose — though we wanted these evidences — that a rich and commercial nation, constantly in arms against each other, should want such necessary appendages. Did they not wage constant war with the Danes for more than two centuries, and (what is more than can be said for either England or France) never laid down their arms till they expelled them the kingdom? And, had they no other opportunities, must we not suppose that they would borrow from them the use of so obvious a protection? They contributed largely, by their blood and treasures, to the conquest of the Holy Land; and the noble endowments for the knights Hospitallers by Turlogh O'Connor, Connor O'Brien, and other Irish princes (the visible remains of many of which proclaim the magnificence and piety of these days) sufficiently prove this. Must not these knights and adventurers to the Holy Land have learned the use of armour, should we suppose it unknown before? And could the sight of a few needy Welshmen, of desperate lives and fortunes, strike the Irish with terror and amazement? or could the parade of an army of four or five thousand men be such a novelty to them, who frequently saw their own princes, in all the pomp of royalty, at the head of thirty or forty thousand? Investigations,

A.C. tigungen of this kind are part of the province of history, and the candid and generous Britons of modern days will, I flatter myself, be pleased to see proper justice done to a nation with whom they are so closely linked by affinity and interest.

C H A P. III.

*Synod of Cashell—the bulls of Adrian and Alexander—complained of by Irish writers, and supposed spurious—real bulls—the reasons that induced Adrian to grant a bull to Henry—why it lay concealed for sixteen years—Ireland sacrificed to unite Alexander and Henry—the conduct of Alexander not to be justified—Cam—
—brensis's account of the acts of the council of Cashel exposed—accept of the bulls—the letter of O'Ruark, for style, language, and sentiment, infinitely superior to what is contained in those bulls.*

THE synod of Cashell was splendid and numerous. Besides the legate, there appeared the archbishops of Munster, Leinster, and Conaught, with their suffragans, many mitred abbots and inferior clergy. The bull of Adrian IV. was then produced; of which here follows a copy:

“ Adrian bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearest
“ son in Christ, the illustrious king of England, greeting,
“ and apostolical benediction.

“ Full laudably and profitably hath your magnificence con—
“ ceived the design of propagating your glorious renown on
“ earth, and completing your reward of eternal happiness in
“ heaven; whilst, as a catholic prince, you are intent on en—
larging

“ larging the borders of the church, teaching the truth of the
“ Christian faith to the ignorant and rude, extirpating the
“ roots of vice from the field of the Lord; and for the more
“ convenient execution of this purpose, requiring the counsel
“ and favour of the apostolic see: in which, the maturer your
“ deliberation, and the greater the discretion of your procedure,
“ by so much the happier we trust will be your progress with
“ the assistance of the Lord; as all things are used to come to a
“ prosperous end and issue, which take their beginning from
“ the ardor of faith and the love of religion.

“ There is, indeed, no doubt but that Ireland, and all the
“ islands on which Christ, the sun of righteousness, hath shone,
“ and which have received the doctrine of the Christian faith,
“ do belong to the jurisdiction of St. Peter and the holy Roman
“ church, as your excellency also doth acknowledge; and there-
“ fore we are the more solicitous to propagate the righteous
“ plantation of faith in this land, and the branch acceptable to
“ God, as we have the secret conviction of conscience that
“ this is more especially our bounden duty. You then, my dear
“ son in Christ, have signified to us your desire to enter into
“ the island of Ireland, in order to reduce the people to obedi-
“ ence unto the laws, and to extirpate the plants of vice; and
“ that you are willing to pay from each a yearly pension of one
“ penny to St. Peter, and that you will preserve the rights of the
“ churches of this land whole and inviolate. We, therefore,
“ with that grace and acceptance suited to your pious and laud-
“ able design, and favourably assenting to your petition, do hold
“ it good and acceptable, that, for extending the borders of the
“ church, restraining the progress of vice, for the correction of
“ manners, the planting of virtue, and the encrease of religion,
“ you enter this island, and execute therein whatever shall per-
“ tain to the honour of God and welfare of the land; and that

A.C. “ the people of this land receive you honourably, and reverence
 “ you as their lord, the rights of their churches still remaining
 “ sacred and inviolate, and saving to St. Peter the annual pen-
 “ sion of one penny from every house.
 “ If then you be resolved to carry the design you have con-
 “ ceived into effectual execution, study to form this nation to
 “ virtue and manners, and labour by yourself, and others you
 “ shall judge meet for this work, in faith, word, and life, that
 “ the church may be there adorned, that the religion of the
 “ Christian faith may be planted and grow up, and that all
 “ things pertaining to the honour of God, and salvation of
 “ souls be so ordered, that you may be entitled to the fulness of
 “ heavenly reward from God, and obtain a glorious renown on
 “ earth through all ages. Given at Rome in the year of salva-
 “ tion 1166.”

Next was read the bull of his successor, Alexander III. con-
 firming the above donation of Adrian, to the following effect:

“ Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his
 “ most dear son in Christ, the illustrious king of England;
 “ health and apostolical benediction.
 “ Forasmuch as these things which have been on good rea-
 “ sons granted by our predecessors, deserve to be confirmed in
 “ the fullest manner; and considering the grant of the dominion
 “ of the realm of Ireland by the venerable pope Adrian, we,
 “ pursuing his footsteps, do ratify and confirm the same (reserv-
 “ ing to St. Peter, and to the holy Roman church, as well in
 “ England as in Ireland, the yearly pension of one penny from
 “ every house), provided that the abominations of the land
 “ being removed, that barbarous people, Christians only in
 “ name, may, by your means, be reformed, and their lives and
 “ conversation mended, so that their disordered church being
 “ thus

“ thus reduced to regular discipline, that nation may, with the
 “ name of Christians, be so in act and deed. Given at Rome in
 “ the year of salvation 1172.”

Our writers complain loudly of the injustice and want of foundation in the charges exhibited in the above bulls; they mention the flourishing state of religion and letters in this very age, in which no less than three of our prelates were afterwards canonized by Rome, namely, Celsus and Malachie, successors in the see of Ardmagh, and St. Laurence O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin. They recite with these the names of a Christian, a Gelasius, a Malchus, a Maurice, &c. &c. prelates of most exalted virtue and learning.—It had been better for the nation that they could have mentioned a Brien, a Cincidi, a Ceallachan, &c. who, with the sword, would at once cut through the fascination! In their zeal for the honour of the church they contend, that because these bulls were unjust, that they were therefore forged; as if popes, in their temporal capacities, were exempt from human depravities; and, as if acts of injustice exercised by them affected the religion, not the persons!

We have every reason to think them genuine. They were published, in the life-time of Alexander, by Cambrensis, who, though in most instances, a man as devoid of truth and candour as any that ever took up the pen, yet would not presume, on the present occasion, to publish a bull as Alexander's, if he was not well authorized so to do; and the authenticity of this confirms that of the other. Add to this, that the effects they produced on the present assembly, and, through their influence, on the nation, is a proof, not to be controverted, of their reality. How much it restrained the hands of the Irish, not only upon this, but upon future occasions, we may infer from the following remarkable words in a memorial from O'Neill, king of Ulster, presented in 1330, to John the twenty-second pope of Rome, in the

A.C. name of the Irish nation—" During the course of so many ages,
 " (3000 years) our sovereigns preserved the independency of their
 " country ; attacked more than once by foreign powers, they
 " wanted neither force nor courage to repel the bold invaders ;
 " but that which they dared to do against force, *they could not*
 " *against the simple decree of one of your predecessors.* Adrian,
 &c *.

The validity of these bulls I think cannot be doubted : it only remains to know how they were procured, and why bulls granted at such distances from each other, and for the same purpose, should appear at one and the same time? This investigation will be at the same time a refutation of the arguments offered against them. Adrian was by birth an Englishman, the spurious offspring of a priest ; deserted by his father, he repaired to Paris, and was there instructed in philosophy and divinity, by Marianus O'Gormon, professor of the seven liberal sciences (so he is styled), as he himself acknowledges †. In 1154, he was raised to the pontificate ; and some time after Henry II. was proclaimed king of England, he sent a formal embassy to congratulate the new pope on his elevation. This mark of attention in Henry, was highly pleasing to Adrian. A strict friendship arose between them, and this encouraged the young king, whose ambition was boundless, to request a grant of the kingdom of Ireland from the pope. It was a flattering circumstance to him as pontiff, as it was acknowledging the power assumed by the see of Rome, of disposing of kingdoms and empires. He by this means gratified the desire of aggrandizing his native country, added a fresh accession of wealth and power to Rome, and rendered a mighty prince one of her tributaries. Such were the reasons that prevailed on Adrian, to grant the kingdom of Ireland to

* Scots Chronicon, vol. iii. p. 908, &c.

† Grat. Luc. p. 164.

Henry. Whether he had a power to make this donation, and if he had, whether it was just so to do, were objects which never once employed his thoughts. That it lay concealed for sixteen years is granted, during which time every action of Henry's life shewed how little disposed he was to be thought a champion of the church, and of course what little reliance he had on the force of this bull. We have seen Mac Murchad apply to him in 1168, and it is affirmed, that he offered to hold the kingdom of Leinster under him, provided he assisted in re-establishing him on that throne. In 1171, Strongbow and his followers made a formal surrender of it to him, which he absolutely refused; but, say the panygerists of this prince, it was because that they had presumed to invade a country, which he intended to conquer! Was ever a more weak and ridiculous reason started? But if he not only rejected this offer of his own subjects in 1171, but even proscribed them; how account for his gladly accepting it in 1172, and receiving them back to grace and favour? Is it, that these gentlemen suppose their readers void of sense and reflection, when they presume to advance such absurdities; or that time gives a sanction to ill founded assertions?

The truth of the matter is: Ireland, though divided into factions, and, as we have seen, not governed by monarchs legally chosen for above a hundred and fifty years, yet still appeared formidable and respectable in the eyes of Europe. They revered the nation, who not only preserved her independency in the height of Roman despotism, but continued to break the shackles with which she fettered the rest of Europe; they admired her noble and successful efforts against the Danes, to the total expulsion of that people; and they could not forget that to the piety and learning of her sons, they were indebted for the revival of letters. It was not want of inclination but a dread of the power that was to oppose him, that made Henry so backward to engage in the cause

A.C. cause of Mac Murchad, and afterwards of Strongbow. But when he beheld this last, contrary to all expectations, by his valour, not only able to extricate himself from the dangers with which he was environed, but also to re-establish himself in his kingdom of Leinster, he became convinced that he counted more on the power of the Irish than he ought. The same reasons that made him for so many years a persecutor of the church and the clergy (INTEREST), now pointed out to him a contrary course. He had completed the rupture with Rome, by the murder of the famous Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, who fell by the hands of his assassins at the very altar, the 29th of December 1170. His name was execrated over all Europe; at Rome it was dangerous to mention it. He was to have been excommunicated there on Holy Thursday 1171, but that his deputies BOLDLY SWORE, that the murder of Thomas was without his participation, which suspended it for a time; but his territories on the continent remained under interdict, and the excommunication of the English bishops in full force; and yet at this time and under these difficulties, some have asserted that Alexander confirmed the donation of Adrian in consequence of a request from the Irish clergy*! Early in the year 1172, Henry repaired to England, to be nearer at hand to attend the affairs of Ireland, which now seemed to demand his more particular notice. Here he received advice, that the legates from Rome had arrived in Normandy to hear his defence, and in consequence of it, either to exculpate or excommunicate him for the murder of Thomas à Becket. How much this new apostle of Ireland regarded in his heart these anathema, may be collected from this answer to a couple of cardinals, who two years before his had threatened him with a similar compliment—"By the eyes of God (his

* Fleury Hist. Eccles. tom. xv. f. 323.

