SEAL OF ODONIS OR HUGH O'NEILL,
King of Ulster, 1344 to 1364.—"Odonis O'Neill Regis
Hybernicorum Ultonie."

Frontispiece, Part II.

The O'Reills of Ulster

By

Thames Matthews

THE IRISH CENTRAL LIBRARY FOR STUDENTS
DUBLIN

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PART II.

THE

O'NEILL KINGS OF ULSTER

AND

PRINCES OF TYRONE AND CLANNABOY

FROM A.D. 1166 TO 1519.

ERRATA.

Page 156, line 6, *for* what it was worth, *read* all it was worth.

—— 199, line 9, *for* townlands, *read* parish.

—— ,, line 16, *after* with, *insert* the Granges of.

—— ,, *for* Malusk, *read* Molusk, *and for* Carmoney, *read* Carnmoney.

—— 206, line 14 *for* is a misprint, *read* is probably a misprint.

—— 367, line 20, Shane's Castle was never restored.

THE IRISH CENTRAL LIBRARY FOR STUDENTS
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THE O'NEILLS OF ULSTER.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

HUGH O'NEILL, KING OF ULSTER, SURNAMED "THE LAZY."—THE ENGLISH INVASION, A.D. 1166 TO 1196.

AFTER Murkertac's death, the Cinel had some difficulty in deciding between the claims of his son, Nial, and Hugh O'Neill.

Hugh, who by his activity in putting forward the claims of his family, earned for himself the sobriquet of an Macaemh Toinleasc, or, by antiphrasis, the Lazy Youth, was still the popular candidate for the Chieftainship; and between him and Nial, who had now acted as heir to his father for some time, the Cinel were divided.

At this juncture Rory O'Conor, who had gained the sovereignty after Murkertac's defeat, came a-hosting into the territory, when, according to the *Annals of Ulster*: "The Cinel Eoghan collected a fighting force around Nial Mac Loughlin to deliver

a camp attack upon the men of Ireland. Howbeit, God prevented that through the blessing of Patrick, and through the felicity of Rory O'Conor, and of the men of Ireland likewise ; for the Cinel Eoghan closed around a sallow brake that appeared like the opposing forces, so that each of them proceeded to slaughter the other, but persons were not killed."

Rory then proceeded to pillage and burn Tir Eoghan, until, seeing the futility of further resistance, Hugh and Nial delivered their hostages ; and thus was Rory the acknowledged King of all Ireland ; for no monarch or pretender since the days of Brian had ever taken hostages of the Northern Hy Nials.

From O'Neill he received his foster-brothers, O'Maelaedha of the Cinel Aengus tribe, in the barony of Clogher, and O'h-Urthuile (*a*), one of the Hy Tuirtre. From O'Loughlin he received O'Kane of Keenaght, and Maenghal O'Brain, or O'Birn, of the Muintir or Clan Birn, whose territory adjoined the Barony of Trough, Co. Monaghan.

It was then agreed that Cinel Eoghan should be divided between the two, Nial taking that portion of territory north of the mountain of Callain, now Slieve Gallion, in the south-east of Londonderry, west of Magherafelt ; the rest falling to Hugh, that is, roughly speaking, the present Co. Tyrone, with parts of the adjoining counties.

This arrangement does not appear to have worked smoothly, as, in 1169, it is recorded in the *Annals of*

Ulster, that Conor, brother of Nial, assumed the Lordship, from which it would appear that Hugh and Nial resigned in his favour.

Conor fell in the following year in the suburbs of Armagh, in a quarrel with Hugh M'Canna the Little and the Ui Caracain, a sept seated in the parish of Killyman, diocese of Armagh. On this, the tributary chiefs of Tyrconnell and Ulidia—Flaherty, O'Maldorey, and Magnus Mac Dunlevy—who never failed to take advantage of the death of a prince of Ulster to throw off their allegiance, invaded the territory, the former wasting Inishowen with fire and sword, and the latter plundering Coleraine, where a party of the Cinel Owen, under Conor O'Cahan, gave him battle and slew twenty of his men.

Order, however, was again restored when Hugh O'Neill was installed in Conor's place, and received the submission of his neighbours.

In 1171 he appears to have despatched a force to the assistance of Rory O'Conor, who was engaged in the siege of Dublin, where he was soon after so disastrously defeated.

Strongbow, at the head of 600 men, marched unobserved to where the Ulidians were encamped at Finglas, about three miles outside the city, and took them completely by surprise. Before the onset of the heavily armed horse they broke in confusion, which spread and scattered the besiegers, Rory, himself, who was bathing at the time, barely escaping.

In the camp of the Ultonians, Maurice Regan, King Dermod's secretary, tells us, "a store of baggage was gotten and such quantities of corn, meal, and pork as was sufficient to victual the city for a whole year."

The Ultonian and other princes present, breaking up their camps, marched home; and so ended the siege of Dublin.

Some months later Henry II. came to Ireland, and encamped in the city during the winter of 1171. Here he is said to have received, either personally or by deputy, the submission of all the Irish princes except O'Neill of Ulster, who, alone, stood out, as the *Book of Howth* says: "The King of Ulster came not to the King," though even Roderick himself did, and a few years later (1175), by the treaty of Windsor acknowledged Henry as his Lord Superior for all Ireland—except the territory held by the English, afterwards called the Pale, and which included the Danish cities of Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, and Limerick, east Meath and part of Leinster—just as William the Lion acknowledged him as Lord Superior for Scotland, or as Henry himself acknowledged the French king as his Lord Superior for Normandy, Acquitaine, and Anjou.

When O'Neill refused submission in 1171, Henry adopted the usual Norman policy as practised towards Wales (*b*). He made a "grant" of all the lands he could conquer in Ulster to one of his

courtiers, John De Courcy, to hold as a palatine fief; or, in other words, he issued letters of marque authorising him to rob, plunder, and steal whatever he could, and to hold as of right whatever he could steal.[1]

Hugh, however, unlike his successors of the McLoughlin sept, could afford to despise Henry and his army—not to speak of De Courcy, by whom he was never troubled—on his own ground, with a united Ulster at his back; which is not saying so much, when we remember that his own son, Hugh Duff, half a century later, successfully opposed 24 battalions of the English at Dundalk, under one of the great generals of his day; or when we read of Richard II., with the largest army ever brought into Ireland, failing to subdue the septs of Wexford and Carlow, and barely escaping by sea after great suffering.

On these and such like occasions, however, unity was the mainspring of success; and in Ulster Hugh and his predecessors achieved this mainly by the strong hand. To the Cinel Conal, Oriellans, or Ulidians unity could have meant little else than subjection to the princes of Cinel Eoghan, whose every weakness, as we have all along seen, and shall see, was taken advantage of to secure their downfall, which was well nigh accomplished in this century under Hugh's successors of the M'Loughlin sept.

[1] *Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church.*

Hugh kept his subjects well together ; and, in 1174, with the princes of Cinel Conal, Oriel, and Ulidia, he marched into Meath, where he joined King Rory in an attack on the English settlements, which according to Regan, were wasted with fire and sword up to the walls of Dublin. On this occasion Regan, the author of the Anglo-Norman poem (*c*) on the English invasion, writes :

" De Kineloyin, O'Nel li Reis,
Od sei menad tri mil Yrreis,"

which has been translated :

" Of Kinel Owen, O'Neill, the King,
With him 3,000 men did bring."

This was Rory's last and only successful effort, which he followed up by dismissing his forces and retiring to his own province, where in the end he was obliged to relinquish all claims to the sovereignty. In later times, owing to family feuds, the sovereignty of the province passed from his sept (*d*), now represented by O'Conor Don, when the Cinel Conal princes extended their sway over Lower Connaught.

For centuries after this, the O'Neill princes maintained their right to the High-kingship, which they surrendered to Edward Bruce by letters patent in 1315, as Donal, greatson of Hugh, tells Pope John. The Annalists, recognising this, nearly always give them their title of Roydamna, or heir presumptive

to the throne of Ireland. A writer in the State Papers (Carew MSS.) for 1560 says : "O'Neill is the chiefest of the Irishry, and, therefore, ought, for the most part, to be King of Ireland."

In 1176, Hugh's former rival, Nial, having been slain by the Dal Buine—whose territory was coextensive with the district of Kilultagh, south-east of Lough Neagh—his brother, Malachy MacLoghlin, took his place as chief of his sept, and signalized his accession by invading Meath and taking the castle of Slane by assault, when the garrison, under Richard Fleming, one of De Lacy's followers, was put to the sword. This created such a panic among the English of those parts, that on the same day they abandoned Trim, Kells, and Derrypatrick.

The Cinel Owen were duly impressed, and flocked to Malachy's standard ; and Hugh, deserted by most of his men, was obliged to submit to the inevitable, and to resign to his more fortunate kinsman his kingship, in attempting to gain which, in the following year, he was slain by Malachy and his son, Ardgal. In the *Four Masters* this is recorded : "A.D. 1177, Hugh O'Neill, popularly called An Macaemh Toinleasc, who had been for some time Lord of Cinel Owen and heir presumptive to the throne of Ireland, was slain by Melaghlin O'Loughlin and Ardgal O'Loughlin ; but Ardgal himself fell on the spot by O'Neill." In the *Annals of Ulster* it is stated that Ardgal was Malachy's son.

Hugh left two sons, namely, Hugh, surnamed Duff, or the Black, progenitor of the princes of Clannaboy ; and Nial Roe (Ruadh), or the Red, from whom sprang the Earls of Tyrone, who are sometimes, without any authority, made the seniors.

The eldest son, Hugh, in addition to his surname of the Black, is also called Hugh Meith, *i.e.*, the Fat, or, perhaps, from the place of his fosterage, Hugh of Meith, a territory in Oriel, partly in Louth and partly in Monaghan, adjoining Cremourne, the patrimony of the M'Mahons.

This territory, in 1158, as appears from the Charter of Newry, was ruled by Murchad, or Murrough, son of Donough O'Carrol. Murrough appears to have been succeeded by O'Hainbfheith, O'Hannifey, or Hanvey, Hugh Toinleasc's cavalry commander, and, doubtless, his son's foster father, whose death is recorded in the *Annals of Ulster* : "A.D. 1170. Diarmit O'Hainbfheith, King of Ui Meath and leader of the horse host of the King of Aileach was slain."

The "horse host" (marc shluagh) was the name given to the small bodies of horse-soldiers maintained by the Irish princes. These warriors, Spenser (*View of the State of Ireland*) tells us, rode with a brass bit, without stirrups, and whirled their spears round their heads as they galloped along. Another old writer—Campion—says that "when they have no staie of their owne, they gad and range from house

to house, like arrant Knights of the Round Table, and they never dismount till they ride into the hall and as farre as the table."

Each horseman had one or two spare horses with an attendant. Dymmoke, an English writer, says in his treatise written in 1600 and printed by the Irish Arch. Soc., that "the horsemen are armed with headpieces, shirts of mayle or jacks, a sword, a skeyne (skian, a short sword or knife), and a spear; and they ride upon paddes or pillows, without stirrups, and in this differ from us: that in joyning with the enemy they beare not their staves or lances under arme, and so put it to rest, but, taking it by the middle, beare it above the arme, and so encounter."

"Every horseman," he says, "has two or three horses, and to every horse a knave; his horse of service is alwaies led spare, and his knave that carryeth his harness and spear rideth upon the other, or else upon a hackney."

These "knaves" or attendants were called *gilas* or *dalteens*, and in the English records are styled "horseboys." They were armed only with a dart or javelin.

Dymmoke says that "some will have the Dallans, or horseboys, to be a fourth sort (of warrior), for that they take them into the fight." They were very serviceable in the camp, he adds, for feeding and dressing the horses and doing sundry odd jobs.

In the 16th century, according to Camden and the *State Papers*, the Prince of Cinel Owen maintained a standing army of 700 foot and 200 horse. In addition to this, "he was able to levy of his own followers 1,000 horse and 4,000 foot." Altogether, the Ulster princes, according to the old reckoning, could muster 24,500 men (*See* p. 192, Part I).

Neither horse nor foot at this time wore armour; for, though acquainted with its use, they considered it burdensome, "deeming it brave and honourable," says Giraldus, "to fight without it." This lost them many a battle; for they could make no impression on the English, whose horse and foot were encased in armour. The men-at-arms were wholly encased in armour, with their horses, and were simply moving fortresses to the Irish, who could only reach them by jumping up behind on their horses. They became in time expert at this; and Sir John Froissart, the French chronicler, who came to Ireland with Richard II. in the 14th century, says that "a man-at-arms, beying ever so well horsed and ron as fast as he can, the Yrishman will ron afote as fast as he can, and overtake him. Yea, and leap up upon his horse behynd him and draw him from his horse."

After the 12th century, the Irish equipped their heavy infantry in the English fashion. They were called gallowglasses, and Dymmoke says they were "picked and selected men, of great and mightie bodies, crewel without compassion. The greatest

force in battle consisteth in them, chosing rather to die than yield, so that when it cometh to handy blows they are quickly slain or win the field. They are armed with a shirt of mayle, a skull (helmet) and skeyne. The weapon they most use is a battle-axe or halbert, six foot long, the blade whereof is somewhat like a shoemaker's knife, and without pike, the stroke whereof is deadly where it lighteth. And being thus armed, there is reckoned to him a man for his harness bearer and a boy to carry his provisions." Eighty gallowglasses, he says, make a "battel" or battalion. A battalion and a half of these warriors formed the bodyguard of The O'Neill in the 16th century, according to the *Four Masters*.