“ common oath, says he) I neither regard you or your excom-
 munications, any more than I do an egg !” But it was his
 present interest to be on good terms with the pope, as he hoped
 by getting his confirmation of Adrian’s bull of donation, to make
 the reduction of Ireland—now open to him—on easier terms.
 He therefore repaired to Normandy to meet the legates; but
 though he affected to despise the censures of the church, yet he
 seemed to pay greater regard to an oath than the reverend advo-
 cates he sent to Rome, who there swore in his name, (and as if
 by his directions, though it appears they had none from him),
 that he was innocent of the death of Thomas. The legates de-
 manded his own oath, as a confirmation of what they had deposed,
 and which was the condition on which the excommunication was
 delayed; but this he not only refused to comply with, but abruptly
 quitted the assembly. He had two years before this, declared, not
 only his contempt of Rome, but obliged his English subjects of all
 ages to renounce their obedience to her; and the legates did not
 wish to push him to greater extremities. They sent a message to
 Henry, by the bishops of Lizieux and Salisbury, and the arch-
 deacon of Poitiers, his particular confidents, by whom he was
 prevailed upon to give another meeting to the legates. Here he
 not only took the oath required of him, but freely subscribed to
 every article they thought fit to impose upon him, to the great
 astonishment of every body, but the few who were in the secret.
 I do suppose, (*and I think the event makes it certain*), that the
 real cause of this wonderful reformation, was, a promise, in case
 of his compliance, of having the bull of Adrian confirmed, but
 otherwise to have it reversed, and so unite all Ireland against him.
 —In the September following, four months after this agreement,
 Henry attended the council of Avranches, where he renewed all his
 oaths; and then, I take for granted, and there, he was presented
 with Alexander’s bull. For it is agreed on all hands, that the
 union

A.C.

1172

A.C. union between the pope and the king happened this year ; and it is also as certain, that it was the October following that he landed in Ireland ; and, in all appearance, it was the waiting for this bull, (which bore the date of 1172), that made his departure for that island so late in the season, from which he did not return till the spring of 1173. Thus, attending to dates and circumstances, renders all these affairs, so seemingly intricate and difficult, quite clear. It explains the reasons that made Henry so cautious of meddling in Irish affairs, till he found Strongbow firmly established there ; it accounts for the sudden alteration of his conduct to this nobleman, as well as to Alexander's legates ; and it at the same time removes all the objections of Irish writers, to the validity of this and the former bull ; for can any thing appear more absurd, than to suppose that Henry, under the sanction of Rome, would attempt to invade Ireland, whilst her thunder was ready to be launched against himself ? That he should conquer under her auspices abroad, whilst she was just ready to strip him of his own dominions at home ?

But, to every man of principle, the conduct of Alexander and of his ministers, viewed in the most favourable light, must appear hypocritical and abominable to the last degree ! Let us suppose him to have an absolute dominion over Ireland, and that the natives were the very people he has described them to be ; was Henry, a prince notoriously devoid of religion, a persecutor of the church and clergy, cruel and vindictive in his public character, and dissolute in private life ; was this prince, surrounded with satellites, a proper person to send, to reform the church and people of Ireland ? But, if Alexander and his predecessors had not the smallest shadow of right whatever, to the dominions of Ireland, as they most certainly had not ; and if the people were the very reverse of what he paints them, as they most assuredly were ; what can be offered in defence of the conduct of this *Father of the Christian world* ?

But

But to return to the council of Cashel, of whose acts I can trace no accounts, but such as are delivered by Cambrensis, who tells us, that, after accepting of the bulls, they proceeded to the re-formations so much wanted—"Which were to make them Christians in effect as well as in name, and which were to bring back their church from disorder and anarchy, to regular discipline."—This reform is reduced to eight articles; the first enjoins, that the people shall not marry with their close kindred. 2. The children shall be catechised outside the church-door, and infants baptized at the font. 3. The laity shall pay tithes. 4. The possessions of the church shall be free from temporal exactions. 5. The clergy to be exempt from Eric, or retribution, on account of murder, or other crimes committed by their relations. 6. Directs the manner of disposing by will of the effects of a dying man. 7. Enjoins burial to the dead. And the 8th directs, that divine service should be for the future performed in Ireland, in every particular according to the English church; "for it is meet and just, *says the immaculate Gerald*, that as Ireland hath by Providence received a lord and king from England, so she may receive from the same a better form of living! For to his royal grandeur are both the church and realm of Ireland indebted for whatever they have hitherto obtained, either of the benefit of peace, or the encrease of religion; since before his coming into Ireland, evils of various kinds had, from old times, gradually overspread the land, which by his power and goodness are now abolished."

Of these wonderful reformatations of Henry—"for the benefit of peace, and the encrease of religion," the reader will easily perceive, that the two first articles are merely for parade; as to the third, which enjoins tithes, I am to remark, that that so exact were the Irish in this article, from the days of St. Patrick, that they not only gave up chearfully to the church the tenth of their

A.C. corn and cattle, but even devoted the tenth child to the service of God! As to the fourth and fifth articles, which exonerate the church and clergy from temporal laws, we have seen them the first things agreed to in the council of Uisneach, sixty-one years before the convening of this council of Cashell! As to the sixth, or power of disposing of effects; the custom of making wills was practised in Ireland long before the introduction of Christianity, and was always continued; remarkable instances of which we have exhibited in both periods. As to the seventh article, which regards the burial of the dead, it was a solemnity in all ages, even to my own memory religiously attended to in Ireland. As in the days of Druidism, so in those of Christianity, people were set apart, whose duty it was, in a soft but melancholy tone, to recite the pedigree, virtuous actions, noble exploits, and liberal endowments of the deceased, in a species of verse called Caoine. The funeral was magnificent, and the attendants numerous; for all the family, friends, and connections of the deceased failed not to appear. From the whole it is evident, that whatever were the resolves of this council, or whatever reforms they made, could not be these recited by Cambrensis, these are certainly the product of his own fertile brain; for it must appear highly ridiculous, to behold a number of learned and grave divines, meet to form articles for church government, which had been long before agreed and subscribed to! But Gerald wanted some pretence to justify the bulls of Adrian and Alexander, and his master's usurpation. That the clergy assembled, accepted these bulls, is what I am ready to believe; and this is all that Henry wished or cared for. Cambrensis tells us, St. Gelasius, archbishop of Ardmagh, did not attend this meeting, being indisposed; but our own annals affirm, that at this time he convened an assembly of the clergy of Leth-Cuin, in which he presided under the auspices of Roderic, and probably (as Dr. Leland observes), in opposition

fiction to that of Henry. So that, upon the whole, it appears A C.
evident, that Henry did not acquire, at this time, the absolute
government of Ireland, as his flatterers have vainly asserted,
but the sovereignty of Leath-Mogha, or southern Ireland only.

I have, in Chapter VIII. of the preceding Book, given the
letter of O'Ruark to the monarch, complaining of, and demand-
ing justice for the violation of his wife—(the source of the pre-
sent revolution)—in the original Latin, with a translation; and
I shall close this chapter with the bulls of Adrian and Alexander
in their native Latin coverings. The difference in civilization
and in the cultivation of the fine arts between Rome and Ire-
land, at this time, cannot surely be exhibited in livelier colours
than by comparing the style, sentiment, and language, in the
letter of this Irish prince, with those in the bulls of these
pontiffs.

“ Adrianus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, charissimo in

“ Christo filio illustri Anglorum regi, salutem & aposto-

“ licam benedictionem.

“ Laudabiliter et satis fructuosè de glorioso nomine propa-
“ gando in terris, et eternæ felicitatis præmio cumulando in
“ cælis tua magnificentia cogitat, dum ad dilatandos ecclesiæ
“ terminos, ad declarandum indoctis, et rudibus populis Chris-
“ tianæ fidei veritatem et vitiorum plantaria de agro dominico
“ extirpanda, sicut catholicus princeps intendis, et ad id conve-
“ nientius exequendum, consilium apostolicæ sedis exigis, et
“ favorem, in quo facto quanto altiore consilio, et majori discre-
“ tione procedis, tanto in eo felicicrem progressum te (præ-
“ stante domino) confidimus habiturum, eo quod ad bonum
“ exitum semper et finem solent attingere, quæ de ardore fidei
“ et religionis amore principium acceperunt. Sane Hiberniam
“ et omnes insulas, qui sol justitiæ Christus illuxit, et quæ do-

A.C. “ cumenta fidei Christianæ ceperunt, ad jus beati Petri, et sacro
 “ sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ (quod tua etiam nobilitas recog-
 “ noscit) non est dubium pertinere, unde tanto in eis libentius
 “ plantationem fidelem, et germen gratum Dea inserimus,
 “ quanto id à nobis interno examine districtius prospicimus
 “ exigendum significasti quidem nobis (fili in Christo charissime)
 “ te Hiberniæ insulam, ad subdendum illum populum legi-
 “ bus, et vitiorum plantaria inde extirpanda, velle intrare, et
 “ de singulis domibus annuam unius denarii, beato Petro velle
 “ solvere pensionem, et jura ecclesiarum illius terræ illibata, et
 “ integra conservare: nos itaque pium et laudibile desiderium
 “ tuum cum favore congruo prosequentes, et petitioni tuæ
 “ benignum impendentes, assensum gratum et acceptum habe-
 “ mus, ut (pro dilatandis ecclesiæ terminis, pro vitiorum re-
 “ stringendo decursu, pro corrigendis moribus, et virtutibus
 “ inferendis, pro religionis Christianæ augmento) insulam illam
 “ ingrediaris et quæ ad honorem Dei, et salutem illius terræ
 “ spectaverint exequaris; et illius terræ populus honorificè te
 “ recipiat, et sicut dominum veneretur; jure nimirum ecclesi-
 “ arum illibato, et integro permanente, et salvâ beato Petro,
 “ et sacrosanctâ Romanâ ecclesiâ de singulis domibus annuâ
 “ unius denarii pensione. Si ergo quod concepisti animo,
 “ effectu duxeris prosequente complendum, stude gentem, illam
 “ bonis moribus informare; et agas (tam per te quam per illos
 “ quos ad hoc fide, verbo et vita idoneos esse perspexeris) ut
 “ coretur ibi ecclesia, plantetur et crescat fidei Christianæ
 “ religio, et ad honorem Dei et salutem pertinet animarum,
 “ per te aliter ordinentur ut a Deo sempiternæ mercedis cu-
 “ mulum consequi mercaris, et in terris gloriosum nomen
 “ valeas in sæculis obtinere. Datum Romæ, anno salutis 1156.”

“ Alexander

“ Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, charissimo in A.C.
 “ Christo filio, illustri Anglorum rege, salutem et aposto-
 “ licam benedictionem.

“ Quoniam ea quæ à prædecessoribus nostris rationabiliter in-
 “ dulta noscuntur, perpetuâ merentur stabilitate fir mari; venerabi-
 “ lis Adriani papæ vestigiis inhærentes, nostrique desiderii fructum
 “ attendentes concessionem ejusdem super Hibernici regni do-
 “ minio vobis indulto (salva beato Petro et sacro sanctæ Romanæ
 “ ecclesiæ, sicut in Angliâ sic etiam in Hiberniâ, de singulis
 “ domibus annua unius denarii pensione) ratam habemus, et
 “ confirmamus, quatenus *eliminatis terræ ipsius spurcitiis, bar-*
 “ *bara natio, quæ Christiano censetur nomine, vestrâ indulgentiâ*
 “ *morum induat venustatem, et redacta in formam hætenus in*
 “ *formi finium illorum ecclesiâ, gens ea per vos Christianæ profes-*
 “ *sionis nomen cum effectu de cetero consequatur.* Datum Romæ,
 “ an. sal. 1172.

C H A P. IV.

Henry acknowledged as sovereign of Leath-Mogha—Leth-Cuin still an independent kingdom—Henry neither conquered Ireland nor established a new code of laws there—some similarity between the Irish revolution in 1172, and the English one in 1688—English and Irish accounts of the peace at Windsor in 1175—proofs from both, that foreign laws were not attempted to be introduced—several proofs of the insincerity of early English writers—real force and extent of Poyning's famous restraining law—necessity of recurring to the ancient constitution in enquiries of this kind—extent of the English mode of legislation to the reign of James I.

HENRY II. by the public submissions of the princes of Munster, Leinster, Ossory, and the Deasies, through the influence of the Irish clergy, became sovereign of Leath-Mogha; still Roderic, and the province of Ulster, made no kind of advances towards an union with him. We are, however, told, that Henry sent Hugh de Lacy and William Fitz-Aldelm, as his ambassadors, to Roderic, who then lay encamped, with his army, on the banks of the Shannon, ready to oppose any attempts on his territories, that a peace was concluded on, and that Roderic did him homage by proxy, swore allegiance, and put hostages into his hands. There is not the least record of Irish history to countenance this assertion; and his conduct the next year (particularly in defeating Strongbow, and cutting off one thousand eight hundred of his best troops) and even until the peace solemnly made at Windsor in 1175, prove he made no such submission.

Though at the head of a royal army, and supported by Munster and Leinster, yet Henry made no hostile attempts whatever to extend his power over the other provinces of Ireland ! Still, by the modest Gerald, is he styled *conqueror of Ireland*, and in this he is followed by all subsequent writers ; but the candid reader will see with how little justice ! We are also told, that, with their submission, the Irish surrendered their laws and customs, and agreed to be governed by those of England.—But what has been left unsaid that falshood, malice, or ignorance could suggest ? — Were we to suppose the Irish destitute of any rational mode of legislation (as from the bulls of Adrian and Alexander might justly be inferred), such alteration might be necessary, and seemed a part of the conditions on which these bulls were granted ; but if a reverence for strict justice, and an amenableness to the laws, be proofs of sound legislation—as they surely are—then were their own modes of judicature founded upon principles of the strictest equity. The bad conduct of Henry himself, and of those he left behind him, could impress no advantageous ideas in them of the superior excellence of the English laws. So late as the days of Henry VIII. baron Finglas confesses *, “ That the English statutes, passed in
 “ Ireland, are not observed eight days after passing them ;
 “ whereas those laws and statutes, made by the Irish on their
 “ hills, they keep firm and stable, *without breaking through*
 “ *them for any favour or reward !*” Nay, so dissolute and immoral were the conduct of most of these strangers, that we find synods assembled in the Irish countries, and ordinances passed, to cut off every kind of connection with their English neighbours, lest their examples could corrupt the morals of the peo-

* Breviate of Ireland.

A.C. ple! Their rapacity, and want of principle, were so notorious, that they became reduced to an Irish proverb—

Nadin common re fear-galda: ma nir ni fairde dhuit.

Beidh choidhe ar tidh do mbeatta: common an fhir galda riot.

That is, “To form no connections with an Englishman, lest you sorely repent, for his friendship is fraud and deceit.”

There is not then in history a fact more certain, or better authenticated, than this—“*That the Irish received no laws whatever from Henry or from any of his successors kings of England, but were constantly governed by the ancient feudal laws of Ireland, till the reign of James I.*” And this, at once, puts the nature of Henry’s real power out of doubt. Through the influence of the Irish clergy, directed so by these bulls, the Irish of Leath-Mogha paid Henry the same homage they would to a natural sovereign. It was not as king of England, but as a chief of Ireland, they regarded him. As such he could not surely alter these established laws, which he was sworn to support and protect. He did not attempt to alter them, nor did any of his successors to the above time; and then, BY CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE AT LARGE, did the kingdom form for themselves a mode of government similar to that of England.

Certain it is, that Henry introduced the English form of government among his own followers, which was adopted by some and rejected by others, and finally confined to what was called the *Pale*, which did not comprehend the twentieth part of the kingdom. Not only the old, but the new Irish, adhered to the old constitution in every other part of the kingdom. To offer proofs of this would be idle, because the very laws passed from time to time, *in the little senates of the Pale*, sufficiently acknowledge this. That these ancient laws were founded upon the strictest equity, we may conclude from the characters given by

the first English judges (who went circuits into Irish counties) of the natives, Sir John Davis, attorney-general *, tells us, from his own knowlege, “ That there is no nation under the sun that “ love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish, or will “ rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be “ against themselves !” This honourable testimony was given immediately after a fifteen years bloody war, carried on with uncommon cruelty, by the troops of Elizabeth : and lord Coke, about this time, treating of the laws of Ireland, has the following remarkable words ; “ For I have been informed by many “ of them that have had judicial places there, and *partly of mine* “ *own knowlege*, that there is no nation of the Christian world “ that are greater lovers of justice than they are, which virtue “ must, of necessity, be accompanied by many others ! †”

How then can writers affirm that Henry made sheriffs and judges itinerant, with other ministers of justice and officers of state, according to the laws of England ? If he made them, nothing is more certain than that they were appointments unknown or unattended to by the Irish, not only during his reign but for four hundred years after ! The shortness of his time in Ireland is also regretted, as it thereby prevented him from completing the reforms he intended. We find, however, that his stay was near six months, during which time nothing remarkable happened, except the acknowledging of him as king of Leath-Mogha, and a fatal plague which followed soon after, by which thousands perished ! It is through assertions, vague and ill-founded as the above, unsupported by truth or historical facts, that English writers of later date, even to the present times, have constantly deemed Ireland a kingdom subordinate to Britain, and *even bound by her acts*, when Ireland is expressly men-

* History of Ireland.

† Coke's Institutes, chap. lxxvi.

A.C. tioned*. It is from the same muddy source affirmed, that the Irish solemnly swore, at the council of Lismore, held by Henry, to receive and obey the laws of England. Now nothing is more certain, than that no council was assembled at Lismore by this prince. The mistake arose from the bishop of Lismore's presiding as legate in the council of Cashel; and the assertion, from Cambrensis, telling us, *that at this council the Irish clergy agreed to have, for the future, the rites of their church in exact conformity with those of the British.*

There is something similar in the nature of this Irish revolution in 1172, and the English one in 1688. In both cases religion was made the pretence, and many of the clergy exerted themselves to bring about the changes that followed. Both princes were foreigners, and thought their PIOUS DISINTERESTED INTENTIONS not the worse for being supported by the sword. William, and some of his ministers, looked upon his possessing the crown of England to be by the right of conquest; nay, they boldly asserted it! Henry's ministers and panegyrists affirmed the same with respect to Ireland, and yet with infinitely less appearance of reason. The kingdom of England, *at once*, confessed the sovereignty of William; but half Ireland only acknowledged the power of Henry. William's terms were with the people at large, Henry's with the feudatory princes, who still preserved their power over their subjects. In 1175 peace was concluded between Roderic's ministers on the one side (to wit, Catholicus, archbishop of Tuam, St. Lawrence O'Toole, archbishop of Dublin, the abbot of St. Brandon, and doctor Laurence, chaplain and chancellor to the king of Conaught), and those of Henry on the the other at Windsor. The terms of this peace and concord, as delivered by British writers, prove that there was neither a con-

† Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 99, 100, &c.

quest or an alteration of the laws even pretended to by Henry or his ministers. The whole is comprised in four articles, by the preliminary to which, and by the peace itself, it will plainly appear to be a compact between two princes, without any terms or conditions for the subject whatever. It runs thus :

“ Hic est finis et concordia quæ facta fuit apud Windfore in
 “ octabis Sancti Michaelis, anno gratiæ 1175, inter dominum
 “ regem Angliæ Henricum II. et Rodericum regem Conaciæ, per
 “ Catholicum Tuamensem archiepiscopum, et abbatem C. Sancti
 “ Brandani, et Magistrum Laurentium cancellarium regis Co-
 “ naciæ.”

By the first article, on Roderic's agreeing to do homage to Henry—(which, if he did, it must be certainly by proxy)—and to pay him a certain tribute, he was to possess his kingdom of Conaught in as full and ample a manner as before Henry's entering that kingdom. By the second article Henry engages to support and defend the king of Conaught, in his territories, with all his force and power in Ireland, provided he pays to Henry every tenth merchantable hide through the kingdom. The third excepts from this condition all such domains as are possessed by Henry himself and by his barons; as Dublin with its liberties, Meath, with all its domains, in as full a manner as it was possessed by O'Mealsachlin, or those deriving under him; Wexford, with all Leinster; Waterford, with all its domain, as far as Dunganarvan, which, with its territory, is also to be excluded from this taxation. 4. Such Irish as fled from the lands, held by the English barons, may return in peace on paying the above tribute, or such other services as they were anciently accustomed to perform for their tenures, at the option of their lords: should they prove refractory, on complaint of such lords, Roderic was to compell them; and they were to supply Henry with hawks and hounds annually.

A.C. From the terms of this peace, as delivered by English writers, I think it is evident that Henry did not even pretend to impose English laws on the people, though the tenor of the bulls, on whose authority he gained his present footing in Ireland, seemed to require some alterations of this kind. On the contrary, this peace seemed no more than such ~~as~~ would pass between princes upon an equality, if we exclude the performing homage required of Roderic, which, for my own part, I am satisfied was neither done nor required of him. As to every thing else, Roderic agrees to pay a certain subsidy to Henry for supporting him against any adventitious enemies that may arise; and, in return, Roderic engages to defend and protect his barons and dependents in their new acquisitions. We do not find by this treaty that even these parts of Ireland, which acknowledged Henry for their sovereign, had the least idea of English tenure. Such of the people as fled from the tyranny of the new-comers, are required to re-occupy their lands according to the ancient modus. The distinction is, as clear and precise as possible, this: Henry, as sovereign of Leath-Mogha, engages to support and defend Roderic in the sovereignty of Leth-Cuin; and as this compact is of greater consequence to Roderic than to Henry, he agrees to pay to Henry, over and above the troops he may occasionally want, a certain subsidy such as we see happens every day between princes independent of each other. This will appear more evident from the Irish account of this transaction, simple, plain, and unadorned with turgid words; and which Gratianus Lucius delivers from our annals without the smallest hint at tribute or homage—"Catholicus O'Dubhthy
 " returned from England, with peace agreed to on these condi-
 " tions, with the king of England, that Roderic should be *king*
 " of the Irish—(probably this implied no command over the
 new

comers)—“ and that the provinces should be governed by their
 “ kings as usual, but subject to chiefry to Roderic.” This in
 effect is the same with the English account, but that no mention
 is made either of homage or tribute, and I do believe none were.
 We find English writers of these days so shamefully *tripping* on
 every other occasion, that we are justified in doubting them on
 this. Cambrensis has given us, as acts of the council of Cashell,
 articles agreed and subscribed to above half a century earlier, in
 the most ample manner, in the presence not only of the clergy,
 but of the monarch and provincial kings ; which is what cannot be
 said to this council of Cashell. Another explains the cause of the
 pretended canon of this council, relative to baptism, by affirming
 —“ That it was the custom in Ireland, that on the birth of a
 “ child, his father or any other person plunged him three times
 “ in water, but if rich, he was washed in milk, and these liquors
 “ after this ablution, were thrown into the sink ; to prevent which
 “ profanation, the council made this decree for baptizing in the
 “ church.” But who could suppose that this ablution of new-
 born infants implied the sacrament of baptism ? though it is
 affirmed by a reverend divine, Benedict abbot of Peterborough !
 Are not all new-born infants first washed and cleansed before
 they are dressed ? and yet it is thus, this profound theologian ex-
 plains the meaning of this imaginary canon of Gerald ! Bap-
 tism is acknowledged as a sacrament by all sects and denominations
 of Christians ; and yet a nation, whose piety, zeal, and learning
 were confessed by all Europe, a nation from whom the very an-
 cestors of these new reformers, received the doctrines of Christ, are
 declared ignorant of the first principles of Christianity ! Nor are
 their writers entitled to better credit, when they confidently tell us —
 “ That the Irish were not governed by written laws, but by tra-
 “ dition and barbarous customs !” They were always governed
 by written laws ; and a body of men in every age, from the re-
 motest

A.C. motest antiquity, even to the decline of the last century, were set apart for this study. Their books were numerous, and we have still preserved codes of laws, wrote before the Christian æra! Are the ignorance of these writers of such facts any extenuation of the crime of imposition on the public? With still greater confidence and certainty they affirm, that Henry introduced the English laws into Ireland, *which the Irish swore to observe*; that he established sheriffs in counties, judges, &c. If the authority of writers from age to age, from that epocha to this day, can add weight and certainty to these false assertions, nothing is clearer than that this new code of foreign laws was then agreed, subscribed, and sworn to by the Irish. But if notorious falsehoods of 600 years standing, are not less true this day than the day of their promulgation, it must necessarily follow, that the present assertions are entitled to no more credit now than when first published. Not only the old but the new Irish, (the Pale excepted) were governed by the ancient laws of the country, from the days of Henry, to those of James I. inclusive. Henry, if you will, made sheriffs, judges, &c. to govern Ireland after the English modus; and the popes at this day, consecrate bishops to dioceses, in which they have neither power nor subjects. In this light I shall have no objection to Henry's making sheriffs for every county in the kingdom, convening of parliaments, sending judges itinerant on circuit, &c. but that they assumed any acts of power out of the circuits of the Pale is what cannot be credited. Nor was it for a considerable time after his decease, that even in this district, the English laws were regularly adopted, and even after they were, there are not wanting evidences to prove, that the Irish within this Pale, might choose to embrace or reject them.