The leader of the gallowglasses was a chief of the M'Donnells of Argyll and the Isles, who, in virtue of his office, held the castle and lands of Cnoc-an-chluiche, *i.e.*, the Hill of the Games, now Knock-naclogha, near Pomeroy, in Tyrone. He was likewise Constable of the territory.

The light infantry were called kernes. They fought in their saffron shirts, and were armed with javelins or darts, short swords (skians), slings and arrows. Every two were accompanied into the field by an attendant, who carried their arms, and during an engagement held their mantles. They were defended by a round shield or target of painted leather. Dymmoke says that their darts, which

were cast with a wonderful facility, were more noisome to horsemen than deadly.

In Ulster, according to Spenser, the shields were of wicker-work covered with hide, and they sometimes were large enough to cover the whole body. There were smaller shields, round and made of yew or bronze. A specimen of the yew shield is to be seen in the Dublin Museum, also an ornamented bronze, pictured in Joyce's *Soc. Hist.*

The shields of the nobles were ornamented with devices or figures, the design on each being a sort of cognizance of the owner. At the Feis of Tara, Keating says, the princes and chiefs sat under their own shields, which were distinguished by their different devices (*see* Chap. XV.).

Dr. Joyce thinks the designs generally consisted of concentric circles, often ornamented with circular rows of projecting studs or bosses, and variously shaped and coloured for the different shields. Nature furnished many designs in the way of birds, beasts, fishes, trees, etc. Some of these devices must have been, in a way, hereditary, like the "Red Hand of O'Neill," which, according to all accounts, was the cognizance of the Ulster Kings from the earliest times.

English writers speak highly of the Irish warriors, whom they greatly admired for their many soldierly qualities, and acknowledged as superior to the English, by whom they were so often worsted.

However, the difference of arms, the superiority of the English, accustomed to continental wars, in planning and conducting a campaign; their knowledge in the construction of fortifications and carrying on sieges; the use of the crossbow; and their acquaintance with political intrigues, whereby to inflame into mutual hostility a divided people, gave them many advantages.

Spenser says that the Irish soldiers "are very valiant and hardie; for the most part great endurers of cold, labour, hunger, and all hardnesse; very active and strong of hand; very swifte of foot, very present in perils, very great scorners of death." "I have heard some great warriors say," he adds, "that in all the services they had seen in forrayne countryes, they never saw a more comely man than an Irishman, nor one that cometh more bravely to his charge." Even Giraldus, who came to Ireland about this time, was struck with the comeliness of the Irish, "who," he says, "are tall and handsome in person and of agreeable and ruddy countenances." Stanihurst, another English writer, speaking of the Battle of Downpatrick, in which Hugh the Lazy's successor was worsted, says that "the men of Ulster are by nature and practice very warlike, always inured to armes; their battles with the Britons are conducted with boldness and regularity, without any deficiency of martial valour; but God, the giver of victory, decided the battle in favour of the English."

The sons of Hugh the Lazy, Hugh Duff and his brother, were minors at this time, as Hugh survived his father 56 years ; and so his name does not appear till 1168, when he regained the chieftainship for his sept, and restored the prestige of the Cinel Eoghan ; for Malachy and his successors by their ill-successes soon lost control over their own clansmen, not to mention their tributary princes.

On hearing of Hugh's death, and the ensuing strife between the rival parties, De Courcy prepared to avail himself of Henry's generosity.

Passing along the coast of Oriel, or Louth, he entered Ulidia, got possession of Downpatrick, according to Giraldus, with only 300 men—3,000 would be much nearer the mark—and 22 men-at-arms.

William of Newburgh, an ancient English writer, in his *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, gives the following account of this transaction :

John De Courci, getting together a strong body of horse and foot, conceived the idea of invading that province of Ireland which is separated from the Kingdom of Scotland by a narrow strait and is named Ulster. There had chanced to come from Scotland thither, as legate of the Apostolic See, one Vivianus, a man of great eloquence. He had been respectfully received by the King and Bishops of the Province, and was staying for the time being in the maritime state called Down. Now when the approach

of the enemy was reported, the Irish consulted the legate as to what should be done at such a crisis. He replied that they should fight for their fatherland, and on their deciding to do so, gave them his benediction and offered up prayers for their success. Animated by this, they rushed boldly to battle, but were easily overcome by the mail-clad cavalry and archers of England. In consequence of this defeat, the city of Down fell into the hands of the victors; and soon John De Courci and his followers had occupied the adjacent territory of Downpatrick, as well as the town itself.

Malachy, probably, did not feel justified in offering any opposition to this proceeding, for the Ulidians had refused him obedience, and were now, as ever, the bitterest enemies of his family.

However, according to the *Annals of Innisfallen*, he repaired to Downpatrick at the request of the Archbishop of Armagh and Bishop of Ulidia, and joined Rory M'Dunlevy in giving battle to De Courcy, by whom they were defeated with the loss of 500 men, among whom were Donal O'Laverty, or O'Flaherty, Chief of Clan Hamill; Conor O'Carrelan, Chief of Clan Dermot; Gilla MacLiag O'Donnelly, Chief of Fir Droma, his marshal; Mac Tumulty, Chief of Clan Mongan; the Chiefs of Clan Fogarty and Clan Cartan, and many others of the Cinel.

The Primate and the Bishop of Ulidia were taken prisoners and were afterwards released; but all the

inferior clergy present were put to death, the Anglo-Normans, like their Danish ancestors, having little respect for religion.

On this occasion the Croziers of St. Comgall, founder of the Abbey of Bangor in Ulidia, and of St. Dachiarog, patron of Errigal-Keeroge in Tyrone, and the *Canon Phadraig*, or Scripture of Patrick, were taken.

The latter was afterwards restored, and is now preserved in Trinity College Library. Dr. Reeves gives a detailed history of this volume—a beautiful copy of the Book of the Scriptures of the New Testament, made in 807—in his *Memoir of the Book of Armagh.*

The Cinel Owen and Ulidians evidently disagreed as to which side was responsible for the above defeat, and now started quarrelling among themselves; while De Courcy, fortifying himself in Down, raided Ulster in all directions. Armagh, the metropolitan city, was taken by storm; but in ravaging Arghialla in the following year he was routed with the loss of 450 men at Glenree, near Newry, where he had encamped, by Murrough O'Carroll, Prince of Arghialla, and Cooley M'Dunlevy, Prince of Ulidia, who lost 100 men, including O'Hanvey, Lord of Hy-Meith. Soon after he proceeded to plunder Dalriada and Cinel Owen, when he was encountered by Cumee O'Flynn, Lord of Hy Tuirtre and Firlee, in Cinel Owen, and routed with great slaughter. De Courcy

himself escaped with difficulty, being severely wounded.

Still he and his men held on, and established themselves so firmly, and multiplied so, that they eventually possessed themselves of a great part of Ulidia, which more than a century later was recovered by the O'Neills, and included in their principality of Clannaboy.

In 1181, Donal, son of Hugh Mac Loughlin, a cousin of Malachy, with the men of Tullahogue, gave an overthrow to Rory M'Dunlevy and Cumee O'Flynn, the Lord of Hy Tuirtre and Firlee. Shortly afterwards, Echmacarch O'Kane, with the Cinel Binne of the Glen, and men of Magh Itha, crossed Toome, and made an incursion into O'Flynn's territories.

In 1182, Donal M'Loughlin, who appears to have been Tanist to Malachy, with a detachment of the Cinel Owen, was worsted by the English at Dunbo, near Coleraine, where Randal O'Breslin, Gilchreest O'Kane, and others, were killed; and where the Gospel of St. Martin was taken.

This relic, one of the battlers of the Cinel Owen, was preserved in the monastery of Derry, where it was deposited by the great patron of the Clan Neill—St. Columba.

Having visited Rome towards the close of his career, in order to renew the bonds of respectful affection and spiritual union which are supposed

to have united him to the great pope, St. Gregory, he, on his return, went to Tours to seek the Gospel of St. Martin, which had lain for a century on the breast of the saint, the granduncle of the Apostle of Ireland.

The people of Tours, according to the legend in O'Donnell's *Life of Columba*, had forgotten the situation of St. Martin's grave; and when they begged Columba to find it for them, he consented, only on condition of being allowed to keep for himself everything found in St. Martin's tomb, except his bones.

The legend adds that Columba left his kinsman and disciple—Mochonna—there, and he afterwards became Bishop of Tours, in succession, doubtless, to Gregory the Historian, the then Bishop.

In 1185, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, "Maelseachlain Ua Loughlin, son of Muircheartac, was killed by the foreigners." In the *Annals of Loch Ce*, which say that he was treacherously slain by the Saxons, he is styled King of Cinel Eoghan, a title which he hardly deserves, for neither he nor his successors of the same sept could command more than a section of the Cinel, who, judging by the *Annals*, appear to have been without a head till the advent of Hugh O'Neill. In the *Four Masters* Flaherty O'Maldorey is styled Lord of Tirowen and Tirconal.

Malachy, with the forces at his disposal, could

make no stand against De Courcy, who was now acting as Viceroy, and who was married to his grand-daughter, Affric, who founded the Grey Abbey in the Ards. She was the daughter of Godred, King of Man, who, according to the *Chronicle of Man*,[1] married "Fingala, daughter of Mac Lochlain, son of Muircheard, King of Ireland."

After Malachy's death, the *Annals of Ulster*, under 1186, record that "in this year there were great disturbances in the North of Ireland." Donal, who assumed the chieftainship after Malachy, being deposed by the O'Neills of Tullahoge, or "the Cinel Eoghan of Tullahoge," who set up as a sort of stop-gap Rory O'Laverty, or O'Flaherty, who traced his descent to Hugh Allan II.[2]

He fell on a foray in Tyrconnell in the following year, when Donal was restored.

In 1188 the foreigners of the Castle of Moycava, with some of the men of Iveagh, "came on a foray into Tir Eoghan until they reach Leim-mic-Neill, and seized cows there; and Domnall O'Loughlin (or Mac Loughlin) went against them with a force of his own party until he overtook them at Cabhan of the High Trees. He gave them battle, and it went against the foreigners, and slaughter of them was inflicted; and a thrust of a foreign spear was given to the King alone, so that he fell there in the conflict,

[1] In *Antiquitates Celto-Normannicae*, by Rev. Jas. Johnstone.
[2] O'Donovan: *Four Masters.*

that is Domnall, son of Aedh Ua Loughlin, King of Aileach and (worthy to be) royal heir of Ireland for form and for sense, for excellence and prudence; and he was carried that very day to Ard Macha, and buried there honourably in the cathedral."

Of his cousin and successor, Murkertac, brother of Malachy, there is nothing recorded, though he appears to have distinguished himself, judging by the notice of his death in the *Annals of Ulster* from which the foregoing is taken: "A.D. 1196. Muircheartach O'Loughlin, son of Muircheartach O'Loughlin, King of Cinel Eoghan and royal heir of all Ireland, namely, tower of championship and valour of the half of Conn; dissolver of foreigners and of castles; upholder of churches and dignities, was killed by Donncadh, son of Bloscadh Ua Cathan (Donogh M'Blosky O'Cahan), by counsel of all Cinel Eoghan, that is, after pledging the three shrines and the Canon of Patrick to him in the southern church of Ard-Macha before that; and he was carried to Doire of Columb-cille, and was buried honourably" with his father.

Murkertac, though a favourite with the chroniclers by reason of his munificence, was evidently unpopular with the tribe, and so met with the same fate as his father.

NOTES.

(*a*) O'hUrthuile might be anglicised O'Herlihy, O'Hurly, Herlihy, Harrell, etc., O'Maelaedha might be O'Meleady.

(*b*) When Henry II. could not conquer his own brother-in-law, Llewellyn, Prince of North Wales, he wrote to the English of Ireland inviting adventurers to enter Wales and possess themselves of any lands they were strong enough to hold.

(*c*) Regan is believed to have been the author of this poem which was put in French by an Anglo-Norman monk, Fr. Michel. A translation of this from a MS in the Lambeth Palace Library was made in 1837 by Thomas Wright. The prose version, which is imperfect, is given in the *Hibernica*. In the poem the names of the Ulster Chiefs are thus given :—

"De Kinel O'Neil, O'Malori
E Mac Doulene altresi ;
Si alad reis O'Karuel
E Mac Tawene, quitant ert fel,
Mac Scilling e Mac Artan
E fel Mac Garragan :
Makelan tut eusement
I alad ad la sue gent ;
De Kineloyin O'Nel li reis
Od sei menad tri mil Yrreis."

(*d*) From Rory's brother, Cathal Red Hand, the O'Conors Roe, and O'Connors Don, derived ; and from another brother, Brian of Leynagh, the O'Connors Sligo.

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CHAPTER II.

HUGH DUFF O'NEILL OF CLANNABOY, SON OF HUGH THE LAZY, KING OF ULSTER, A.D. 1196 TO 1230.

HUGH DUFF O'NEILL, son of Hugh the Lazy, (whom we style "of Clannaboy," to distinguish him from the branch of the family established by his nephew, Brian of the Battle of Down), who was now of age, succeeded Murkertac, though not without opposition from the M'Loughlins, who appear to have had the support of De Courcy.

Hugh, however, by his good leading, and the vigour of his sway, soon silenced his opponents ; and asserted his authority over his neighbours of Cinel Conal, Oriel and Ulidia, who, without delay, prepared to take the field against him.