From these irrefragable facts it must follow, that the famous statute of Sir Edward Poyning, (giving to it the utmost force and power that its warmest advocates can wish), is a law which no
I
sophryist

sophistry can make to extend beyond the limits to which it was originally confined. Could the province of Munster, a considerable part of Leinster, and the entire provinces of Connaught and Ulster, become subject to a law they knew nothing of, never were consulted about, nor in the framing of which were ever represented? The laws of the Pale, from the days of Henry III. to more than a century after the death of Poyning, are acknowledged as full as words can make them, *to be acts binding this little district*, AND IT ONLY! With as much propriety and justice might it be pretended, in a century or two hence, that a law now passed in Genoa or Florence, is then to bind all Italy, as, that this law of Poyning should now bind all Ireland. But I have dilated so largely on this, in the third part of my Introduction to Irish history, and brought the proofs so home, that to it I must refer those, who wish to be more fully informed in this matter.

It was from an ignorance of the ancient history of Ireland, from want of proper enquiry into the nature of the revolution in 1172, and for want of knowledge of the force and extent of the English mode of legislation, from the time of its first introduction into a CORNER OF THE KINGDOM to its UNIVERSAL ACCEPTATION in the reign of James I. that made the writings that were published from time to time against this famous act, appear so extremely defective and nugatory. They began their enquiries where they should end them. Shamefully inattentive themselves to the ancient history of their country, and not disposed to encourage those whose genius and inclinations would naturally lead them to explore so untrodden a passage, and so long neglected a subject, they have taken for granted whatever early English writers have BOLDLY advanced on the subject, and by this means have left their country exposed to general contempt, and themselves unable to defend its cause! For, nothing is more certain than this; that all the effects attending the intrusion of Henry into the government

A.C. vernment of Ireland, *were, the total cessation of the monarchical power in the native princes.* The order of succession was broke in upon, in the person of Brien-Borumhe, and the custom of obtruding into the monarchy without a previous election began with his successor Malachie. This last rank, or something nearly approaching to it, was what Henry aspired to. From this time down to the accession of James I. the power of the provincial kings continued. Certain, it is, that during this period, the Irish of English extraction, extended their power and acquisitions, in the different provinces, by alliances, by intrigues, and by dint of the sword; but it was as Irish feodatory chiefs only, obeying no commands, or acknowledging no laws but the ancient ones of their country. All these facts are evident even in the reign of Elizabeth; and if there are some instances of particular chiefs surrendering their allodial tenures to this princess and to her father, is it not clear by the grants given again by them of these very tenures, that it was only altering the nature of them? In the first instance they held by the laws of their country, and were not liable to suffer loss of life or property, by any overtact against the power of England or the Pale. In the second, they became subjects, or more properly speaking, vassals to the crown of England, and thereby became amenable to her laws. I have examined many of these grants; some I have now before me; particularly one of my much esteemed friend Sir John O'Flaherty. His great ancestor Sir Murrough O'Flaherty, called in this patent Sir Murrough ni Doe O'Flaherty—agrees to surrender his title of O'Flaherty, and chiefry over certain districts; his right of presentation to livings, and all other his powers as a Taoiseach, or Irish chief, to queen Elizabeth, under certain conditions; and she, by her deputy Sir John Perrot, agrees to confirm him in his tenures, and most of his former powers, he acknowledging to hold them under
the

the crown. This charter of agreement was signed the 12th of January 1588, and in the thirtieth year of her reign. A.C.

C H A P. V.

Containing an alphabetical list of ancient Irish territories, and by what Milesian families possessed, both before and after the invasion of Henry II.

AGHNENURE, bordering on Lough-Corrib, in the county of Galway, the regal residence of the O'Flaherties, kings of Jar-Conaught; the extensive remains of which at this day, proclaiming its ancient state and magnificence. My esteemed friend Sir John O'Flaherty, is the present chief of this illustrious house.

Aharloe, in the county of Limeric, the estate of a branch of the O'Briens.

Aidhne, or Ibh-Fiacharch-Aidhne, in the county of Galway, the lordship of O'Heyne.

Aine-Cliach, in the county of Limeric, the lordship of O'Kirkwick.

Aos-Greine, extending from Cnoc-Greine, to near Limeric, was the patrimony of O'Connel, and Castle-Connel his chief residence.

Aradh-Cliach, in the county of Tipperary, near Killaloe, the estate of Mac O'Brien-Arad. Its first proprietor was O'Donnegan, of the Ernian race,

Ardach, in Carbury, in the county of Cork, the lordship of O'Flin, called O'Flinardah.

Ardah, east of Cashell, in the county of Tipperary, the lordship of O'Dea.

A.C. Ardes, in the county of Down, belonging to a branch of the O'Neills.

Ardmir, the lordship of O'Dogherty.

Areghaile, or Anally, in the county of Longford, the territory of O'Ferral, called also Conmhaichne.

Aron, in Carbury, the estate of O'Baire.

Bally-Hallinan, in the county of Limeric, the ancient estate of O'Hallinan; but in later times of the Mac Sheetries.

Bally-Shehan, in the county of Tipperary, possessed by a branch of the O'Briens.

Beara, in the county of Cork, now divided into the baronies of Beare and Bantry, possessed by the O'Sullivans and O'Driscols. The chief of the O'Sullivans, which is the present count of Beare-haven in Spain, was called O'Sullivan-Beare.

Breafal-Macha, in the county of Ardmagh, the estates of O'Donnegan, O'Lavargan, and O'Eidi.

Bregmuin, now called the barony of Braony, in West Meath, the territory of O'Braoin, or O'Byrne.

Breifne, comprehended a large tract of country, and was divided into East and West Breifne. East Breifne, or the present county of Cavan, was the principality of O'Reily. The present O'Reily, or chief of this illustrious sept, is captain-general of Andalusia, and inspector-general of the Spanish infantry.

West Breifne, comprehended the present county of Leitrim, and was the principality of O'Ruark. These territories were called Breifne-O'Riely, and Breifne-O'Ruark.

Brurigh, a royal mansion in the county of Limeric, the seat of O'Donovan, chief of Kenry.

Burrin, or eastern Corcamruadh, a barony in the county of Clare, the principality of O'Loghlin.

Cahir, in the county of Tipperary, the estate of O'Lonargan.

Carbre-

Cairbre-Aodhbha, now called Kenry, in the county of Limeric, the ancient estates of O'Donovan, O'Clereine, and O'Flanery. A.C.

Cairbreacha, called anciently Corca-Luidhe, stretching from Bantry to Crookhaven, and the river Kinmare, was the territory of the Ithian race, or Irish Brigantes. O'Driscol was the chief, and O'Baire, O'Cobhthig, O'Leary, O'Henegan, O'Flin, O'Fit-rilly, O'Dead, and O'Hea, &c. were feodatory lords of this district.

Callain, in the county of Clare, the territory of O'Hehir.

Callain, in the county of Kilkenny, the estate of O'Gloherny, and O'Ceally.

Carran-Fearaidhe, or Cnoc-Aine, in the county of Limeric, the estate of O'Grady. This ancient race continue still a numerous and respectable family in this county; and the present countess of Ilchester is daughter to Standish O'Grady, Esq. of Capercullan, than whom a more respectable character cannot any where be found.

Carrig a Foile, in the county of Kerry, the principality of O'Connor Kerry.

Ceil-Tanan, in the county of Clare, the estate of O'Mollony.

Cian-Cora, the royal seat of North Munster, on the borders of the Shannon.

Cianachta, in the county of Derry, the territory of O'Connor-Cianachta, and of O'Cahan.

Cineal-Amhailge, a large tract in Ulster, the patrimony of O'Millane and O'Murcha.

Cineal-Aodha, in the county of Galway, the territory of O'Shaghnessy.

Cineal-Aodha, in the county of Cork, the principality of O'Mahony.

Cineal-Conail, or Tyrconel, the principality of O'Donnell.

- A.C. Cineal-Enda, in Meath, the estate of O'Brennan.
- Cineal-Fearadeach, in Ulster, the lordship of O'Maol Patrick.
- Cineal-Fermaic, in Thomond, the estate of O'Dae.
- Cineal-Fiachra, county of West Meath, the principality of Mac-Geoghagan.
- Cineal-Luchain, in the county of Leitrim, the estate of Mac-Durchuighe, or Darae.
- Cineal-Mbinne, in Tyrconnel, belonging to a branch of the O'Donnells.
- Cineal-Mbracuidhe, in Tyrconnel, the estate of O'Brodie and O'Mulfavil.
- Cineal-Neanga, in ancient Oirgial, the estates of O'Goran, O'Linschan, and O'Breissan.
- Cineal-Neanga, in Meath, the country of Mac Ruark.
- Cineal-Neni, in the county of Tyrone, the estate of O'Neny.
- Cineal-Noangusa, in Meath, the territory of O'Heacha.
- Clan-Aodh-Buidhe, North, in the county of Antrim, held by the O'Neills.
- Clan-Aodh-Buidhe, or Clanaboy, South, in the county of Down possessed by a branch of the O'Neills.
- Clan-Breafail, in Conaught, the estate of O'Donnellan.
- Clan-Breassil, in the county of Ardmagh, the lordship of Mac Cahan, or Kane.
- Clan-Colman, in Meath, the principality of O'Malochlin.
- Clan-Derla, in the county of Clare, the ancient territory of Mac Mahon.
- Clan-Feargal, comprehended twenty-four town-lands, situated on the east of Loch-Corb, in which the city of Galway now stands, was the territory of O'Halloran, of the Hy-Brune race, and line of Heremon. Aileran, surnamed An Teagna, or the Wise, regent of the university of Clonard, in the seventh century, and one of

of St. Patrick's biographers, and St. Finbara, first bishop and founder of the cathedral of Cork, were of this sept; as also William Halloran, better known by the name of William Ocham, or Ogham, (on account of his profound knowlege in the ancient hierographic character of the Irish.) He was styled prince of the Nominals, taught in the university of Oxford, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and was the great opponent of the celebrated Scotus in that university. From the house of Clan-Feargal, is the present writer descended.

Clan-Malugra, or Glanmalier, part in the King's, and part in the Queen's county, the lordship of O'Dempsey.

Cleanagh, in the county of Clare, the property of Mac Mahon.

Cleir, or cape Clear, in Carbury, the mansion of O'Driscollmor.

Cluan Mac Diarmada, in the county of Clare, the estate of the Mac Clanchys, hereditary lords justices of Thomond.

Clin-Uadach, in Conaught, the estate of O'Fallon.

Coilte-Maibineacha, near Mitchel's-Town, in the county of Cork, the estate of a branch of the O'Caseys.