M'Dunlevy (Rory) mustered a great army of Ulidians, Connacians and English, at the head of which he set out towards Hugh's stronghold at Tullahoge. Hugh, with his standard bearer, O'Hanlon, and the men of Orior, advanced to meet him ; and on the plain of Armagh he put him to the rout with immense slaughter, "and twelve of the sons of the lords and chieftains of Connaught, with many of inferior grade, were slain. Amongst the chieftains were, Brian Boy O'Flaherty ; the son of

Maelissa O'Conor of Connaught ; the son of O'Conor Faly ; and the son of O'Faelan of the Deisies." [1] This settled the Ulidians, who had now fought their last great battle. The Cinel Conal and Oriellans had yet to be disposed of.

After M'Dunlevy's defeat, the Princes of Cinel Conal and Oriel—O'Maldorey and O'Hegny—"had a meeting at Termon Daveoc (near, or in, Lough Derg), for the purpose of forming a league of amity." [2]

Hugh repaired thither to prevent this combine, and vanquished O'Hegny, whose daughter he afterwards "took to wife," and compelled him to submit and deliver hostages. He then marched to meet O'Maldorey, who actually claimed the supremacy over the Cinel Eoghan—to such a state had they been reduced by indifferent leading—and whom he encountered and harried "around the plain" of Magh Itha. Here O'Maldorey afterwards encamped, but he was set upon by Hugh, on whose approach he fled, abandoning his camp. Seeing himself beaten, he delivered his hostages, "and terms of peace and friendship were agreed upon." [3]

De Courcy and the English—who must have now numbered many thousands—were not slow to take advantage of these wars ; and invading the territory in their own, and probably M'Loughlin's interests, they pillaged and burned the churches of Raphoe, Ardstraw, and Derry, where they encamped.

[1] *Four Masters.* [2] *Idem.* [3] *Idem.*

Hugh, intent on reducing the Irish before tackling the English, prudently declined a direct encounter; and with five ships and two or three hundred men proceeded by way of reprisal to plunder the English settlements. Landing at Larne, on the coast of Antrim, he burned the town, slew eighteen of its defenders, and afterwards put to flight, with the loss of 38 men, 300 of the English of Dal Araidhe and Moylinny, who were clad in armour, and who attempted to surprise him.

De Courcy, hearing of this, and fearing an attack on his head-quarters at Down, hastily left Derry, and made his way back with all speed; and thus Hugh accomplished his object with the loss of but five men.

Soon after this they again came against him, but he came up with them as they were plundering the country in the neighbourhood of Donaghmore, where, after a sharp engagement, they were overthrown, and put to the sword without mercy, "and such as escaped from him fled secretly by night, and tarried nowhere until they had passed Toome,[4] into Dal Araidhe. This put an end to De Courcy's efforts, which were chiefly directed to increasing his possessions at the expense of the Cinel Owen.

In 1200, Hugh, who had now defeated and reduced each of the Ulster Princes in turn, proceeded into Connaught to the aid of Cathal Crov Dearg, or Red Hand, brother of the late King Roderick, who was

[1] *Idem; Annals of Ulster.*

driven into Ulster by Cathal Carragh, his grand-nephew, the reigning Prince.

On reaching Tibohine, Co. Roscommon, a dispute arose between O'Conor and Hugh's chiefs, who refused to march further ; and obliged him to re-trace his steps—O'Conor going into West Connaught.

Hugh was pursued by Cathal Carragh, who came up with him as with a part of his army he was crossing the bridge of Ballysadare, but refused to give him battle, probably on learning of the non-arrival of O'Hegny, the Prince of Oriel, whom he intercepted and slew, on which Hugh appears to have surrendered when he was confined in the church of Ballysadare, "until he gave hostages and peace to Cathal Carragh." [1]

Hugh's clansmen were so highly incensed at this reverse, that they set up Conor M'Loughlin the Little in opposition. But some weeks later he was killed by a fall off his horse on a foray in Tyrconnell, when Hugh apparently banished the whole family from the territory ; as in 1203 we read that Dermot, son of Murkertac M'Lochlain, with some of the English came on a foray into Tyrone to Skreen-Columcille, where he was defeated and slain by Hugh, or his men.

In the west of this district there is a remarkable Esker, or long ridge to the south of the old church of Skreen, or Ballynascreen, Barony of Loghinsholin,

[1] *Annals of Loch Ce.*

called Eisgir Mhic Lochlain, which tradition points out as the site of a great battle between the rival chiefs—O'Neill and M'Lochlain—which may refer to the above ; more likely, however, it refers to the battle of Caimerge, mentioned later on.

Hugh, who had hitherto acted on the defensive, now felt strong enough to take the offensive against De Courcy and the English ; but De Courcy sued for peace and, according to the *Annals of Loch Ce*, "made his covenant and amity with Hugh O'Neill and the Cinel Eoghan."

Soon after he was proclaimed a rebel and traitor by King John for declaring his adherence to the cause of Prince Arthur, whose throne John had usurped.

Armed with a mandate from him his bitter foe, De Lacy, the Viceroy, marched against him, and sent him prisoner to England, where he is said to have languished in prison, until before an assembly of the French and English Kings and the notabilities of both countries, he was brought to take up the challenge of a French Knight, whom, the *Book of Howth* says, he frightened out of the lists with one awful glance of his eye. He afterwards received a pension of £100 a year from the English Treasury ; and is said to have died without issue, though the De Courcys, Lords Kinsale, claim descent from him. (See Gilbert's *Viceroys of Ireland*).

De Courcy's Earldom and estates were granted

to De Lacy (Hugh), who trod in much the same path of daring ambition, ending in ruin, that his fallen rival had trodden.

After taking De Courcy, he came against Hugh to Tullahoge ; but he returned without either pledges of peace or hostages, after plundering and burning churches and corn.

These acts of sacrilege had now become so common and unbearable, that in this year, 1204, the Archbishop of Armagh, Eogan, was obliged to journey to England to complain in person to King John, whose lieutenants were the worst offenders, seizing whenever they could the abbey and church lands on which to build their castles and fortresses—as Coleraine, Durrow, Clonmacnoise, Athlone, Kildare, etc.,—and desecrating the churches and monasteries revered by the Irish.

Pope Innocent III. addressed a letter on this subject to John, the English monarch ; but neither this nor the Archbishop's remonstrance had apparently any effect.

With the Archbishop, whose election he opposed in 1201, he had little sympathy. In that year on the death of Thomas O'Conor, brother to King Roderick, for whom Jocelin, the English monk, wrote his *Life of St. Patrick*, Eoghan M'Gilliver, supported by Hugh and the Ulster Princes, was elected in his place, though John set up in opposition a subject of his own—Ralph, Archdeacon of Meath

But he was compelled to acknowledge the Archbishop, who was declared canonically elected by the Pope.[1] He, about this time, addressed a letter to Hugh, as "King of Ulster" as well as to the Kings of Connaught, Limerick and Cork.—Malone's *Church History*.

John's pretensions evidently imposed on Professor Stokes, who, in endeavouring to show that the English exercised authority over the whole of Ireland, says (*Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church*) that on this occasion John determined the occupancy of the See, "as absolutely as if it lay in Middlesex and not in Ulster." (*a*).

The English kings, it appears, had the privilege—conceded them by the Holy See—of nominating and of granting licences to elect candidates for the vacant bishoprics in Ireland; but in Ulster, where their authority was not recognised, they could never exercise this, as Davies in his *Discovery* and the *Calendar of State Papers*[2] inform us:—"As to the bishoprics in Ulster, subject to Armagh, as Clogher, Derry, Raphoe and Kilmore, the king never had custody by the death of bishops, as he has in other bishoprics subject to Armagh, as well as in all other parts of Ireland, nor had the king ever any custody in them, nor was licence to elect ever demanded."

These privileges were exercised by the Archbishop

[1] See Brenan's *Ecclesiastical History*.
[2] Quoted in Malone's *Church History of Ireland*.

"against the kingly dignity to the great loss of the king and against his liberties."

At one time the king had custody of Dromore (which included part of Down, Antrim, and Armagh) in the English settlements by John de Saunford his escheator after the death of a bishop; "but the king was expelled from the custody by the Archbishop, who conferred the temporalities on Tighernan, now Bishop of Dromore . . . some say the escheator can never go to the bishoprics aforesaid on account of the Irish."

"It would be expedient to the king," the document adds, "that no Irishman should be an archbishop or bishop, because they always preach against the king, and provide their churches with Irishmen."

This interference with ecclesiastical elections arose as much from the love of wealth as from the pride of power; because during the vacancies of the Sees, the English kings turned to their own use the revenues of the See. They had some claim on the primacy, however, apart from the above concession; for some of the possessions of the See were outside Ulster and in the Pale where—at Termonfeckin, near Drogheda—those Primates of English birth who succeeded in getting themselves elected, resided. It is one of these Primates that Donal O'Neill, grand-nephew of Hugh, in his letter to Pope John, calls "a man of very little repute for his behaviour and of less for his learning."

In 1208 Hugh marched into Tyrconnell to suppress a rising of the Cinel Conal. On his return he was met by O'Donnell (Donal More) whom he vanquished with the loss of Caffar and Cormac O'Donnell; David O'Doherty, Farrel O'Boyle, and a multitude of the nobles of Cinel Conal along with them. Hugh lost Donnell M'Murrough. O'Donnell afterwards submitted and peace was made.

In 1210, John, the English monarch, landed at Waterford and marched to Dublin where, according to Hanmer's *Chronicle*, twenty of the Irish chiefs made their submission, and among others "the Lord O'Neale and Cathal, King of Connaught."

Cathal, who was restored and supported by the English, made his submission in Meath, according to the *Four Masters*—a much better authority than Hanmer—whence John marched into Ulidia, accompanied by De Courcy, to take possession of the lands of Hugh de Lacy, "who had rebelled against him."

De Lacy owned lands in Wales; and it so happened that Maud, wife of De Braose, a friend and neighbour of De Lacy, was so inordinately fond of her cows and cheeses, and so insolent in her speech, as to excite the anger of John, who proceeded to attack her husband's castle. De Braose fled to France, and Maud (*b*) escaped to Ireland to the protection of De Lacy, who was chased by John from Meath to Carrickfergus.

Here at his own request, according to the above, he was visited by O'Neill, who had received, on

demand, two hostages for his safe conduct, and who was invited to do homage to his Superior Lord, like Cathal Red Hand. But Hugh, whose proud boast it was that, in the words of the *Four Masters*, he "had never rendered hostages, pledges, or tribute to English or Irish;" and who was under no obligation to John, whose authority he or his father never acknowledged, politely declined, and retired to his camp in the neighbourhood.

He was then treated as an enemy, when John endeavoured to exact submission and hostages; but his messengers were treated with contempt by Hugh, who might well have answered in the words of another Great O'Neill (Shane): "I have not forgotten the royal dignity of my ancestors. All Ulster was theirs, it shall be mine; with the sword they won it, with the sword will I maintain it."

War was at once proclaimed against him; but Hugh took the initiative by spoiling the neighbourhood, and driving all before him into Tyrone,[1] whence he returned to give battle to the English who, under the command of John De Grey the (excommunicated bishop of Norwich), Lord Justice and Gilbert M'Costelloe assembled at Cael Uisce or Narrow Water, now Belleek, where they were engaged and defeated with great slaughter by Hugh, who took possession of their camp or "their goods and chattels," which he divided among his troops.

[1] Haverty; Leland: *History of Ireland.*

In the following year he defeated the English of Clones, who had invaded Tyrone under Meyler FitzRobert, who was left among the slain. He then marched on their stronghold—erected by De Grey a short time before—which he stormed and burned, the ward being put to the sword.

In 1213 he marched into Ulidia and "dreadfully slaughtered the English;" and on the same day, took the town of Carlingford, which he burned to the ground.[1]

In 1214 Benmee, daughter of O'Hegny (Ua hEignigh) chief of Fermanagh (Feara Manac) and Prince of Oriel, and wife of Hugh "O'Neill, King of Ailech, rested in good penance," or, as the *Four Masters* have it: "after having spent a virtuous life." This O'Hegny was the chief slain in Connaught in 1200.

In this year Hugh made a hosting into Ulidia, "and inflicted great defeat upon the foreigners,"[2] whom he was intent on driving out of Ulster.

In 1218, according to the *Annals of Loch Ce*, they sacked Armagh, from which they carried off great spoils.

In return, Hugh's brother, "O'Neill Roe" with M'Mahon of Monaghan and some of the Cinel Owen, a week later made an incursion into the English possessions, from which they took a prey of 1200 cows, after defeating—with the loss of fourteen

[1] *Four Masters*; *Annals of Ulster.* [2] *Annals of Ulster.*

men "in coats of mail," and the Constable of Dundalk—a party who endeavoured to oppose them.

In 1219 a dispute arose between Hugh and the community of Derry, as to the choice of a successor to O'Branain, Abbot of the monastery of Saint Columba.

The community elected M'Cawell of the Cinel Farry tribe; but Hugh and the rest of the Cinel Owen installed Flaherty O'Brolchain of the same tribe.

Dr. Healy, in his *Ancient Schools and Scholars*, gives some interesting particulars of this family, the members of which were noted for their learning and their skill as architects.

Maelbrigid (servant of Brigid), the first of the name whose death is recorded in the *Annals* under 1029, is described as the chief builder of his time in Erin. His son, Hugh, an eminent professor, died in 1095; and two years afterwards the Annalists record the death of Maelbrigid Mac-an-tsaer (son of the builder), O'Brolchan, Bishop of Kildare.