Conal-Gabhra, or Ibh-Conal-Gabhra, the present baronies of Connello, in the county of Limeric, the ancient territory of O'Connel; but afterwards we find it possessed by the O'Kinealies, and O'Cuileans, or Collins.

Conal-Murtheimhne, or the present county of Lowth, otherwise Machaire-Chonal, was so called from the renowned Conal-Cearnach, master of the knights of Ulster, a little before the incarnation. The Mac Gennises are the principal representatives of this illustrious house in Ulster.

Conmaicne, in the county of Leitrim, the patrimony of the Mac Ranells.

Con-

A.C.

Conmaicne-Cuile-Tola, or the barony of Kilmain, in the county Mayo, the lordship of O'Talcairn.

Conmaicne-Dunmore, in the county of Galway, the estate of O'Siodhlan.

Conmaicne-Mara, in the county of Galway, was the country of the O'Ceilies.

Conmaicne-Moiren, otherwise Analý, in the county of Longford, the territory of O'Ferral.

Conuil-Jachtarach, or lower Conella, in the county of Limeric, besides the O'Cinealies, and O'Collins, we find the O'Sheehans had lordships there.

Conuil-Uachtarach, or upper Conella, the lordship of Mac Ennerie.

Corafin, a territory in the county of Clare, the estate of O'Quin and O'Heffernan.

Coran, in the county of Sligoe, the estate of Mac Donough, of the Heremonian line.

Corca-Bhaifgin, now the barony of Moiarta, in the county of Clare, the ancient territory of O'Baifein and O'Donal, but for some centuries past the estate of the Mac Mahons of Thomond.

Corca-Duibhne, and Aobh-Rathach, in the west of Kerry, the lordships of O'Falvie, and O'Shea.

Corca-Eachlan, in the county of Roscommon, the estates of O'Hanly, and O'Brenan.

Corca-Luidhe. See Cairbreacha.

Corcamruadh, a principality in the county of Clare, the territory of O'Connor-Corcamruadh, of the Irian race.

Corcard, in the county of Longford, the estates of O'Mulfinny, O'Curgavan, O'Daly, O'Slaman, and O'Skully.

Corcraidhe, in the county of Meath, the estate of O'Higin.

Cof-

Cosmach, in the county of Limeric, belonging to a branch of the O'Briens. A.C.

Crioch-Cairbre, or Siol-Muireadha, the territory of O'Connor-Sligo.

Crioch-Cnobhadha, in Meath, the lordship of O'Dubhan, or O'Duan.

Crioch-Cualan, in the county of Wicklow, the property of O'Kelly of the Lagenian race.

Crioch-Cuire, or the country of Core, the ancient name of Burren and Corcamruadh in the county of Clare, so called from Core of the Irian line, who there ruled before the incarnation.

Crioch-Feidhlim, in the county of Wexford, the lordship of O'Murphy.

Crioch-na-Ceadach, in Meath, the partimony of O'Fallon.

Crioch-o-Mbairce, bordering on the King's County and county of Kildare, the ancient estate of Mac Gorman.

Crioch-ui-Maine, in the Queen's County, the estate of O'Cowley.

Cuallachda, in the county of Clare, the patrimony of O'Dubbgin, or Dugin.

Cuirene, a territory in West Meath, the lordship of O'Tolarg.

Culrelamhain, in Meath, the estate of O'Murray.

Dairbre, in the county of Kerry, the estate of O'Shea.

Dal-Araidhe, a considerable territory in Ulster, including almost the entire county of Down, and a considerable part of the county of Antrim. It was the territory of the Clana Ruighruidhe, or line of Ir, after the ruin of Emania, and so called from Fiacha Araidhe. The Magenises, O'Dunlevys, O'Loingfidhs, O'Mathgamhnaidhs or Smiths, Mac Cartans, Mac Bhairds or Wards, the O'Maol Creabhs or Ovaghs, &c. were the proprietors of this country.

A.C. Dal-Fiathach, so called from Fiathach-Finn, monarch of Ireland in the third century, was a territory bordering on Loch-erne, inhabited by the posterity of this prince.

Dal-Riada, a large territory in Ulster, in the possession of Cairbre Riada, who first formed an Irish colony in Scotland.

Darach, in Thomond, the patrimony of Mac Donnel, descended from Brian-Boírumhe.

Darinne. See Cairbreacha.

Dartraidhe, in the county of Roscommon, the country of O'Fin, Mac Flancha, and a branch of the O'Carrols.

Dartraidhe, in the county of Sligo, the estate of Mac Lanchy.

Dartraidhe, in the county of Monaghan, the principal seat of Mac Mahon, chief of that country.

Dealbhna, or Delvin. There were seven districts of this name, all originating from Luigh-Dealbha, who, at the head of his six sons and his forces, marched into Meath and Conaught, where he gained these possessions, which still go by the name of the Delvins.

Dealbhna-Beg, in Meath, was the territory of O'Maolchailin.

Dealbhna-Cual-Feabhar, in the same, and Dealbhna-Nuadhat, in the county of Roscommon, were also Fearan-Cloidhimh, or Sword-Lands, acquired by Dealbha and his posterity.

Dealbhna-Eathra, in the King's County, is still the lordship of O'Coghlin.

Dealbhna-Feadh, in the county of Galway, the estate of Mac Conroi.

Dealbhna-Mor, in Meath, was the lordship of O'Fenellan, who, being dispossessed in the decline of the twelfth century by Hugo de Lacy, it was granted to the Nugents, who were created lords of Delvin.

Dealbhna-Tan-Moi, in Meath, the patrimony of O'Scullly.

Deasmuinhain, Desmond, or South Munster, was principally inhabited by the Eoganachts, or posterity of Eoghain-More, by the Clana Ith, or Irish Brigantes, by some of the issue of Deagha, and some branches of the line of Ir.

Deisebh, or the Deisies, divided into North and South Deisies. O'Felan and O'Brie, of the Heremonian line, were chief princes of the Deisies, under whom were many subordinate lords.

Discart-ui-Deagha, in the county of Clare, the estate of O'Dae.

Domhnac-Mor-ui-Healuigh, in Muscry, in the county of Cork, the estate of O'Healy.

Dufferin, in the county of Down, a part of Mac Artin's country.

Duhallo, in the county of Cork, the estate of Mac Donough, a branch of the Mac Carthies.

Eile-ui-Chearabhail, in Ormond, or East Munster, the principality of O'Carrol.

Eile-ui-Fhogerta, in the county of Tipperary, the ancient territory of O'Fogerty. My worthy friend, Dr. O'Fogerty, the present representative of this great house, still possesses a respectable part of the domains of his ancestors.

Emhain-Macha, or Emania, near Ardmagh, the royal residence the kings of Ulster of the Irian race.

Eoganacht was a name given to principalities possessed by the immediate issue of Eoghan-Mor and his posterity: as,

Eoganacht-Aine-Cliach, in the county of Limeric, the lordship of O'Kerwic.

Eoganacht-Cashel, extended from Cashell to Clonmel; its principal chief was Mac Carthy, head of the Eugenic line.

Eoganacht-Gleanamhain, in the county of Cork, was the Lordship of O'Keefe.

A.C. Eoganacht-Locha-Lein, or Killarney, in the county of Kerry, was the lordship of O'Donoghoe, and part of this territory is still possessed by that princely race.

Eoganacht-Graffan, in the county of Tipperary, the lordship of O'Sullivan; and their principal seat was at Cnoc Graffan on the banks of the Shure.

Eoganacht-Raith-Lean, in the county of Cork, was the territory O'Mahony Fionn.

Faith-ui-Halluran, extending from Tulla to near Clare in Thomond, the estate of O'Halloran of the Heberean race.

Fanait, in the county of Tyrconnel, the patrimony of a branch of the Mac Sweenies.

Fearan-Saingil, called Single-Land, but more properly the Land of the Holy Angel, near Limeric, the ancient estate of the O'Conuins or Cuncens.

Fearcail, in Meath, the principality of O'Molloy.

Fearmoighe, in the county of Antrim, the estates of O'Ciaran and O'Tierny.

Fearmoighe-Fene, in the county of Cork, the ancient territory of O'Dugan and O'Cosraig, but encroached upon in the ninth century by their too powerful neighbour O'Keeffe; they, in their turn, were dispossessed by the Roches, who were afterwards created viscounts of Fermoy.

Feartullach, in the county of Meath, the estate of O'Dooley.

Fermanagh county, the lordship of Macguire.

Fionn-Ruis, in Tyrconnel, the estates of O'Foranan and O'Carnahan.

Fogharta, in Leinster, the country of the O'Nualans.

Gabhbran, or Goran, in the county of Kilkenny, the estates of O'Shillilan and O'Gudhthin, or Getin.

Gallinga-Beg, a district in Meath, the estate of O'Heneffy.

Gallinga-Mor, now the barony of Galen, the lordship of A.C. O'Hara.

I find mention made in the *Leabhar-Lecan*, and other MSS, of many other Gallingas, but cannot ascertain their ancient proprietors. All these territories were so called from Cormoc Gallengach, great grandson to Olliol Olom, by whom they were conquered in the third century.

Glan-Omra, in the county of Cork, the ancient patrimony of the Mac Auliffs.

Gleanamhain, O'Keeffe's country. See *Eoganacht Gleanamhain*.

Glean-Fleisg, in the county of Kerry, the lordship of O'Donoghoe-Glean-Fleisg.

Glean-Malier, in the county of Kildare, the lordship of O'Dempsey.

Gort-Innse-Guare, in the county of Galway, the mansion of O'Shagnassie.

Graffan, or Cnoc-Graffan, in the county of Tipperary, one of the royal palaces of Munster in early days, afterwards the particular mansion of O'Sullivan.

Ibh-Bruin, the name of many ancient territories in Connaught, so called as being inhabited by the posterity of Brian, son of Eocha-Moivone, monarch of Ireland in the fourth century, as other territories there got the name of Ibh-Fiacharach, as being possessed by the issue of his brother Fiachara.

Ibh-Cinselach, in the county of Wexford, the ancient principality of Mac Murcha, or O'Cavenagh, king of Leinster: in later periods they were transplanted to the barony of Idrone in the county of Carlow. The present O'Cavenagh resides at Borafs in said county.

Ibh-Cinselach, in the county of Wexford, the seat of O'Kin-felagh.

A.C. Ibh-Diarmada, in Conaught, the estate of O'Concanan.

Ibh-Eachach, in the county of Cork, the property of the O' Mahonys.

Ibh-Failge, a very ancient territory, stretching into the county of Kildare and into a part of the King and Queen's county, was the principality of Rosa-Failge, eldest son to Cathoir-Mor, monarch of Ireland in the second century. His particular mansion was in the county of Kildare, and from him is it yet called the Barony of Offaly. The representative of this princely race was O'Connor Failge, or Faly. O'Dempsey and O'Dun, &c. were lords in this country. The present count O'Falia, captain-general of the coast of Grenada, in Spain, is, I take it for granted, the chief of this first branch of the royal line of Leinster.

Ibh-Fiarach, in the county of Galway, included the the territories of O'Heyne and O'Shagnaffy.

Ibh-Fiarach, now called Tuam-ui-Mheara, in the county of Tipperary, the lordship of O'Mara. The present chief of that ancient house is not inferior to any of his ancestors in hospitality and the social virtues.

Ibh-Kerin, or Ikerin, in Upper Ormond, the O'Meaghirs country.

Ibh-Laoghaire, in the county of Cork, O'Leary's country.

Ibh-Laoghaire, in Meath, the estate of O'Cindealvin, or Cindellan.

Ibh-Liathan, now called Barrymore, in the county of Cork, the country of O'Lehan or O'Line.

Ibh-Mac-Cuille, or Imokilly, in the county of Cork, formerly possessed by the O'Ceilies, O'Mastre, O'Glaffin, O'Ciaran, and O'Bregan.

Ibh-Maile, in the county of Mayo, O'Mailly's country.

Ibh-

Ibh-Maine, in the county of Galway, and part of the county of Roscommon, the country of O'Kelly and his subordinates. O'Kelly was hereditary treasurer of Conaught. A C.