Maelcolaim (son of Columba) O'Brolchan died "Bishop" of Armagh in 1122; and Maelbrigid in 1137. These, it is thought, belonged to the class of laymen referred to by St. Bernard in his *Life of St. Malachy*, who claimed jurisdiction over, and called themselves "Bishops of Armagh" during a portion of the 11th and 12th centuries, as Flaherty, "son of

Bishop O'Brolchan," was Abbot of Columba's Monastery in Derry from 1150-75.

In 1164 Flaherty was offered the Abbacy of Hy, which about this time became a purely Scottish monastery under the jurisdiction of the bishops of Argyle, and which he declined; but recommended a kinsman, Donal O'Brolchan, who, being a great builder, like all his family, signalized his reign by erecting, doubtless with the aid of the Ulster Princes, the great church or cathedral, the remains of which figure so conspicuously in pictures of the island. On the capital of the tower column are inscribed the still legible words :—

DONALDUS O'BROLCHAN FECIT HOC OPUS.

On his death, in 1202, a certain Ceallach, Bishop of Man, "without any legal right, and in despite of the family of Hy," erected a monastery in the middle of Hy, and did considerable damage to the town.

The monks of Hy applied to Derry and Ulster for help, which was at once granted, and to quote the *Four Masters :* "The clergy of the north of Ireland assembled together to pass over into Iona, namely Florence O'Carrelan, Bishop of Tyrone (Derry); Maelissa O'Deery, Bishop of Tyrconnell (Raphoe), and Abbot of the Monastery of SS. Peter and Paul at Armagh; Awley O'Ferghail (O'Freel) Abbot of the Dubh Regles of Derry, with many of

the family of Derry besides, and of the clergy of the north of Ireland. They passed over into Iona, and in accordance with the canons of the church, they pulled down the aforesaid monastery and the aforesaid Awley (a lineal descendant of Eoghan, brother of St. Columba), was elected Abbot of Iona by suffrage of the Gaels and Galls."

After the death of Flan O'Brolchain, or Bradley, as the name is now Anglicised, in 1219, Iona ceased to be Irish ; and so Derry now took the lead.

Occasionally the Abbots of this monastery, called the Dubh Regles, were elected bishops of Cinel Eoghan, or Derry, like Flaherty O'Brolchan, who, aided by Murta, the High King, in 1165, built the Temple More, or Great Church, from which the parish takes its name. Before this, the cathedral church of the Cinel Eoghan was in the town of Maghera, in Londonderry, anciently called Machaire Ratha Luraigh, where the church, grave, and holy well of St. Luraigh (*c*) are still to be seen ; and where his festival was celebrated on the 17th of February. (See O'Hanlon's *Lives*). Ardstraw, in the territory of the Hy Fiachra, in the present barony of ~~Clogher,~~ Strabane, founded by St. Eoghan, or Eugene (*d*), a Lagenian and uncle of St. Kevin of Glendalough, was the original church, as mentioned in a previous chapter.

Flaherty O'Brolchain, the first Bishop of Derry, who resigned shortly before his death, was succeeded as bishop by Maurice O'Coffey, formerly Bishop of

Rathlure. He removed to Derry, to which his See was afterwards annexed. His successors are all styled Bishops of Tyrowen or Ardstraw ; from which it would appear that the ancient See of St. Eugene was not properly amalgamated with that of Derry till 1295, when Henry of Ardagh, a Cistercian Monk, was elected by the dean and chapter of Derry. His family name was Geraghty, and he was a member of a distinguished Connaught family.

The Irish bishoprics, we may here remark, like the English before the Norman conquest, were essentially bishoprics of the folk and not of the city ; and after the 12th century, while remaining bishoprics of the tribes, became territorial with a title taken either from the territory itself, as Meath and Ossory, or from the place where the bishop had his seat, as Derry.

The present divisions of the Irish dioceses corresponds, very nearly, with the territories which the principal tribes occupied or exercised authority over in the 12th century. While the ecclesiastical province of Armagh corresponds with the kingdoms of Ulster and Meath (associated together by their kings being of the same race, and by their alternate right of succession to the crown of all Ireland) ; that of Dublin with the Kingdom of Leinster; that of Cashel with that of Munster ; and that of Tuam with that of Connaught. So the diocese of Derry has now the territory of the Cinel Eoghan ; that of

Raphoe of the Cinel Conal (*e*) ; that of Meath of the Southern Hy Nials ; and that of Killaloe of the Dal Cais, or O'Briens. [1]

Soon after Hugh's candidate for the Abbacy of Derry had been installed, in 1219, he quarrelled with the community, when he was obliged to resign, and Murta O'Milligan was unanimously elected in his stead. The Abbots were elected in much the same way as the chief. If possible he should be chosen from the family of the patron saint, or from the tribe in general.

In 1221 Hugh De Lacy, who had returned to Ireland without the King's consent, came to Tyrone to seek the aid of O'Neill and the Cinel Eoghan (against his English foes), which was willingly given.

Together they marched against "the foreigners of Ireland," razed the castle of Coleraine, and wasted the English possessions in Meath and Leinster, and besieged the castle of Carrickfergus, which William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, the ablest soldier of his day, who had been sent over to take command of the English, succeeded in relieving, by embarking a force at Drogheda under William Le Gros, or Grace.

On the same day, with the aid of the O'Reillys, he captured the castle of Cloch Oughter, a crannoge dwelling in Lough Oughter, Co. Cavan, which was held by De Lacy's half-brother, William De Lacy, who had placed in it for security his wife, daughter

[1] Richey's *History of Ireland*, Edited by Romney Kane.

of de Braose and sister of Griffith, Prince of South Wales ; his mother, Rose O'Conor, daughter of King Roderick, and an illegitimate daughter of Llewellyn, the Prince of North Wales, with whom De Lacy had joined in a Welsh war the previous year.[1]

From this place Marshall, at the head of 24 battalions, proceeded to march into Ulster by Dundalk, then regarded as the key of the province.

Hugh and De Lacy, however, at the head of four great battalions, marched to oppose him, and took up a formidable position in what was called the Fews of Dundalk, which with the Slieve Gullion range were then the southern barriers of Ulster.

Marshall, on viewing the position and realizing that it was an inaccessible one for the heavy armed and accoutred English soldiers, made the best terms he could with his opponents, who entered into a treaty without any confession of ill-doing or recognition of defeat. They declined to give any hostages, and simply made peace, reserving for future settlement with the King, Henry III., the terms on which De Lacy would consent to render allegiance and tribute to the Crown. In two years' time all his dignities, lands, and castles were restored, and he became afterwards Henry's bosom friend and trusted counsellor. Very probably on this occasion Hugh for his services received a grant of part of De Lacy's possessions in Ulidia, afterwards

[1] *Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church.*

included in Clannaboy. Henry III., in a letter to Hugh's grandson, Hugh Boy, when Tanist to his cousin Brian, styles him "Oneyll of Troughonyll," which, if we substitute *en* for *ou* would give us the ancient name of the territory of Clannaboy—Trian Conghail, Anglicised or pronounced Trenghonyll, or Trenconyll, both having the same sound.

In 1225 Hugh, who was now by his countrymen regarded as "King of all the half of (Leh) Conn" (that is, of Ireland); and "a protection to every one of the Gaedhal (Gaels) who might be an exile or a wanderer"[1] marched to the assistance of the sons of the late King Roderick—Tirlo and Hugh O'Conor—who on the death of Cathal Crov Dearg, claimed the throne of Connaught in opposition to Cathal's son, Hugh, who was backed by the Justiciary and the O'Briens of Thomond.

O'Neill with the Ultonians proceeded through Connaught to Athlone, where he encamped; and next day, after pillaging Hugh M'Cathal's castle (now represented by the Castle of Roscommon) on the brink of Lough En or Nen, and taking his jewels and treasures, he advanced to Carn Free, near Tulsk, in Roscommon, where he crowned Tirlo with great ceremony.

He then, according to the *Annals of Lough Ce*, "went home because the sons of Ruadhri (Rory) preferred their own assemblies which had been

[1] *Annals of Ulster*; *Loch Ce.*

summoned by them," excepting, they add, M'Dermott (Cormac, son of Thomas of the Rock), David O'Flyn, "and other men of trust," adherents of Hugh M'Cathal, who, joined by Donogh Carbery O'Brien and Geoffrey Marisco, the Justiciary, with the English of Ireland, soon afterwards attacked Tirlo and again forced him to take refuge with Hugh, who appears to have contemplated reducing the whole island. Old age, however, and growing infirmities, as well as apprehension of trouble from the Mac Loughlins, who were now pushing their claims, soon told against him, and obliged him to make peace with his foreign foes, as appears from the *State Papers* for 1230, where it is stated that, after much expenditure of treasure, "Odun O'Nel, King of Cinel Owen," who claims to be "King of all the Irish of Ireland," was "drawn to the King's peace."

In the same year, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, "Aedh Ua Neill, King of the North of Ireland, and King of all the half of Conn, and worthy future arch-king of all Ireland, and the person of the Gaedhil that most killed and pillaged the foreigners and destroyed castles, the person that it was least thought would find death otherwise than by foreigners, rested in Christ."

In the *Four Masters* this event is recorded: "A.D. 1230. Hugh O'Neill, Lord of Tyrone, and Roydamna (heir presumptive) to the throne of all

Ireland; the defender of Leth Chuinn (Leh Conn) against the English of Ireland and the people of Leth Mogh Nuadhat (Leh Mo); who had never rendered hostages, pledges, or tribute to English or Irish; who had gained victories over the English, and cut them off with great and frequent slaughter; the plunderer of the English and Irish (enemies); a man who had attempted the subjugation of all Ireland, died (a natural death), although it was never supposed that he would die in any other way than to fall by the (hands of) the English."

In the other books of Annals—*Loch Ce*, *Clonmacnoise*, etc.,—his death is recorded in much the same way.

Hugh, without doubt, was one of the greatest and most successful warriors of his day, and one of the greatest champions that the Cinel Owen or Ultonians ever had. By his queen, Benmee, daughter of the Prince of Oriel, he left a son and successor, Donal, surnamed Oge, or the Younger, to distinguish him from a cousin of the same name, called, most probably from where he was fostered, Donal Tamniaghe, or Donal of Tawny, in Fermanagh.

Treating of these names, O'Donovan, in his essay in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, writes: "Besides the surnames, or hereditary family names, which the Irish people assumed from their ancestors, it appears from the authentic Annals that most, if not all of their chieftains had attached to their Christian names

and sometimes to their surnames certain cognomens, by which they were distinguished from each other. These cognomens, or, as they may in many instances be called, sobriquets, were given them from some perfection or imperfection of the body, or some disposition or quality of the mind, from the place of birth or the place of fosterage, and very frequently from the place of their deaths.

"Of the greater number of these cognomens the pedigree of the regal family of O'Neill furnishes many examples; as Nial Roe, *i.e.*, the Red, who died about the year 1225, so called from his having red hair; Hugh Toinleasc (a name which requires no explanation), who died in 1230 (? 1176); Nial More, *i.e.*, Nial the Great, who died in 1397; Con Bacach, *i.e.*, Con the Lame, who was created Earl of Tyrone in 1532. Among the same family we meet Henry Avrey, *i.e.*, Henry the Contentious; Shane an Dimais, *i.e.*, John the Proud.

Of the cognomens derived from places in which, and the family by whom they were fostered, the pedigree of the same family affords us several instances."

Writing on the same subject in 1682, Sir Henry Piers, in his description of Westmeath given in Vallancey's *Collectanea*, Vol.I., says: "It is certain they (the Irish) take much liberty, and seem to do it with delight, in giving nicknames; and if a man have any imperfection or evil habit he shall be sure to hear of it in the nickname.

"Thus, if he be blind, lame, squint-eyed, grey-eyed, be a stammerer in speech, or left-handed, to be sure he shall have one of these added to his name. So, also, from the colour of his hair, as black, red, yellow, brown, etc. ; and from his age, as young, old ; or from what he addicts himself to, or much delights in, as in draining, building, fencing, or the like ; so that no man whatever can escape a nickname who lives among them, or converseth with them. Sometimes so libidinous are they in this kind of raillery they will give nicknames 'per antiphraism,' or contrariety of speech. Thus a man of excellent parts and beloved by all men shall be called *grana*, that is, naughty, or fit to be complained of ; if a man have a beautiful countenance, or lovely eyes, they will call him *Cueegh*, that is Squint-eyed ; if a great housekeeper, he shall be called *Ackerisagh*, that is greedy, etc."

O'Donovan, in the above essay and in his pedigree of the O'Neills in the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, mistakes Hugh the Lazy for his son, Hugh Duff, in placing his death in 1230.

NOTES.

(*a*) On the authority of the English records which in many instances, as Dr. Burton the Scottish historian observes, tell false tales: "Whoever had a claim which was disputed, had an interest to have it profusely recorded. Claims which were repudiated yet found their way to the records. Sometimes exemption from a claim, or an obligation is recorded, when the real difficulty was that it could not be enforced. Every magnate having pretensions to sovereignty kept some cunning clerk in his 'chapel of Chancery' ever preparing documents which were aptly termed munimenta or fortresses round his masters prerogatives and powers." Even genuine charters, he found, were not above suspicion.

(*b*) Maud and her son were taken and confined in Corfe Castle with a sheaf of wheat and piece of raw bacon for their only provision. On the eleventh day both were found dead, the mother having knawed her son's cheek, probably after his death. —*See* Wright's *History of Ireland*, Vol. I.

(*c*) St. Luraigh was grandson of Daire, who was the great grandson of Fiachara Tort, son of Colla Uais, progenitor of the Hy Tuirtre and Fir Li. Darerca, sister of St. Patrick, is said to have been his mother.—O'Hanlon's *Lives*.

(*d*) See *Derriana* for a History of Ardstraw by the present Bishop of Derry—Most Rev. Dr. O'Doherty.

(*e*) The diocese of Down and Conor includes the best part of Ulidia, as Clogher does that of Oriel.—See Beauford's *Ecclesiastical Map of Ireland.*

CHAPTER III.

DONAL OGE, OF CLANNABOY, SON OF HUGH DUFF, KING OF ULSTER.—O'DUGGAN'S POEM ON THE ULSTER SEPTS.—1230 TO 1238.

AS we have little to say of Donal Oge, whose reign only covered the period from 1230-34, we here insert O'Duggan's Topographical Poem on the dominant families in Ulster at this time, with notes by O'Donovan.

O'Duggan died in 1370. His poem deals with Meath, Ulster, and Connaught; and O'Heerin's with Leinster and Munster.[1]

From Tailtin, in the plain of Bregia, he passes into Uladh, or Ulster, and halts at "Oileach of the Kings," when he proceeds to deal with the Cinel Owen, as he says:

"Let us pass into the land of Uladh,
From Tailtin of lordly champions,
From Breagh Magh, from Meath out,
From the spreading tribe of Teamhair.

[1] These were translated and edited by O'Donovan for the *Irish Archæological Society* in 1862.

" We shall not halt till we reach to Oileach
To the race of Eoghan of valiant arms,
Who have obtained the palm for greatness
without fraud,
The acme of the nobility of Erin.

This saying is no hidden saying,
Circulated by the historians,
Exuberance of princely houses and banquets,
Every one flocks to Eoghan.

" Kingly O'Neill of great prosperity,
And the very proud Mac Lachlains
A race of hereditary tameness,
Two tribes of the sovereignty.

Ten Cantreds, no difficult partition,
The ten sons of red-armed Eoghan got
Delightful too what they saw under them,
And which they have as true patrimony.

" Of the race of Eoghan of valour,
The fair King of Ciannachta (*a*) is O'Cathain,
His host in each quarter is mild towards you,
Of the race of Tadhg, son of Cian of Caiseal ;—
Tribe of abundant fruit, with brilliance,
O'Conchobhair was its first king.

" O'Dubhdiarma (*b*) of high pride
Chief of ever noble Bredach,
Well has it found the strength of its ancients,
The noblest sept of the race of Eoghan,
A tribe which has prospered without peace,
Of Bredach is the Sept of the Chieftaincy.

" A stout chief over Tulach Og.
O' hOgain (*c*) chief of white roads,
The plough has passed through every wood for it,
Another O' hOgain is near it.

" Many the heroes with spears,
Of the active O'Gairmleadhaighs, (*d*)
A fort of flowing girdles without misfortune—
Over the majestic race of Maen.

" The O'Ferghails (*e*) of healthy exertion,
The O'Domhnallains (*f*) of red faces,
Heavy kindling on hill slopes by you,
The O'Donnagains,(*g*) MacMurchadas,(*h*)

" The Mac Duinchuains, Mac Ruaidhris, (*i*) gentle.
Over Teallach Ainbhith the formidable.
They that are not heard to be dry at their house
Are over the victorious Muntir Birn. (*j*)

" Chieftains of high Cinel Eachach, (*k*)
Are the judging Muntir Cheallaigh.
The O'Ciarans, great over the Fearamaighe, (*l*)
And the heavy Siol Tighernaigh.

" The men of noble Magh Iotha (*m*)
Who defended the confines.
Delightful their habits in every church—
The O'Mailbreasails and Baoighills—and
Their dwellings, over the house of each hero,
The brave O'Cuinns and O'Cionaths.

" The fine Cinel Binnigh of the Glen,
Chieftains who worship the truth,
The Cinel Binnigh of Tuath Rois,
Ye may escape from it in absence.

" The Cinel Binnigh of no lasting servitude,
Of the rapid waved Loch Drochaid,
Towers who have shivered every spear,
O'Donnell (*n*) is here goodly Chieftain.

In one tribe the O'Duibhdnamas,
What poet has not truly heard it ?
Speech without slowness what I say.
The O'hAghmaills, (*o*) the O'hEitigeins, (*p*)

" Are over the three tribes in the eastern heath,
Teallach Cathalain of troops,—
For their purchase how polished the poem—
And the Majestic Teallach Braonain.

" Teallach Dubhroilbhe the righteous,
They will cling to their patrimony,
Bright men of fame at their home,
These are the three tribes.

" Over Cinel Tighearnaigh the stout,
O'Maolfothartaigh (*q*) I reckon,
Good their knowledge and their luck,
The O'hEodhusas (*r*) and the O'hOgains. (*s*)

" The Clans of Fergus view ye,
Know their vigorous Chieftains,
Victorious over foes in every hill,
Are the Clan Cuanach, the Clan Baothghalaigh.

" Over the lasting Carraic Brachaidhe, (*t*)
Over the red armed Clan Fergusa,
On each side they extended to the wave,
The O'Bruadairs, the O'Maoilfabhaills,
The O'Coinnes, the O'hOgains here,
Elevation of human people.

Speak of the Siol Aedha of Eanach (*u*)
Their Chieftains and their tribes,
To them the meeting was not thin,
The O'Murchadhas (*v*) and O'Mellains. (*w*)

The festive Cinel Fearadhaigh, (*x*)
Constantly noble (are) their genealogies
The O'Fiachras on the stout south side,
Their heroic fight I lament not.

" The Siol Airnin on the north side,
And the Red-armed Siol Maolfabhaill
A Clan without disgrace from their arms,
And the warlike Clan Cathmhaoil.

" The two eastern septs are of every tribe,
In the high Cinel Fearadhaigh
Teallach Maolgeimrigh without theft
And the white-fingered Teallach Maolpatraigh.

" Let us quit the mead-drinking tribe
Let us stop from treating of the sept of
Fearadhaigh,
Let us ask the line of each learned man
From the high race of Eoghan let us pass.

There were many other chiefs of note at this time in Cinel Owen whom he fails to notice ; as O'Laverty, of Clan Laverty ; O'Ciarre, of Cinel Aengus ; and M'Goldrick, of Clan Dubhinreacht, who were Roy-damnas and chiefs of Cinel Owen in the last century. They had evidently passed away, or had " fallen from their high estate," long before his time. The

O'Caomhains of Magh Leamhna, the Ui Tuirtre, Ui Fiachra, and Ui Mic Caerthinn of Cinel Owen, who were Airghiallans by descent, he places among the septs of that principality, which at this time was ruled by the O'Heagnys, or O'Heneys, Chiefs of Fermanagh, who succeeded the O'Carrols and their co-relatives. O'Carrol, whose patrimony lay chiefly in Louth, and who was the only Ulster chief to submit to Henry II., was dispossessed by the English, who, under De Courcy, got possession of that county, with part of Monaghan now included in Farney. In 1264 Hugh Boy O'Neill, son of Donal Oge, in right of his grandmother, assumed the Lordship of Airghialla, which he appears to have divided between the M'Mahons, Maguires, and O'Hanlons, the then leading chiefs. Donn Carragh, who died in 1302, was the first Maguire, Chief of Fermanagh. The *Annals of Clonmacnoise* speak of his liberality and bounty.

THE OIRGHIALLANS.

Pass forward quickly away
Leave the assembly of the nobility—
Their tribute take ye with their hostages
Halt not till ye come to the Oirghialla.

O'Cearbhaill, (*y*) O'Duibhdara,—
Chief Kings without fratricide,
Men who have attended on each poet—
Are over the Oirghialla without reproach.

Chief Kings in place of these,
Are the Mac Mathghamnas (*z*) and Maguidhirs,
Well with you their clemency, their rule,
They are the noblest races of the Oirghialla.

Hereditary in him to succeed to Lordship
O'Lairgnen (*a*) is full King of Oirghialla
He is no imbecile without fine vigour.
O'Flathri (*b*) is Chief King of Uladh.

The King of Ui Tuirtre of heavy slaughters
O'Flainn, of them is O'Domhnallain.
O'hEirc over Ui Fiachrach Finn,
Without concealing battls and conflicts. (*c*)

King over the smooth meady plain,
Is O'Criodain over the tribes,
O'hAedha (*d*)—over another tribe,
Noble—over Feara Fearnmaighe. (*e*)

O'Caomhain, (*f*) head of the battle,
King of Magh Leamhna (*g*) of hero-fort.
Noble the battle-island of goblets,
O'Mochoidhein, (*h*) King of Mughdhorna.

Two kings over Oirtheara (*i*) through pride,
O'hIr and O'hAnluain,
O'Cosgraigh (*j*) King of smooth Feara Rois,
Every triumph opens at their march.

The Kings of Ui Meith Maca (*k*) without decay,
O'hInnreachtaigh (*l*) of high plunders,
A rod who has divided the party
Mac Domhnail (*m*) over Clan Ceallaigh.

A blue-eyed, white-handed host,
Are the red-mouthed Muntir Baoigheallain, (*n*)
Griffins of no ill-shaped horses
Are the bold Kings of Dartraighe. (*o*)

Over the Ui Laeghaire of Loch Lir, (*p*)
The Muntir Taithligh (*q*) are Chieftains.
The Muntir Maelduin (*r*) of Lurg who are not
weak,
Deep their swords in battle.

MacTighernain, (*s*) a lord of fame,
Is over the celebrated Clan Fearghaile,
Tuath Ratha, (*t*) peaceable, without strife,
Is entirely under O'Flannagain.

Muntir Pheodachain (*u*) of the bank,
Chieftains of noblest riches,
Melodious men of the level plain I conceal not
The prosperous Mac Giolla Finnen. (*v*)

It is right to guide and to protect them,
The brave Chieftains of Ui Conghaile, (*w*)
A beauteous tribe, in flight like griffins,
The majestic Mac Gille-Michils.

The prosperous Muntir Maoilruana (*x*)
The Ui hEignigh of lofty pride,
It is not one trade I see with their battalion
Two Kings over slopes of Monach.

King over the cantred of Cladach, (*y*)
Mac Cianaith ye have heard
A scion though martial,
He is a Meathian though an Oirghiallian.

O'Corbmaic (*z*) the brave with his Sept.
Over the valiant Ui Mac Carthainn.
Of the great Ui Breasail (*a*) of Macha,
The O'Gairbhiths are the fierce Chiefs,

The O'Longains, (*b*) O'Dubheamhnas, (*c*)
The O'Conchobhairs (*d*) of fair faces,
Are all of the western Ui Breasail,
By whom every great man is served.

Over the high eastern Ui Breasail,
Are the Ui Lorcain, (*e*)—brave their strife—
The Scions who serve at their house.
The O'hEighnighs over Clan Cearnaigh ;

The O'Domhnaills, men of long hedges,
And the prosperous Clann Ruadhagain—
Men of noblest heart at the battle—
The two noble tribes of Ui Eathach. (*f*)

The tribe of Dubhthire over the land,
Over the fair-sloped Clans of Daimhin. (*g*)
The Ui Maoilcraoibhe (*h*) I shall mention to you,
Over the hawk-like clan of Duibhsinnaigh.

O'Lachtnain over little Modharn (*i*)
His superiors are not found,
O'hAinbhith of ostentatious meeting,
Is lord over noble Ui Seaoin. (*j*)

Maguidhir is head of their battalion,
Over the Majestic Feara Monach,
Good his gifts at his house,
The chief most illustrious for hospitality.

Over the brave Ui Mac Carthainn (*k*)
Royal, very great Chieftains, (*l*)
Royal, and very fine their lands,
O'Colgan and O'Conaill.

To conceal them we ought not,
Farther into Uladh let us pass,
Though sweet to separate under honours,
We shall dwell no longer on the Oirghialla.

From Oirghialla he passes to Ulidia, or Uladh, peopled by the Irians,—the chief of whom were the Magennises—and the Heremonians, represented by the Mac, or O, Duinnsleibhes, or Donlevys, who ruled over the territory. The Ulidians were dispossessed of nearly the whole of their territory by De Courcy and his successors; but Mac Dunlevy continued to rule them down to the reign of Hugh Boy, son of Donal Oge, when, in a letter to the English monarch, he wrote himself Prince or "King of the Irish of Ulster"—Rex Hibernicorum Ultoniae. After his death the English apparently got possession of the whole of his patrimony or demesne lands, as the name does not again occur. Rory, who formed an alliance with De Courcy and the English, by whom he was slain in 1200, is styled in the *Annals of Innisfallen* "the last King of Uladh." The Ulidians were always bitter enemies of the O'Neills; and, in opposition to them, Mac Dunlevy appears to have placed himself under the protection of the English, to whom he paid

tribute on their recognizing his authority over his tribesmen. This much we gather from the proceedings of Richard II., who, when in Ireland in 1395, endeavoured to recover from O'Neill the lands formerly held by the successors of De Lacy, in Ulster, or Ulidia, together with the rents and services due from the "Irishmen of Ulster."

After the disappearance of Ulidia as a principality, towards the close of this century, the O'Neills took the Ulidians under their protection, and, for the first time for centuries, applied the ancient name to the whole province. O'Duggan styles the Ulidians the men of Craebh Ruadh, or the Red Branch.

THE ULIDIANS.