Ibh-Maoile, in the county of Wicklow, the O'Tooles country.

Ibh-Oneach, a large territory in the county of Roscommon, the principalities of O'Connor-Don and O'Connor-Roe, the lineal descendants of Roderic O'Connor last monarch of Ireland, and which great families still subsist, and have preserved some remnants of the extensive domains of their ancestors.

Ibh-Neill-Deisgeart, or Southern O'Neills, comprehended all Meath and the adjoining places, which were bequeathed by the will of Niall the Grand to four of his sons, and in this name is included all the branches of his family there residing.

Ibh-Neill-Tuasgeart, or Northern O'Neill, included Tyrone, Tyrconnel, and all those other territories bestowed by the above monarch on the rest of his children, and in this name is comprehended the posterity of this prince in the North.

Ibh-Regan, in the Queen's County, the lordship of O'Regan, but since possessed by the O'Duns.

Ibh-Seratha, in the county of Kerry, the territory of O'Falvie, hereditary admiral of South Munster.

Ibh-Tuirtre, in Meath, the patrimony of the O'Donnellans.

Inis-Eoghain, in the county of Donegal, the lordship of O'Doherty.

Irris-Domhain, in the county of Mayo, the great house of the Conaught knights of the Damnonian or Danaan race.

Iveach, in the county of Down, the lordship of the Magenises.

Laoiseach, in the Queen's County, the Lordship of O'Moora, or More: O'Moore, of Ballyna, in the county of Kildare, is the chief of this great house.

Loch-Lein, or Killarney, the lordship of O'Donoghoe.

Luin-Con, in the West of Carbury, the territory of O'Driscoll-Oge.

Magh-

A.C. Magh-Breagha, now called Fingal, near Dublin. Who were its ancient proprietors I cannot learn. The Danes very early made a solid settlement there; and from them the Irish gave it the name of Fingal, or the country of the White Strangers.

Magh-Cullin, in the county of Galway, O'Flaherty's country.

Magh-Druchtan, in the Queen's County, belonging to a branch of the O'Kellys.

Magh-Gaibhle, in the county of Kildare, possessed by a branch of the O'Ceilies.

Magh-Ithe, in the county of Derry, the country of the O'Boyles, O'Maolbriassals, the O'Quins, and O'Cannies.

Magh-Leamhna, in the county of Antrim, the estate of the Mac Lanes, or Maclins, O'Commings, &c.

Magh-Liffe, the plains of Dublin, the ancient territory of the O'Cullins, the O'Brachanes, and other tribes.

Magh-Lurg, in the county of Roscommon, the Mac Dermots country. Mac Dermot was hereditary marshal of Connaught; and the present chief of this princely line is Mac Dermot, of Coolavin, in the county of Sligo.

Magh-Muirtheimhne, in the county of Lowth, famous for the defeat and death of Cucullin, captain of the Ulster knights, before the incarnation.

Maon-Maigh, now called Clanrichard, in the county of Galway, the ancient patrimony of the O'Mulallies or Lallys, and of the O'Nachtans.

Monaghan county, the principality of Mac Mahon.

Muiceadha, in the county of Limeric, the lordship of Mac Enery. The remains of a large monastery, and other public buildings, at Castle-Town-Mac-Enery, yet bespeak the piety and splendor of this family, of which there are scarce any remains at this day.

Muin-

Muintir-Gilgain, the estate of O'Quin, in the county of Longford. A.C.

Muintir-Tir-Conlachta (I suppose the present Tuam-Gréine) in the county of Clare, the ancient lordship of O'Grada, or O'Grady.

Muiscriidhe-na-tri-Magh, now the half barony of Orrery, in the county of Cork, the country of the O'Cuillenans and O'Donegans.

Muiscriidh-Jarrar-Feimhin, near Emly, in the county of Tipperary, the estate of O'Carthy.

Muiscriidh-Luachra, near Kilmalloe, in the county of Limerick, the estate of O'Hea.

Muiscriidh-Miotane, in the county of Cork, the territories of O'Flain and O'Maolfavil.

Muiscriidh-Tire, the ancient name of Lower Ormond, the early property of the O'Donegans of the Ernan race; since then possessed by Mac O'Brien of Arradh, O'Kennedy, O'Donnellan, &c.

Murtha-Imhanachan, an ancient territory in Conaught, the lordship of O'Beirne.

Nas, or Nas-Laighean, (so called, as being the place of meeting of the estates of Leinster, now the Naas, in the county of Kildare) the residence of the Mac Murroughs, or O'Cavenaghs.

Oghbhadh, in the county of Meath, the estate of a branch of the O'Heas.

Orgial, comprehended the present counties of Lowth, Armagh, and Monaghan, conquered by the three Collas, in the beginning of the fourth century.

Ormond, or East Munster, the principality of O'Carrol.

Offruidhe,

A.C. Offruidhe, or Offory, now in Leinster, was the principality of Fitz-Patrick, O'Carrol, O'Delany, O'Doncha, O'Niachal, or Nihil, and many other ancient septs.

Ouen-*ui*-Clearna, now Six-Mile-Bridge, in the county of Clare, the estate of O'Kearney.

Pobul *ui*-Brien, now a barony in the county of Limeric, the country of a branch of the O'Brien family.

Pobul-*ui*-Ceallachan, is the name of a territory in the county of Cork, extending from Mallow westward, on both sides the Black-Water, the ancient principality of O'Ceallachan. The family were transplanted to Ceil-Chorney, in the county of Clare, by Cromwell, which estate is still preserved entire.

Pobul-*ui*-Healuighe, in Muskry, in the county of Cork, the patrimony of the O'Healies.

Raffan, the seat of O'Sullivan. See Graffan.

Rath-Conan, in the county of Limeric, the estate of O'Casey. The present Speaker of the House of Commons, and representative for the city of Limeric, enjoys a part of this estate, in right of his great grand-mother, the heiress of O'Casey.

Rinilough, in the county of Wicklow, possessed by a branch of the O'Byrnes.

Rinn-Mhuintir-Bhaire, an head-land in Carbury, the ancient residence of the O'Baires.

Roule. See Dal-Riada.

Sathni, in Meath, the estate of O'Casey.

Silan-Machadh, the O'Maddins country, in the county of Galway.

Siol-Murrey, near Sligoe, O'Connor-Sligoe's country.

Sliabh-Scot, in the county of Clare, the estate of the Mac Bruodin's hereditary historians of North Munster.

Tanaiste,

Tanaiste, signifies the next in command, and presumptive heir to a principality or lordship.

Teabhtha, or Taaffel, an extensive territory in Meath, the principality of Maine, fourth son of Niall the Grand, whose descendants were the O'Sheenachs or Foxes, Mac Anlys, O Braoins, O'Quins, O'Dalies, O'Caharn or Kerin, O'Murrigan, O'Haga, &c.

Tir-Amhalgaid, in the county of Mayo, O'Hara's country.

Tir-Connel, in Ulster, the principality of O'Donnel.

Tirone, the principality of O'Neill.

Tirtuathal, the estate of Mac Manus.

Traidair, or Tradraighe, now a barony in the county of Clare, before the incarnation the residence of the Clana-Deagha, or Munster knights, from Daire, the son of Deagha, so called, and which words import *the warriors of Daire*. From this Daire, came the word Ridire, or Ridare, to signify a knight, from Righ, or Ri, the fore-arm, to which the name Daire was annexed. They were dispossessed of this territory in the third century by Cormoc-Cas, king of Leath-Mogha. It became by succession the property of Luigh-Lucius, or more properly Louis, called Dealbha, the son of Cas, the son of Conall Eachluath, in the fourth century, which he resigned to his daughter Aoife, and to her posterity; whilst he, at the head of his six sons, and a select body of troops marched into Leinster, where he acquired large possessions, which from him were called the Dealbhnas, some of which are continued in his posterity to this day. My honoured friend Sir Lucius O'Brien, is the present chief of Tradaire.

Triocho cead-an-Chala, the estate of O'Ceadfa, or Coffie.

Triocho cead-o-Claifin, the barony of Tulla, in the county of Clare, the estate of Mac Namara, hereditary lord marshal of Thomond. The present representative of this noble house, is a member of the Irish Parliament.

Triocho-cead-Cladhac, in Fermanagh, the estate of the Mac Kennas.

Tuam-ui-Mhara, in the county of Tipperary, the lordship of O'Mara.

Tuath-Muimhain, North Munster, or Thomond, extended from the isles of Aran to Sliabh-Eibhline, near Cashell, to Carran-Fearaidh, or Cnoc-Aine, in the county of Limeric; and from Luin na-Con, or Loops-Head, to Sliabh-Dala, in Ossory; but in later ages it was circumscribed to the present county of Clare, of which the O'Briens are hereditary princes. The present earl of Inchiquin, is chief of this branch of the royal line of Heber, eldest son to Milesius, Mile-Espaine, or the Hero of Spain.

Tuatha-da-Danann, the Damnonii, or fourth colony of Irish.

Tulachog, in Ulster, the estate of O'Hagan, and O'Gormleys.

Tullichrien, in the county of Clare, the estate of O'Gorman. My esteemed friend the Chevalier O'Gorman, is chief of this ancient house.

Tullallaithne, in the county of Tipperary, the estate of O'Ryan, or O'Mul-Ryan.

Turtra, in Oirgial, possessed by the O'Donnellans, O'Flins, and O'Heires.

Uaithne, in the county of Limeric, the estate of O'Dinnahan, or Dinan.

Ulla, now the county of Down, the principality of Magennis.

Ulladh, the province of Ulster, so called from the great Ollamh-Fodhla.

C H A P. VI.

Objections to the authenticity of Milesian pedigrees answered—ALL descended from three sons of Milesius, and from his uncle Ith—different septs of the same name—names of the Eoganachts, of the line of Heber—the Ithian race—Deguids of Munster and Irians—the issue of Cormoc and Cian, of the line of Heber—the race of Ir—the Heremonians of Leinster, and the other septs established there—the families of Meath—Hi-Bruins and Hi-Fiacres of Conaught—families of Ulster, of the Collas, &c.

THE ancient Egyptians were ALL deemed noble, and so were the ancient Irish, and certainly with the greatest justice, both deriving their origins from the purest fountains. But it may be objected to the Milesian Irish, that they all trace their genealogies to royal blood, which as it appears (viewed in the most favourable light), a little paradoxical, it requires to be adverted to.

Certain it is, that on the Milesians first landing in Ireland, the country was thickly inhabited, and that all their own soldiers and men at arms, could not possibly be from the same stock with them, any more than the original natives. All this is granted, and yet, it will not in the least invalidate these truth of this genealogies. The duty of the hereditary antiquarians, poets, and historians, from the earliest antiquity, even to the decline of the last century, was to transmit from age to age, with the greatest precision and perspicuity, the genealogies, the exploits, and the possessions of the

different families of the kingdom, from the royal stock of Milesius, and these only. If any branches of these families went to decay, or were no longer able to support their rank in the state, the genealogists and historians ceased pursuing them. No further account was given of them, as if they had left no issue; so that such natives and foreigners as suppose from our genealogies, that the entire kingdom were the issue of the sons of Milesius, are not at all justified in their suppositions by the history of the country.

The monarchs and provincial kings were elected from certain families of the blood royal, who had preserved power and possessions sufficient to support and justify their claims. The collateral branches of these families, applied to the profession of arms, to the church, or to the study of different branches of the sciences, which were all deemed noble. The genealogies of all these were most carefully preserved, and of course it will naturally explain and clearly justify the claims of all the Milesian families, in tracing their ancestry to Milesius, to Gathelus, and to Phœnius—thus Donatus bishop of Eiesoli, near Florence, in his poem on Ireland, of one thousand one hundred years standing, treats the matter in hand :

“ In quâ Scotorum gentes habitare merentur :

“ *Inclyta gens hominum !*”

Of all the sons of Milesius, as well natural, as those born in wedlock, the issue of three only are preserved in our annals, with those of his uncle Ith, who are called the Clana-Breogan, or Brigantes. These three sons of Milesius are Heber, his first begotten, born in Egypt; Ir, and Heremon, whose mother was Scota, daughter to the king of Egypt. The line of Heber begins with the three sons of Oilioll-Ollum, namely, Eogan-Mor, Cormac-Cas, and Cian. The posterity of the two first are from these ancestors

distin-

distinguished into Eoganachts, and Dal-Gas. About the middle of the tenth century, surnames became first introduced into Munster, and in the beginning of the next age, became adopted all over the kingdom. But when surnames came into general use, care was taken that they should not be arbitrarily assumed. Every family was to add to his Christian name, the name of some particular ancestor, renowned for his superior bravery, virtue, or sanctity. To this was to be prefixed the words O, or Mac, which signified the son or issue of that person. To illustrate this by a few instances, the O'Briens were so called, as being the descendants of the renowned Brien-Boirumhe; the O'Neills, from Niall, the hero of the Nine Hostages; O'Ceallachans, from Ceallachan-Cashell; the O'Sullivans, from a renowned ancestor so called, and so of the other names *. The surname with the adjunct O, or Mac, was what was assumed by the chief of each name. He was saluted or addressed by no other title. O'Brien, Mac Carthy, or O'Niall, imported the chief of Thomond, of Desmond, or Tyrone. To the branches the Christian name was added. It was the custom adopted from the earliest times; it is the mode observed by well-bred men at this day!

But though I have noticed, that the surnames of Milesian families were taken from some remarkable ancestor; yet it is necessary to observe, that gentlemen of the same name are by no means to be taken as if descended from the same stock and blood; and this remark will at the same time prove the extreme care and accuracy of our ancient genealogists. For instance, though O'Connor is a general name through the kingdom, and was formerly infinitely more so, yet we are not to suppose that they are all from the same root. The different septs of the O'Connors of Conaught, as O'Connor-Don, O'Connor-Roe, O'Connor-Sligoe, &c. are

* Introduction to Irish History, p. 188.

of the same stock, being all descended from Brien, eldest son to Eochaidh, monarch of Ireland in the fourth century. O'Connor-Fali, chief of the O'Connors of Leinster, is descended from Rossa-Failge, or Fali, eldest son to Cathoir the Grand, monarch of Ireland in the second century. The O'Connors of Ulster, are of the house of Heber, and sprung from Cian, son to Oilliol, king of Munster, in said century; and the O'Connors of Kerry, and all South Munster, as well as those of Corcomruadh and Thomond, are of the royal line of Ir; the Mac Mahons and Mac Donnels of Ulster and Thomond, are of different septs, and so are the O'Carrols. The same remark will hold good, with respect to many other great names; yet the names of O'Brien, Mac Namara, O'Grady, and others of North Munster, as well as the *entire stock* of the Eoganachts of South Munster, wherever dispersed, are of the same blood.

The posterity of Eogan-Mor, eldest son of Oilliol, of the line of Heber, (the ancient inhabitants of Desmond), are, first Mac Carthy-Mor, or the Great, with the different branches of that name, proceeding from this great source. The O'Sullivans, O'Ceallachans, O'Keefes, O'Donoghoes, O'Mahonies, O'Donovans, O'Connells, Mac Killecuddy, O'Kerwics, O'Riarden, Mac Finighins or Fannins, O'Fogherty, Mac Auliffs, O'Finigin, O'Moriarty, O'Houregan, O'Cuillane or Collins, O'Hehir, O'Mechan, Mac Elligod, O'Davoran, Mac Arteri or Arthur, O'Lechan or Line, O'Treasagha or Tracy, O'Ledeem, O'Garvan, Ma Crath, O'Kinealy, O'Clerein, O'Flanery, O'Anamachda, O'Daly: the ancient Stuarts of Lenox and Man in Scotland, and their posterity are of the race of Heber. O'Crowley-Lugha, son of Ith, uncle to Milesius, had settlements assigned to him and to his followers, in the present county of Cork, immediately after the reduction of Ireland, and which from this prince were called Corca-Luighe. From him are descended, first, O'Driscol-Mor, with

with the different branches of his name, and from these O'Leary, O'Cobhthig, O'Baire, O'Flin, O'Hinegan, O'Hea, O'Dead, O'Fin, Mac Crochan, Mac Amalgad, O'Kearnan, O'Cormac, Mac Crath, O'Dooly, O'Enrichty, O'Rothlan or Rowland, O'Sungin, O'Kerwic, O'Fineen, O'Hallinan, with the twenty-seven bishops of Ross, and many saints. The dukes of Argyle, hereditary lords justices of Scotland, with all the Campbells of that county, the Mac Allens and other noble septs of North Britain, are the issue of Mac Con, of the line of Ith, and monarch of Ireland in the commencement of the third century. It is to be noticed, that the people of Corca-Luighe, and indeed the most parts of Munster, were Christians, long before the arrival of St. Patrick.

About a century before Christ, Munster received a new colony in the Clana-Deagha, called sometimes Deguids, from this Deagha, as also Ernains of Munster, from their first settlement about Loch-Erne, in the North. They were the issue of the monarch Aongus III. (See vol. i. p. 168) of the line of Heremon; and from this house proceeded some kings of Munster Eidersgoil, Conaire I. and Conaire II. monarchs of Ireland, with the royal line of Scotland, from Fergus to his present majesty. This family were the restorers of military discipline, and of the equestrian order of Munster. Of this great house, the following families in Munster are descended O'Falvie, O'Shea, O'Connel, O'Cuillenan, O'Donnegan, O'Flin, chief of Muiscridh, Miotane, O'Maolfavil, O'Cronacan, O'Samplin, (probably Suple, an ancient family in Kerry), O'Mael-Ceallig, O'Conaire, O'Fithilly, O'Cuire, O'Lochin, O'Conuing, O'Corcoran, O'Cineth, O'Robartaig, O'Fergus, and O'Buchan. The O'Dwyers, O'Brenans, and O'Ryans, of the line of Heremon, became also denizens of Munster, as did the O'Felans, descended from Fiacha-Suidhe,

Suidhe, O'Scanlan, O'Camoge, O'Heneffy, O'Eagan, &c. of this race.

Besides these, Ciar, one of the three sons of Fergus, grandson to Ruighridhe the Great, of the line of Ir, monarch of Ireland, gained possessions in Kerry, from him so called. From him are descended, first, O'Connor-Kerry, chief of this branch of the Irian line; and from him sprung the O'Dugains, O'Conway, O'Cathil, which are the chief Milesian families in South Munster.

Thomond, or North Munster, was the inheritance of Cormac-Cas, reserving the principality of Ormond, or East Munster, to his brother Cian; but the sovereignty was confined to the houses of Eogan and Cormac only.

From Cormac are descended, first, O'Brien, chief of Thomond, Mac Mahon, lord of Corca-Bhaifgin, Mac Namara, marshal of Thomond. Mac Clancy, hereditary chief-justice, Mac Bruodin, hereditary historian, O'Hickey, and O'Nolan, the hereditary medical tribe, Mac Curtins, hereditary bards, &c. Besides these hereditary officers, the following noble families are derived from this great source: O'Dea, O'Hehir, O'Quin, Mac Ennery, O'Grady, O'Heffernan, O'Kennedy, O'Hogan, O'Sheehan, O'Neachtan, O'Hea, O'Hurly, O'Mollowny, O'Bolan, O'Casie, O'Hanraghan, O'Spelan, O'Coghlin, O'Tuamy, O'Lonargan, O'Ceallachan, O'Ahern, Ma Crath, O'Shanahan, O'Healy, O'Morroney, O'Mara, O'Henrighta, O'Loinfigh or Linch, O'Seafnan or Sexton, O'Honcen, O'Cormocan, O'Riady, O'Halloran, O'Cashin, O'Mulequiny, O'Heaphy, O'Hartigan, O'Gioll-Iosachta or Lysaghts, Mac Donnel, O'Confadin, O'Regan, Arturagin or Arthur, O'Kearny, O'Coning or Cuncen, O'Liddy, O'Hinnigan, Mac Conry, O'Brody, O'Conglach, O'Minane, O'Marchahan, O'Duhig, O'Nunan, O'Collopy.

From Cian, third son of Oilliol, are sprung, first, O'Carrol, prince of Eile, and chief of Ormond; O'Meaghir, O'Riardan, O'Corcran,

O'Corcran, Mac Keogh, O'Flanagan, O'Dulhonty, a branch of the O'Casies, O'Connor Cianachta, O'Hara, O'Gary, &c. To these septs we are to add the posterity of Core, brother to Ciar, of the royal line of Ir, who acquired a large territory in Thomond, before the incarnation, from him called Corcamruadh, East and West, now the baronies of Corcamruadh and Burren. The ancient chief of Corcamruadh of this line, was O'Connor; and of Burren was O'Loghlin, from whom O'Brock, O'Casie, O'Turny, Mac Anister or Nestor, O'Marchahan, and O'Tyn, are descended. Corca-Bhaifgin, was the principality of Cairbre-Bhaifgin, of the posterity of Conaire the Grand, and Ernain race. This territory, bordering on the Shannon, in the county of Clare, though confined, yet was powerful in commerce, in riches, and inhabitants. No less than six saints are recorded to have proceeded from this house, among whom was the great St. Senanus, founder of the churches of Inis-Catha or Scattery, on the Shannon, as well as of the anchorite tower, yet standing, in which he finished his days; yet all the records that remain of this house are, that O'Baifcin and O'Donnel were its chief representatives in later days! The O'Gormans, of the Lagenian race, have long flourished in Thomond.

The house of Ir, by right of seniority, demands the second place, though the Heremonians were undoubtedly the most powerful. From Ruighridhe, the grand monarch of Ireland, before the Incarnation, they are generally called Clana-Ruighridhe. We have seen the dominions of this great house reduced to very confined limits, after the destruction of Emania, by the three Collas, and of consequence their posterity not over numerous: yet, at this day, some of them make a distinguished figure. The chief representative of this house is Mac Gennis or Mac Aengus, as is O'Moora of the Craobh-Ruadh, (though, I think, more properly Crobh-Ruadh, or of the Red or Bloody

A.C Hand) or hereditary knights of Ulster of the Irian line. From these the Mac Gabhnions or Smiths, O'Garveys, O'Dunlevy, O'Heochagan, O'Lavery, O'Loinfy, O'Hanby, O'Neachach, Mac Cartin, O'Morna, O'Curry, O'Coltrain, Mac Gillarivig, Mac-an-Bhaird or Ward, O'Lawler, Mac Gilligan, O'Marchahan, O'Tierny, O'Conway, O'Casie, O'Brofnahan, O'Harri-gan, O'Hullachan, O'Duan, O'Maning, Mac Gilmer, O'Kenny, O'Carrolan, O'Ketherny, O'Scanlan, the O'Connors of Kerry and Thomond, O'Loghlin, the O'Ferrals of Anally, the Mac Rannels, &c.