Let us lift our heads at Craebh Ruadh,
Let us enumerate the Chief King of Uladh,
The land of hospitality, with spears,
The O'Duinnsleibhes, the O'hEochagains. (*m*)

Of their nobles are men of long slaughter,
The O'hAititths, (*n*) O'hEochagains. (*o*)
Great acquisitions are their plunders,
The O'Labhradha, the O'Leathlobhras. (*p*)

The O'Loingsighs (*q*) of stout Champions,
And the O'Mornas, (*r*) smooth and ruddy,
We have made a visitation of their territories.
Let us discontinue from enumerating the high-kings,
Hereditary to their Chieftains are acquisitions,
Of their Chieftains are the O'Mathgamhnas. (*s*)

The sub-chiefs of Ui Eachach Cobha
Who were powerful anciently,
How tasteful at the meeting in each territory
Are O'Coinne (*t*) the active O Gairbhith. (*u*)

O'hAinbhith (*v*) was chief King there,
He was not neglected, we shall not omit him,
Neither his prospect nor his career has been checked,
Proud his battalion when marching.

Chief over noble Clan Aedha,
Is Mag Aenghusa (*w*) lofty, splendid,
They have chosen the warm hill
They have taken all Uladh.

Mac Artan has by charter,
The steady-stout Cinel Faghartaigh (*x*)
Who never refuse gifts to the poets,
They are the treasury of hospitality.

The Mag Dubheamhnas (*y*) without plunder
Are over the high Cinel Amhalghadha.
The O'Mornas, (*z*) stock of victory,
Are the proofs of hard-armed Uladh.

The Mag Duilechains (*a*) of the Angles,
Over the red-haired Clann Bresail.
O'Coltarain (*b*) of the border town,
Is dwelling over the Dal Cuirb.

There has been collected within in the north east,
The stock of the nobility in Uladh,
Goodly heroes by whom parties are wounded,
The forge of the hospitality of Erin.

The palm of the valour of Leath Chuinn,
The acme of victory and conflict,
Many a brughaidh on their hills,
The Ulidians and the Eirennaighs.

Difficult to go away from Eamhain,
From Craebh Ruadh of large weapons ;
But though we have to survey numerous
possessions to the west,
Our minds shall but pass slowly.

Let us pass from peaky Boirche, (*c*)
And from Cualigne (*d*) land of Cloaks,
From Mag Rath (*e*) of fierce contentions,
And from the hero battalion of O'Labhradha.

From Dundaleathglas of Cloaks
Which is the royal cemetery of Erin,
Without forgetting that I was there,
Where the clay covered Columb.

In the same grave was buried,
Brighid, boast of our female bands,
As we leave them every victory,
Patrick of Macha is in the great grave.

The victory of Erin is with Ultai,
With the hosts of the fair Cumber,
Fetters by which they obtained plunder,
Nobility of Erin are the Eoganachs. (*f*)

Head of Erin is great Ard Macha,
Not nobler is their high Chieftains ;
The men of the world have their knowledge there,
Without injury from the three let us pass.

He now finishes with the Cinel Conal, over whom at this time the O'Canannans and O'Donnells held sway.

The Cinel Conal princes down to the 9th century, as will be remembered, held the provincial and High-kingship alternately with the Princes of Aileach. After that the O'Donnells came into power and seem to have divided the Chieftianship of Tir Conall with the O'Maldoreys and O'Canannans, who represented the High-kings of the race of Conal Gulban. The resulting contests for supremacy between the rival families so reduced the power of these princes that early in the 10th century they became subject to the Princes of Aileach.

The O'Donnells, from the earliest times, were vassals to the Princes of Aileach, from whom they received, according to the *Book of Rights*, a *taurcrec*, or stipend of seven swords, seven bondmen, seven bondwomen, and seven steeds :

" Entitled is the King of Cinel Lughdach,
To seven swords for hard defence ;
Seven women, seven bondmen early ;
Seven noble steeds, the hero."

Eignechan and his son Dalach (868-955) were the only two O'Donnells in the direct line who held supreme power down to 1197. Cinel Lughdach was the ancient tribe-name of the O'Donnells and their co-relatives ; but when Dalaigh, the Chief of

the Cinel Lughdach—whose territory, so late as the beginning of the 12th century, included only the Barony of Kilmacrenan—gained the Princedom of Tyrconnell in the 9th century, the tribe-name was changed to Clan Dalaigh. In 1543 Conn Baccagh, after renouncing his title of O'Neill, claimed before the Lord Deputy and Council O'Donnell as his "vassal."

Flaherty O'Maldorey, Prince of Cinel Conal (*ob.* 1197), who, before the accession of Hugh Duff O'Neill, took the princedom of Cinel Owen by the strong hand, was about the last great chief of his sept; and Rory O'Canannan (slain 1248), who, or whose father, founded the Cistercian Abbey of Assaroe, or Ballyshannon, was the last O'Canannan prince. Like the MacLoughlins, O'Carrols, M'Dunlevys, O'Hegnys, and other great families of note at this time, their power declined, and after this century they no longer figure in the history of the province. It would appear from O'Duggan's poem that in his time the O'Maoldoraidhs, or O'Maldoreys, and O'Canannans were not represented in Cinel Conal.

The Cinel Conal.

Our journey is a tour of prosperity,
Let us leave the vigorous host of great Macha,
Let us not refuse good luck to the people,
Let us proceed to Cinel Conaill.

Let them come,—a journey of prosperity,—
Rugged is the land of this tribe,
To meet us at the Cataract of Aedh,
The prosperity of the splendid-faced people.

The O'Maoildoraidhs, (*g*) if they were living,
Would come (but they will not come),
Without slowness, or slow delay,
To meet us as would the O'Canannans.

But others will come, stout their chief,
The Clanna Dalaigh (*h*) of brown shields;
With them, through contest has not withered
Heirship to the sovereignty.

The Clann Chinnfhaelaidh (*i*) of white steeds,
And the beauteous Tir Anmireach (*j*)
I see the host with swords,
And the fierce men of Tir Baghaine. (*k*)

This is the share of the haughty hosts,
The land of O'Baoighill (*l*) of ruddy mouths,
The fair host over at their house,
They have a large share of the lands.

O'Maoilmaghna (*m*) over Magh Seiridh,
Of poet hosts, it has not been long concealed.
O'hAedha (*n*) over prosperous Eas Ruaidh,
Active in the battle each heavy host.

With O'Tairchert (*o*) of heavy bands,
Are the fair bright Clann Neachtain,
Mac Dubhain (*p*) who has spread stories
Over the bright fine Cinel Enda.

Glenn Binnigh, (*q*) noble, the list of Chiefs,
Is with the populous Mag Loingseachain ;
Vehemently has he bounded to each fight,
O'Breislen, the generous, in Fanad. (*r*)

A battle-armed host which is not treacherous
Is over Ard Miodhair (*s*) of irriguous slopes ;
Men who have been found valiant,
Are proving it to O'Dochartaigh.

To Mac Gillatsamhais (*t*) the stout,
Belong Ross-guill (*u*) and Ross-Ferguil, I reckon
A host without boasting or falsehoods,
O'Furadhrain over Fin Ross. (*v*)

Two other Chieftains it is certain to you
Are over the victorious Tuath Bladhach, (*w*)
Of them is O'Cearnachain (*x*) of valour,
Some of whose prosperities I have proved.

Of them is the royal host of prosperous tribes,
The bountiful Muntir Dalachain.
I mention without good verses to you
Their names and their Country.

Tir Mac Carthain (*y*) of plundering slaughters
Belongs to the high-minded Siol Maolagain (*z*)
To put them in our poem it is our judgment,
There was a time when we would not repent of it.

Tir Breasail, land of fruit,
Has two tribes over it
Great the long prosperity in their land,
The O'Donnagains, the Mac Gaibhidhs.

Muntir Maolgaoithe (*a*) the wounding
By whom the land of foreigners was burned,
Learned men under the tree of lances,
O'Maolgaoithe is their fine Chieftain.

Mac Tighearnain, the fine, the brave,
Is over the steady Clan Fearghaile,
Great hosts are in good prosperity with this people,
Let us make our way from Cinel Conal.

The victory and hardihood of the race of Nial,
Is with Conall in his career,
A host who were not slow in attending us
From Conal, however, pass we.

This ends his poem on the Ultonians, which he prefaces with a list of chiefs : "First, of Oileach, O'Neill, Chief King of Oileach, and Mac Lachlain, its other Chief King ; O'Cathain and O'Conchobhair, Chief Lords of Ciannachta," etc.

To resume. Donal Oge, who appears to have possessed none of those qualities for which his father, Hugh Duff, was famous, and which endeared him to his clansmen, encountered much opposition from Donal, son of Murkertac Mac Loughlin, whose activity and warlike disposition gained him the support of a majority of the Cinel, with whom he gave battle to Donal Oge and overthrew him, in the fourth year of his reign, according to the *Annals of Ulster* : "A.D. 1234. Domhnall, son of Aedh O'Neill, King of Cinel Eoghan and future King of

Ireland, was killed by MacLoughlin and (his supporters of) the Cinel Eoghan." In the *Four Masters* he is styled Roydamna, or heir presumptive, to the throne of Ireland.

Donal Oge, who was father of the celebrated Hugh Boy, appears to have been married to a daughter or sister of his successor, M'Loughlin. Her death—"Cecily, daughter of MacLoughlin and Queen of the North of Ireland"—is recorded in the *Annals of Ulster* under 1250.

Mac Loughlin reigned till 1238 when, having expelled Hugh De Lacy, or one of his followers, from Ulster for having murdered M'Gilmore,—mentioned by O'Duggan as Chief of Ui Earcachain in Lecale in Ulidia, and in the *State Papers* as Chief of "Anderkin"—Maurice Fitzgerald, the Lord Justice, marched against him, and, according to the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, after a three months' campaign, succeeded in deposing him, and driving him to Connaught, when the Chieftainship was given to Brian O'Neill, nephew of Hugh Duff, and son of Nial Roe, who died about the year 1225. The *Annals of Ulster* state that in 1223 this Nial carried off the daughter of O'Cahan, who appears to have been confined in a convent in Derry, "and God and Columcille worked a miracle so that his thread of life was shortened."

From this Nial, a younger brother of Hugh Duff, the branch of the O'Neills represented in the 16th

century by the Earls of Tyrone, traced their descent. O'Donovan, in his pedigree of the O'Neills, makes this Nial senior to Hugh Duff; but that is altogether a mistake; for M'Namee, chief bard to Donal Oge, and his cousin Brian, whose poem on Brian's death, is quoted in the next chapter, refers to Donal as the oak, or stem of the O'Neills:

"O'Neill the Great, and his son,
Dear are the oak and the sapling—
Oh, what a noble pair are they
Domhnall and Aedh of Oileach."

In 1574 the *Four Masters*, in recording the death of an O'Neill of Clannaboy, a lineal descendant of Donal Oge, styles him the "chief and senior of the race of Eoghan," excepting a few members of his own sept.

NOTES.

(*a*) Ciannachta, now Keenaght in Londonderry, was, as noted, the patrimony of the O'Conchobhairs or O'Conors of the race of Tadhg, son of Cian (*a quo* Ciannachta), son of Oliol Olum, King of Munster. They were displaced by the O'Cahans, or O'Cathains.

(*b*) O'Dubhdiarma, now anglicised Dermot and sometimes changed to Mac Dermott. The name still exists in Co. Donegal. Bredach comprised about the eastern half of Inishowen. The name is still preserved in that of a glen and small river that flows into Lough Foyle.

(*c*) O'Hagan of Tullahoge.

(*d*) The O'Gormlys of Cinel Main have remained in obscurity since the plantation of Ulster in 1609. *See* Norden's Map given in Mr. Byrne's translation of O'Sullivan Beare's *History* for their territory, which was originally in the Barony of Raphoe in Donegal.

(*e*) The O'Ferghails, now O'Freels.

(*f*) The O'Domhnallains, now Donnelans.

(*g*) The O'Donnagains are to be distinguished from several other families who bore the same name which is anglicised Donegan.

(*h*) Mac Murchada, now MacMorrow, and Mac Murray. Some have changed the name to Morell.

(*i*) Mac Ruaidhri, now Mac Rory and sometimes translated Rogers, by which the origin of the race is disguised. A branch of this family became herenachs of the parish of Ballynascreen, in the Barony of Loughinsholin, in Derry, in the old church of which there is a curious monument to the family with an epitaph and armorial bearings. Mac Duinchuains. This name might be anglicised Mac Duncan, or Duncan.

(*j*) Muntir Birn is still the name of a district in Co. Tyrone, adjoining the Barony of Trough, Co. Monaghan.

(*k*) Cinel Eachach, made Corca Eachach in the prose version. The race of Eachach, or Eochaidh Binnigh, *i.e.*, the Tuneful, son of Eoghan, were seated in the present Barony of Loughinsholin in Derry; and east of Magh Iotha, and the Foyle, in Tyrone, Barony of Strabane. The Muntir Cheallaigh, or O'Kellys, were Chiefs in Derry, where they are still numerous. One branch of them resided in the valley of Glenconkene. The branches settled in Tyrone were known as the Cinel Binnigh of the Glen, the Cinel Binnigh of Tuath Rois and the Cinel Binnigh of Loch Drochaid, or Lake of the Bridge. Their territories adjoined.

(*l*) O'Ciarans, now Kerrins. The name Fearamaighe signifies "the men of the plain," but their situation is now unknown.