The other Milesians of Leinster, Ulster, and Conaught, are mostly of the line of Heremon, but so early separated from each other, that they may be regarded as different houses. The line of Leinster begins with Joughaine, the great monarch of Ireland, some centuries before Christ, whose royal residence was at Rath-Joughaine, now called Jiggin's-Town, near the Naas, the ancient capital of Leinster, and from his two sons. Loaghaire (Leary) from whom Dun-Leary, near Dublin, was the source of the Milesians of Leinster; as was his brother Cobh-Thaig, of those of the rest of Leth-Cuin. I find O'Baiscin, O'Dwyer, O'Ryan, O'Garchin, Fitz-Patrick, and O'Brenan, to carry their pedigrees higher than Cathoir-Mor, from whom the other great families claim their descents. This prince Cathoir had thirty sons, ten of which left issue. From Rossa-Failge, his eldest, proceeded, first, O'Connor Faly, O'Dun, O'Dempsey, O'Regan, O'Colgan, O'Mulchiaran, O'Bearra, O'Harti, O'Cullin, O'Allilan, O'Fin, O'Maine, O'Flaherty, O'Dondon, O'Foranan, O'Henessy, O'Ullachan, O'Dugan, and O'Murrigin. From Daire, his second son, sprung O'Mooney, O'Gorman, O'Melan, O'Feall, O'Brenan, O'Mallone, O'Minchan, O'Manning, O'Comain, O'Guban, and O'Follachty. From Criomthan, the people of a district in Leinster, whose names I know not, were called.

called. From Breassal-Enachlas, the fourth son, sprung O'Dicolo, O'Feardig, O'Cuning, O'Eogan, O'Cruchta, &c. From Eochaidh-Timine, came O'Hanragan, O'Birne, and O'Coplig, &c. From Olioll-Cetach, sixth son, the O'Fallons of Crioch-Cetach, O'Cronan, and O'Cathill, &c. are descended. From Fergus-Luscan came the O'Loscans, O'Colman, O'Ena, O'Sinig, O'Lallain, O'Duban, O'Nowlan, O'Tily, O'Ciarmac, O'Geran, O'Cillin, &c. Deremasach gave rise to the O'Deremasachs, O'Cuanda, O'Uica, &c. The issue of Aongus is thrown into that of Rossa, by whom he was supported; but from the loins of Fiacha, the youngest son, sprung most of the succeeding kings of Leinster. The chief representative of this house is Mac Murrough or O'Cavenagh, O'Murphy, O'Byrne, O'Toole, O'Maol-Ryan, O'Cinselagh, O'Dowling, O'Maoldun or Mullin, O'Duffy. Besides these, Leinster received into its bosom the issue of other states: for, in the reign of Feidhlim, the legislator, the Mamonians had over-run all Leinster. In this distress Cuchorb applied to Eochaid-Fionn, the son of Feidhlim, who, with his preceptor Laoigheasach, of the line of Ir, marched into Leinster at the head of twenty-one thousand men, and cleared the country of these invaders. To reward these auxiliaries Cuchorb bestowed on Eocha the Fothards in Leinster, from a surname of his so called; and on Laoigheasach, the country after him known by the name of Leis, or the present Queen's County. From Eochaidh are descended the O'Maoltollas, O'Mingan, O'Lochin, O'Cainoge, O'Comain, O'Luineachs, O'Meathus, O'Dermod, O'Meragin, &c. From Laoigheasach came O'Moorra, O'Brocain, O'Cormac, the Clan Flanagan, Clan Eilge, &c. Ossory, though placed in Leinster, was always tributary to Munster, and sometimes deemed a part of it. It was governed by its own princes of the line of Heremon, and Fitz-Patrick was its chief. From him proceeded O'Delany, O'Niachol, O'Carin, O'Fenan, &c.

A.C. &c. Besides these, the O'Coghlin's and O'Fenellans, &c. of the line of Heber, and the O'Ferrals and Mac Rannels of the Irian race, acquired considerable lordships in Leinster.

Meath, formed into a fifth province by Tuathal, in the second century, for the better support of the monarchy, and which was called, "*The mensal territory of the monarchs of Ireland*," comprehended the present counties of East and West Meath, the counties of Kildare and Dublin, with other adjoining territories. The posterity of Cobhthaigh became here a numerous and powerful race. We may judge of their consequence by Eochaidh-Fionn, brother to the monarch Con, being able to raise twenty-one thousand fighting men to assist the Lagenians, though himself but a prince in Meath, and possessed of but a small territory. But how great and popular soever they were, the present race of Meathians draw their pedigrees from the four sons of Niall the Grand, settled here in the fourth century, but who were lineally descended from the same stock. The names of these four sons were, 1. Loaghaire, 2. Conall-Criomthan, 3. Fiacha, and 4. Maine. The posterity of these princes were distinguished from the issue of their brethren settled in Ulster, by the name of the Southern Hi-Nialls, Clan Colman, &c. From the eldest of these sons, the country called Ibh-Laoghaire, took its name. His chief representative was O'Cindealbhinn or Kendellan: O'Cuan or Quan, O'Conrich, O'Tuchar, O'Licane, O'Fallon, O'Leochal, &c. are from this branch. From Conall Criomthan are the O'Maloghlin, or Mealsachlins, kings of Meath; on the arrival of the English O'Dooly, O'Flanagan, with their dependents, whose names I cannot trace. The issue of Fiacha are, O'Molloy prince of Fearcale, Mac Geoghegan, Mac Cullin, O'Higgin, Mac Ruark, O'Folarg, &c. The posterity of Maine are, O'Sheenach or Fox, Mac Awly, O'Daly, O'Brien, O'Quin, O'Hagan, O'Ronan, O'Donnellan, O'Medog, O'Cithernig, O'Cathlin or Callin, O'Mulconry,

conry, O'Fagan, O'Murray, O'Madegan, O'Dignan, O'Cerin, A.C.
O'Celachan, O'Sligan, O'Shiel, O'Mulciaran, &c. Besides
these, O'Kelly, O'Comgallach, O'Rury, O'Mulcahill, Mac
Connin, Mac Carrigan, O'Scully, O'Curry, Mac Gilla-Comog,
O'Donog, O'Murchertach, were dynasts of this country, of the
Heremonian line.

The Conaught race of Milesians, of the royal house of Here-
mon, claim their pedigree from the same source with those of
Meath, through Muiredhach, called Tireach, or the Patriot,
the son of Fiachadh, the son of Cairbre, the son of Cormac, &c.
This Muiredhach was king of Conaught before he succeeded
his father in the monarchy, and was succeeded by his son Eocha.
When this last became monarch, he left his domains in Con-
aught to his four sons by his first wife. Of these two only left
issue, Brian and Fiachra. From Brian his descendants are ge-
nerally called Hi-Bruin, and those of his brother Hi-Fiacre.
From Brian sprung first, O'Connor-Don, with the different
branches of this name, O'Reily, O'Ruark, O'Flaherty, Mac
Dermod, Mac Donough, O'Halloran, O'Maily, O'Flanagan,
O'Flin, O'Hanly, Mac Manus, Mac Brady, O'Fallon, Mac
Kernan, O'Donellan, O'Garvey, O'Byrne, O'Mallone, O'Mael-
Brenan, O'Mullally or Lally, O'Creane, O'Galvey or Gall-
way, Mac Tigernan or Ternan, Mac Brenan, Mac Teige,
O'Crowley, O'Concanon, O'Finnegan, O'Murry, O'Callinan,
O'Line, O'Fin, O'Cnamhin or Neven, O'Canavan, O'Domh-
lin or Doolin, O'Bresslin, Mac Aodh or Hugh, Mac Eagan,
O'Mahidy, O'Currin, O'Maolmorra, O'Carthy, O'Moran, O'
Cahan, O'Maony, O'Finachty, Mac Dorchev or Darcey, Mac
Clancy, O'Hea, O'Cearnachin, O'Dearmady, O'Gorman, O'
Mitrigan, Mac Shanally. From Fiachra are descended O'Heyne,
prince of Ibh-Fiachra Acidhne, O'Shagnessy, O'Dowd, O'Kil-
kelly, O'Cearig, O'Clery, O'Cemog, O'Caffy, O'Crocan, O'
Fahy,

A.C. Fahy, O'Keady, O'Comain, &c. The O'Haras, O'Gara, Mac Conry, with their dependants, of the line of Heber, formerly had, and still possess large domains in Conaught, besides many great septs of the Danaan race.

The northern line of Heremon are the offspring of Eogan and Conal-Gulban, sons of Niall the Grand; and of the three Collas of the same blood.

From Eogan are descended O'Neill, with the different branches of his name, always kings of Tyrone, and sometimes monarchs of Ireland. Even in the reign of Elizabeth, O'Neill was obeyed as monarch, by his own faction, in every part of the kingdom. From O'Neill proceeded the Mac Sweneys, O'Gormly, O'Cahan or Kane, O'Heafy, O'Craibh or Creagh, O'Mulligan called Molineux, O'Mulvihill, Mac Loughlin, O'Donnolly, O'Cathvil or Cauldfield, Mac Kilkelly, O'Duan, O'Horan, Mac Gnaire, O'Hegarty, O'Dubhderma, O'Dunegan, Mac Rury, O'Kelly, O'Maol-Breassal, O'Hamilly, O'Murcha, O'Maol-Fogarty, O'Daly. From Conall-Gulban, whose successors were kings of Tyrconnel, and sometimes monarchs, are sprung, first, O'Donnel, chief of this great house; and from him O'Dogherty, O'Gallachar, O'Buidhil or Boyle, Clan Dala, O'Hea, O'Maolmony, Mac Lonshechan, O'Mulligin, O'Brelan, O'Kearnachan, O'Dalachan, &c.

Fiacha, monarch of Ireland, in the decline of the third, and beginning of the fourth century, had a brother called Eochaid-Doimhlin. This Eochaidh had three sons, famous in our history by the names of the three Collas. Whilst Muireadhach, son to Fiacha, led an army into Munster, the Collas avail themselves of his absence, attack their uncle, whose troops they defeat, and he himself is left on the plains among the dead. Hereupon the eldest Colla succeeds, but the usurper is defeated, and the brothers flee to Scotland. In time they are received into favour,

vour, and a body of men is given to them, with which they invade Ulster, and conquer a large territory, which, from them, is called Oirgiall, comprehending the present countries of Lowth, Ardmagh, and Monaghan. Here their posterity remained, and many of them yet retain a part of their ancient domains.

A.C.

From Colla-Hnais, or the noble, are descended the present earl of Antrim, and all the Mac Donnels of Scotland and Ireland, the Mac Dougals or Doyles, the Mac Rories, lords of the Hebrides, Mac Cartan, O'Daire, O'Geran, Mac Solliv or Sally, Clan Cerin, &c.

From Colla-Mean I find the O'Cearuibhils or O'Carrols, sometimes called kings of Oirgial, are descended, as also the Mac Sheekies, Clan Duncha, &c. From Colla-da-Crioch are sprung the Mac Mahons, princes of Monaghan, Mac Guire, chief of Fermanagh, Mac Manus, O'Hanlon, O'Nolan, Mac Connel, Mac Cineth or Mac Kenzie, O'Flanagan, O'Rudagan, O'Lorcan, O'Danbig, Mac Naghtin, Mac Cormoc, O'Davin, Mac Felan, &c. besides the O'Kellies, O'Maddins, Mac Eagan, &c. of Conaught. O'Henrighty, O'Behellan, O'Cosgrive, O'Garvey, O'Lonagan, O'Coltrain, O'Hamby, and O'Morna, are reckoned up by O'Dugan as chiefs of Oirgial.

Of the Dal-Fiatachs of Ulster I can give no account, and very little of the Dalriada.

From these, and many other families now extinct, are the ancient and (by the maternal line) *almost all the modern Irish, through the kingdom, descended.* United thus in blood, and having, in fact, but one common interest (the good of their country) to pursue, is it not astonishing that the least disunion should subsist among them? What would become of Britain, at this day, were the remains of the ancient Britons, the Saxons, Danes, Normans, Flemings, and Dutch, to regard themselves as distinct colonies, interested only in the prosperity of their particu-

lar

A.C. lar septs? What would be the state of France, Spain, Germany, and, in short, of the whole continent of Europe, were they to act on principles so contracted, so impolitical, so subversive of public good? To affirm that the History of Ireland, from the time that Henry II. was proclaimed king of Leath-Mogha, to this day, is not a continuation of the past, would be as absurd as to say, that the History of England, since the Revolution, has no kind of relation to antecedent facts! I have laboured, with unremitting zeal, to lay before my countrymen the history of their ancestors, from the most remote antiquity, to that period. I have neither exaggerated their virtues nor glossed over their vices. The Irish, of modern days, have now an opportunity of renewing their acquaintance with their great—their long neglected ancestors—and I am persuaded, that neither they, nor their country, will be the worse for this information.

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