(*m*) The plain of Ith, in the Barony of Raphoe, containing the Church of Donaghmore. The families of O'Mailbreasail and O'Baoighill of the race of Eoghan, are now unknown in this territory. The Annalists have preserved no notice of them. The O'Baoighills, or O'Boyles of the race of Conal are a different family, and are still well known. The O'Cuinns, or Quins, are still numerous in Tyrone. O'Cionaiths, now Kennys.

(*n*) These O'Donnells of the race of Eoghan are now unknown, also the O'Duibhdnamas.

(*o*) O'hAghmaills. now anglicised Hamill, still a common name in Tyrone.

(*p*) O'hEitigein, now Magettigen by a commutation of O for Mac which is not uncommon. The exact position of the three tribes mentioned cannot now, O'Donovan says, be laid down on the map of Cinel Owen.

(*q*) O'Maolfothartaigh, now unknown.

(*r*) O'hEodhusa, now Hosey, or Hussey, but generally metamorphosed to Oswell in Co. Fermanagh. This family afterwaıds became bardic, and migrated to Fermanagh, where they were poets to the Maguires.

(*s*) O'Hagans. They cannot be distinguished from other families of the same name in Tyrone.

(*t*) Carraic Brachaidhe, now Carrickabraghy, a territory which comprised the north western portion of the Barony of Innishowen. The name is still applied to a Castle situated at the N. W. side of the peninsula at Doagh. The O'Maoilfabhaills, now anglicised Mulfaal and sometimes Macpaul. The family are still numerous; but the other two families are unknown.

(*u*) Eanach, situation unknown, but somewhere in the Barony of Strabane.

(*v*) The O'Murchada, or O'Murphys. There are families of the names of various stocks in different parts of Ireland. O'Donovan says Don Patricio O'Murphy, the steward of the Duke of Wellington's estates in Spain, is the only man living who retains the O in this name. The O'Morchoe, Secretary of the Bank of Ireland, officially known as A. M'Murrough Murphy, is the Chief of the Murphys of Leinster.

(*w*) O'Mellain, now Mellans and Millan. This family were for a time the keepers of St. Patrick's Bell, with which they appear to have attended at the inauguration of the Princes of Ulster. They were seated in the parish of Donaghmore in the territory of Imchlair, near Dungannon.

(*x*) Cinel Fearadhaigh, or Cinel Farry, now the Barony of Clogher, Co. Tyrone, the patrimony of Mac Cawells, or Mac Cathmhaoil. The Mac Cawells, who were Brehons in Cinel Owen, as well as the O'Hagans, are famous in Irish history for their learning, and the many dignitaries they supplied to the Church. They are now very much reduced, and many of the Sept seek to conceal their identity by anglicising their name

Caulfield. It is usually latinized Cavellus, and some of the Clan still retain the form Mac Cawell; but the greater number make it either Campbill, Campbell, Caulfield, or Howell. A distinguished branch of the family who changed the name to Caulfield, settled in Co. Wicklow, where they still retain considerable property. Their pedigree is well known. The O'Fiachras and other Septs of the Cinel Farry are unknown or disguised under some anglicised form, and cannot now be distinguished.

(*y*) O'Cearbhaill, or O'Carroll, now Carroll. The family is still numerous in Monaghan. O'Dubhdara was Chief of Fermanagh in the reign of the Monarch Murkertac when he witnessed the Charter of Newry.

(*z*) Mac Mathghamnas, or Mac Mahons, descendants of Mahon Lord of Farney, slain at Clones in 1022. Spenser fables that the Mac Mahons were of English descent, and a branch of the Fitz Ursulas; but Keating, O'Flaherty, O'Donovan, and others have shown that they are Irish, and of the race of Colla da Chrioch.—*See* Shirley's *Dominion of Farney*, pp. 147-150, for their pedigree. The Maguidhirs or Maguires supplied the Chiefs of Fermanagh from about 1264.

(*a*) O'Lairgnen, now Largan.

(*b*) O'Flattery. The O'Flatterys were Ulidians.—*See* Reeves *Ecclesiastical Antiquities.*

(*c*) O'Flainn, or O'Flyn, and O'Domhnallain, or O'Donnellan, of Hy Tuirtre, were sub-Chiefs of O'Neill, as well as O'Hercke, or Erck of Ui Fiachra; and O'Criodan. Ui or Hy Tuirtre has already been described, it was in the 14th century included in Clannaboy. The Hy Tuirtre were the senior branch of the Oirghialla, and descendants of Colla Uais. The Hy Fiachra Finn, otherwise called the Hy Fiacra of Ardstraw, were seated along the river Derg in the N. W. of Co. Tyrone, and their territory comprised the parish of Ardstraw and some adjoining parishes, now belonging to the Diocese of Derry. They were descended from Fiachra, son of Erc, eldest son of Colla Uais. O'Criodan is now anglicised Cregan. The level territory of this family still retains its ancient name, being now known as Magheracregan, south of the river Derg in Hy Fiacra.

(*d*) O'hAedha, now Hughes.—*See Four Masters*, A.D. 1044; and 1069. This name is very common in Ulster.

(*e*) Feara Fearnmaighe, *i.e.* the men of Fearnmaighe or Farney.

(*f*) O'Caomhain, or O'Keevan.

(*g*) Magh Leamhna was the name of a level district afterwards called the Closach.—*See* Colgan's *Trias Thaum*, pp. 149, 184. It is shown on an old map of Ulster in the State Paper Office as "the Countries of Cormac Mac Baron." The river Blackwater is marked as flowing through it. The Fort of Augher and the village of Ballygawley are situated within it.

(*h*) O'Mochoidhein, called by the *Four Masters* O'Machaidhen.

See A.D. 997, 1053, 1062, 1110. The name is now unknown. Mughdhorna, or Crioch Mughdhorn.—*See Four Masters*, 1457. The Mughdhorni were the descendants of Mughdhorn Duff, son of Colla Mean.

(*i*) Oirtheara, or Crioch na nAirthear, latinized "Regio Orientalium." This territory was in the east of Arghailla, and the name is still preserved in the two baronies of Orior in the east of Co. Armagh. The O'hIr and O'hOAnluain, or O'Hare and O'Hanlon, we would infer from the poem, were rivals.

(*j*) O'Cosgraigh, now Cosgrave and Cosgrove. The Feara Rois occupied the parishes of Carrickmacross and Clonany in Monaghan, and parts of the adjoining Cos. of Meath and Louth. Its exact limits have not been ascertained.—*See Four Masters*, A.D. 322, and *Book of Rights*, p. 154.

(*k*) Ui Meith Macha. This Sept derived from Muredach Meith (the Fat) son of Imchad, son of Colla da Chrioch. They were seated in the parishes of Tullycorbet, Kilmore, and Tehallon, in the Barony and County of Monaghan.

(*l*) O'hInnreachtaigh, now O'Hanratty.

(*m*) Mac Domhnaill of Clan Ceallaigh, or Mac Donnell of Clan Kelly, a barony in Fermanagh. This family remains in the east of Fermanagh, and is to be distinguished from the M'Donnells of Scotland.—*See Four Masters*, 1441, 1466, 1484, 1499, 1501.

(*n*) Muntir Boylan, or O'Boylans.

(*o*) Dartraighe now the Barony of Dartry in the W. of Monaghan.—*See Book of Rights*, p. 123.

(*p*) Loch Lir was one of the ancient names of Carlingford Lough; but there must have been another lake of the same name. The Ui Laeghaire, or Hy Leary would appear to have been seated in Tyrone to the east of Lurg in Fermanagh.

(*q*) The Muntir Taithligh, *i.e.*, the O'Tullys, or Tillys.

(*r*) Now O'Muldoon and Meldon. Lurg is a barony in Fermanagh, where this family is still numerous.

(*s*) This might be anglicised M'Tiernan.

(*t*) Tuath Ratha, *i.e.*, the district of the fort, anglicised Toorah. It comprised the Barony of Magheraboy in Fermanagh. The O'Flannagans are still numerous in the district. They and their neighbours, the O'Muldoons, formerly paid tribute direct to O'Neill, as appears from the *Book of Rights*.—*See* Chap. II., Part I., for the tribute of the Princes of Aileach, where they are mentioned. In the 18th century The O'Flanagan of Tooragh, who emigrated to the Continent, became Colonel in the Imperial service; and his brother James was Lt.-General of Dillon's Regiment in France.

(*u*) Muntir Pheodachain extended from the mouth of the Arny river in Fermanagh, to the western extremity of the Belmore Mountains.

(*v*) Mac Giolla Finnen. The Mac Gillafinnens are still

numerous in this territory; but they are disguised at present under the Anglicised form of Leonard. Though set down among the Arghiallans, they were of the Cinel Conal, and of the same stock as the O'Maldoreys.—*See Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 335.

(*w*) The Ui Conghaile were seated in the barony of Knockninny, Co. Fermanagh, and were dispossessed in the 15th century by two branches of the Maguires called the Clan Awley, and Clan Caffrey.

(*x*) The O'Maolruanaidhs or Mulroneys, as well as the O'Hegneys, or O'Heaneys, and others, were supplanted by the Maguires as Chiefs of Fermanagh in this century. Feara Manach or Fermanagh, got its name from Manach, a Lagenian of the race of Cahir More, whose descendants settled there.

(*y*) Claddach, now the Barony of Trough, Co. Monaghan, the patrimony of the Mac Cianaiths, or M'Kennas, who are still numerous there. They were of the race of Nial, settled in Meath.

(*z*) O'Corbmaic, now Cormic. This Sept was seated in the Barony of Tirkeeran in Londonderry, but they were supplanted by the O'Cahans and others of the race of Eoghan.—*See* Chap. II., Part I.

(*a*) The Ui Breasail of Macha, or Clan Breasail were seated in the Barony of Oneilland, East, in Armagh. For many centuries the M'Canns of the race of Rochai, son of Colla da Chrioch, were the Chiefs, having dispossessed the O'Garveys (O'Gairbhiths) at an early period. The territory is shown on the Map of Ulster in the State Paper Office, south of Lough Neagh, at the entrance of the Upper Bann.

(*b*) O'Longains, now Longan and Long.

(*c*) O'Dubheamhnas, now Devaneys, or Devennys.

(*d*) O'Conchobhairs, now O'Conors.

(*e*) Ui Lorcain, now Larkin, the boundary line between the two Septs cannot be drawn.

(*f*) Ui Eathach, *i.e.*, the descendants of Eachaidh. They were not the people of Iveagh in the Co. Down; but a Sept of the Orghialla, descended from Eachaidh, son of Fiachra Casan, son of Colla da Chrioch. They were seated in the district of Tuath Eathach, which comprised the present Barony of Armagh. It was afterwards held by the O'Neills of the Fews. The Clan Ruadhagain or O'Rogans of this district are still extant; but the Clan Cearnagh (Carney) and O'Domhnaills or O'Donnells, are unknown, and perhaps extinct.

(*g*) Clan Daimhin, or O'Davins, now Devin, and Devine. A family of this name is mentioned by the *Four Masters* in 1427, as Chiefs in Tir Kennedy in Fermanagh.

(*h*) Ui Maoilcraoibhe, or O'Mulcreeves. A family of this name occupied the west side of Knockbreda, near Belfast in Clannaboy; but it is highly probable that this was not their original situation, but that they were driven from a more westerly position on the increasing power of the race of Eoghan.—*See Four Masters*, 1490; and Stuart's *Armagh*, p. 630.

(*i*) Little Modharn. This formed the northern portion of Meath, where it adjoins Co. Monaghan. It was otherwise called Mughdhorn Breagh as being part of the plain of Magh Breagh — *See Four Masters*, A.D. 807, 836, 867, 880.

(*j*) Ui Seaoin *recte* Ui Seghain, a people situated to the north of Ardbracan, Co Meath —*See Trip. Life of St Patrick*, Part III., c. xiv., and *Trias Thaum.*, p. 152. O'hAinbheth is now anglicised Hanvey and Hanafey.

(*k*) Ui Mac Carthainn, or Tir Keerin in Cinel Owen. O'Conaill of this district is now made Connell, and the family of O'Colgan is written Mac Colgan. The latter on being dispossessed became herenachs of the Church lands of Donaghmore in Inishowen, where at the foot of Slieve Snaght the celebrated John Colgan, author of the *Acta Sanctorum*, was born.

(*l*) Very great Chieftains. O'Donovan remarks on this that the two families—O'Colgains and O'Conaills—would appear to have sunk very low in O'Duggan's time, for notwithstanding these high terms applied to them, they are not even once mentioned in the *Annals*. It is strange, he adds, that he should mention them in such unqualified terms, while he does not even name the distinguished family of O'Brolchain.

(*m*) Now O'Haughy, Haugh, and Hoey. The O'Haugheys branched from the Mac or O'Donlevys in the last century. The O'Donlevys, or Donlevys, in the 14th century removed to Tir Conall, where they became physicians to the O'Donnells. Some of them passed into Scotland, where they made the name Dunlief and Dunlap. Others have changed the name to Livingstone.

(*n*) These are mentioned in the *Four Masters* at the years 965, 980, 1005, 1046, 1065, 1094, 1119, 1136, as Lords of Ui Eathach Uladh, now Iveagh in Down, but no later notice of them is found. The name would be anglicised Hatty, or Hetty; but it is probably extinct.—*See* Reeves' *Down and Connor*, pp. 351, 367.

(*o*) Anglicised O'Haughian. A bard of this name was a candidate for the Ollaveship of O'Neill in 1394.

(*p*) The O'Labhradhas, now Laverys, and O'Leathlobhairs, now Lawlors, or Lalors. The latter are mentioned as Kings of Dal Araidhe and Ulidia in the years 904, 912, and 930; but no later notice of them occurs. Whether they are the same Lawlors that appear to have been seated, at an early period, at Dysart Enos in Leix, has not yet been determined.—*See* Reeves' *Down and Conor*. p. 343.

(*q*) O'Loingsigh, now Linchey and Lynch. According to M'Firbis, Lawlor was the thirteenth, and Lynch the sixteenth in descent from Fiacha Araidhe.

(*r*) The O'Mornas, who were of Connaught origin, afterwards took the name of Mac Gillamuire, now Gilmore. They were seated in the territory of Ui Ercachain in Lecale. Under the Princes of Clannaboy they held a territory now included in

Lower Ards, in Down.—*See* M'Firbis, p. 513; and *Book of Lecan*, folio 142.

(*s*) Now O'Mahony, Maghan, Mahon, or Mahan; for their descent *see* Reeves' *Down and Conor*, p. 362.

(*t*) O'Coinne, now Kenny and Quin.—*See* Reeves, pp. 79, 367.

(*u*) Now Garvey. For a curious account of this family *see* O'Brien's *Irish Dictionary*. The townland of Aughnagon in the parish of Clonallon near Newry in Down, was part of their ancient patrimony, and remained in their possession till the beginning of the last century.—*See* Reeves, p. 367.

(*v*) Now Hanvey and Hannfey. No notice of this family occurs in the *Four Masters*, which contains several entries concerning the O'Hannifeys of Oirghialla.

(*w*) Mag Aenghusa, anglicised Magennis. The exact situation of their territory of Clan Aedha has not been determined.—*See* Reeves, pp. 348, 352. After the English invasion they became lords of all Iveagh.

(*x*) Cinel Faghartaigh, now Kinel Arty, in Down, the patrimony of the Mac Artans.—*See* O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*, p. 371; Harris's *History of Down*, p. 74; *Four Masters*, 1130, 1375, 1493; and Reeves, p. 368.

(*y*) Anglicised Devaney. Reeves conjectures that Cinel Amhalghaidhe (Awley) the tribe-name of this family, may have been given to the parish of Magherally, anciently Magherawley.

(*z*) The O'Mornas, as remarked, came originally from Connaught.

(*a*) Mag Duilechains. This name appears to have been anglicised Mac Goolechan, or Coolecan.—*See* Chapter on Henry, grandson of Hugh Boy, for their territory, known as Clanbrassil Mac Coolechan, of which the O'Kellys were chiefs in the 16th century.

(*b*) O'Coltorain. Reeves conjectures that the parish of Ballyculter at Strangford in Down derived its name from this family.

(*c*) The Mourne Mountains.

(*d*) Now Cooley in the north of Louth.

(*e*) Now Moira in Down. In the early part of the 17th century Turlough Oge O'Lavery, or O'Lawry, held several townlands in this parish.

(*f*) The Cinel Eogan.

(*g*) The O'Muldoreys.—*See Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 335.

(*h*) For O'Donovan's pedigree of the Clan Daly.—*See Battle of Magh Rath*, pp. 336-7, and Appendix to *Four Masters*, pp. 2377 and 2420.

(*i*) Clan Chinnfaelaidh. A district in the north-west of Donegal, comprising the parishes of Raymunterdory and Tullaghohegly.—*See* note to *Four Masters*, A.M. 3330, p. 18.

(*j*) Tir Ainmirech, now the barony of Boylagh in Donegal.

(*k*) Tir Baghaine, now the barony of Bannagh.—*See* note, Chap. II., Part. I.

(*l*) Anglicised O'Boyle.

(*m*) Mullany. Magh Seiridh was the name of a plain in the north of the barony of Tir Hugh.

(*n*) Now O'Hughes.—*See* note, Chap. II., Part I.

(*o*) O'Tairchert. This name is now unknown in Donegal. The O'Taircherts are mentioned in the *Annals* (*Four Masters*) under 1113, 1197, and 1212, as Chiefs of Clanelly in the barony of Raphoe, west of Letterkenny. Clan Neachtain was another name for Clanelly, or Clan Snedhghaille.

(*p*) Mac Dubhain, anglicised Mac Guane. For the Cinel Enda, who were of the race of Enda, son of Nial, *See* Chapter II., Part I.

(*q*) Glen Binnigh, a valley in the parish of Kilteevoge, west of Stranorlar in Donegal. The name Mac Loingseachain is now anglicised Lynch.

(*r*) Fanaid was the patrimony of O'Breslin who was superseded by the M'Sweenys of the race of Eoghan—descendants of Hugh Atlamh, Prince of Aileach and Ulster, who died in 1033.

(*s*) Ard Mire. The limits of this territory have not been yet determined. In 1199 O'Doherty, who afterwards got possession of Inishowen, was Chief of Kinel Enda, and Ard Mire.

(*t*) This name might be anglicised Mac Iltavish.

(*u*) Ros Guil, or Rosgull, A well-known promontory in the north of Donegal. West of it was Ros Irguill.

(*v*) Finn Ross, now the Rosses in the Barony of Boylagh. O'Furadhrain is now Farran, or Forran.

(*w*) Anglicised Doe, a district in the north of Kilmacrenan.

(*x*) O'Cearnachain, now Kernaghan.

(*y*) Tir Mac Carthainn, *i.e.* the territory of the race of Carthainn, son of Fergus, son of Conall Gulban.

(*z*) Siol Maologain, anglicised Mulligan, and Molineaux.

(*a*) O'Maolgaoithe, now Mulgeely, and Wynne. O'Donovan says that the territories and tribes of Tir Conal can never be properly illustrated until the chasm in the *Book of Lecan* is supplied.

CHAPTER IV.

BRIAN OF THE BATTLE OF DOWN, NEPHEW OF HUGH DUFF, KING OF ULSTER AND OF THE IRISH OF IRELAND.—1238 TO 1260.

BRIAN only held the chieftainship for a year when he was dislodged by Donal, after the battle of Carnteel, near Aughnacloy, in the present barony of Dungannon, Co. Tyrone, where Donal O'Neill, surnamed Tamniaghe or of Tawny; M'Mahon; Sorly and Caechbearnais O'Gormly, and many others, were left on the field.

Donal reassumed the chieftainship after this; but was again deprived of it in 1241, when Brian, aided by Malachy O'Donnell, who had lately succeeded his father, overthrew and slew him, with ten of the chief men of his family and all his supporters of the Cinel Owen, at the battle of Caimerge, a place not identified by O'Donovan, but, as mentioned in the last chapter, tradition points out the site of a great battle between O'Neill and M'Loughlin, near Maghera, which most probably refers to that of Caimerge.

Donal left a son, Murrogh, father of Eoghan, and grandfather of Nial, whose pedigree is brought down to the end of the 16th century by O'Hart.

Though the M'Loughlins were never strong enough to contest the chieftainship with the O'Neills after this, they were still a power in the land, as appears from O'Duggan's poem. In Inishowen they held the castles of Caire Macelwyn and Carnegall in the 16th century.

A branch of the family, according to O'Donovan, (*Four Masters*), removed with the O'Donnells to Mayo—about the year 1679—where, he says, they still hold the rank of gentlemen.

These contests, the inevitable result of the law of Tanistry, or succession—see page 188, Part I., by weakening the power of O'Neill and the Cinel, gave the ascendancy to the English, and furnished matter for further strife by encouraging the tributary chiefs to resist his authority, as we have all along seen and shall see. At no time since the invasion had the English such sway in Ireland as in the middle of this century.

In 1244, Henry III., King of England, being about to march against the King of the Scots, Alexander II. addressed the following letter to Brian, translated by Taafe in his *History of Ireland*:

"The King to Brian O'Nel, King of Kinelun, health. Whereas the King of Scotland has provoked us by injuries, and that we have prepared to rise against him in revenge for his many transgressions, unless he makes reparation, confiding in your love

that you will not deny us your help, in this our expedition ; we request you to come along with our Justiciary of Ireland, and other liege men of Ireland, who are soon to come to the parts of Scotland to distress our enemies there ; and that you would be pleased to give us such and so powerful a succour, appearing personally at the head of your brave forces, that you may in any distress apply to us for succour with full confidence. And by granting this our prayer whatever favour you ask, we most willingly shall acknowledge ourselves bound to grant with a special act of thanksgiving. Witness the King, at Stanford, 7th day of July."[1]

Copies of this were also sent to Brian's Tanist—"O'Nel of Troughonyll"—*i.e.*, Hugh Boy, progenitor of the Clannaboy ; and to his sub and tributary chiefs : O'Donnell, O'Cahan, O'Henery, M'Ginnis, M'Donnell, M'Artan,O'Flyn, M'Mahon, and M'Guire. From Brian and many of his successors who were under obligations to the Deputies in this century the English monarchs received on occasions valuable aid in their Welsh and Scottish wars, as appears from the *Pipe Rolls* preserved in the Bermingham Tower, Dublin Castle, in which appears the entries upon sundry accounts of the King's Seneschal in Ulidia : " Bren Regulus de Kinelun 100 li. de auxilio Dni Regis ad guerram suam in Wasconia ; " and

[1] Rymer's *Fœdera.*

in the 36th of Henry III. : "Oneele Rex, 100 li de auxilio Regis ad guerram suam in Wallia."

On the above occasion a treaty settled the claims which had been the subject of contest between the rivals.

In 1248 Maurice FitzGerald led an army to the assistance of Godfrey, son of Donal O'Donnell, who opposed the reigning chief, Rory O'Canannan.

Rory was driven into Tyrone, whence he returned with a force of the Cinel Owen and ousted O'Donnell. Rory was supported by Brian and most of his clansmen of Cinel Conal; but the English, as remarked, were supreme at this time, and when the Lord Justice, Theobald Butler, marched into Ulster soon after, they were both compelled to yield. Brian consulted his chiefs, who agreed that it would be advisable to give way "for the good of the country." The Lord Justice took advantage of this to erect a bridge over the Bann at Coleraine and a castle at Drum Lairsigh as an aid in future wars.

O'Donnell, backed by the English and the Connaught chiefs, by whom he had been set up, until his death proved a trouble to Brian, whose chief, O'Canannan, taken prisoner by FitzGerald and his allies, was killed in endeavouring to effect his escape.

In 1253 O'Neill gave a great overthrow to the Lord Justice and the English—who, with the Irish of Meath and Munster, in the previous year had

succeeded in exacting as a hostage his brother Rory —after which he marched against the English of Ulidia, stormed and demolished the castle of Moycava, with many others ; and took the town of Dundalk, which, with the surrounding district, he burned.

Never again was he troubled by Lord Justice Butler, or by FitzGerald, who was not at all backward in invading Ulster when he had the advantage, and who was mortally wounded in a combat with O'Donnell (Godfrey) at Credan, near Sligo, in 1257.

O'Donnell was so severely wounded in this combat that he had himself conveyed to a crannoge in Lough Beagh, in Cinel Conal, where he lingered till 1258, when O'Neill, either hearing that his clansmen were about to elect his successor, or that they had rebelled against him, sent his herald to demand hostages, pledges, and submission.

The herald, with his white wand and his sword, symbolical of the alternative to be accepted—peace or war—on reaching Cinel Conal was directed by the Cinel to the residence of their chief in Lough Beagh.

" And thither came the messenger, O'Neill's henchman he,
And proudly o'er the heath he stept, with bearing bold and free.
His left hand grasps a sheathed sword—then spake O'Donnell brief :
' Stranger, you come from Cinel Owen—what tidings from your chief ? '

"'High Chief of Donegal'—'twas thus the clansman back did say—
'O'Niall sends you greeting fair, as lord a vassal may,
And bids you render homage due, as did your sires before,
And unto him this tribute pay ere thrice three days are o'er:
A hundred hawks from out your woods, all trained their prey to get:
A hundred steeds from off your hills, uncrost by rider yet;
A hundred kine from off your plains, the best your land doth know;
A hundred hounds from out your hills, to hunt the stag and roe.'

O'Donnell replies:

"'Nor hawk, nor hound, nor steed, nor steer, O'Niall gets from me;
Nor homage yield, nor tribute send—no vassal clan are we.
And be he Lord of Clannaboy and Chieftain at Tyrone,
Yet I am prince in Donegal—let each man hold his own.'"

Brian's clansman:

"——heard in silent rage, then proud his sword he drew,
And boldly at O'Donnell's feet the scabbard down he threw;

And waved in air the blade aloft, and blew a trumpet
blast—
Then folded stern his mantle wide, and o'er the hills
he passed."

O'Neill, on hearing of the resolve of the Cinel Conal, prepared to march against them; and O'Donnell, says the story, in the *Four Masters*, assembled his clansmen and told them to make for him a bier on which he could be borne into battle in their midst, as he was unable to march at their head.

This being done, the army proceeded on its march against O'Neill, who, nearing Lough Swilly, sights his rebel subjects. What follows is best described in the poem on this battle (Lough Swilly), written anonymously :[1]

"Lough Swilly's sides are thick with spears—O'Neill's
host is there,
And proud and gay their battle sheen, their banners
flaunt the air;
And haughtily a challenge bold their trumpet bloweth
free,
When, winding down the heath-clad hills, O'Donnell's
band they see.

[1] Supposed to have been written by A. G. Geoghegan, author of the *Monks of Kilcrea*. See the *Poems and Ballads of Ireland* by Edward Hayes, for another poem on this battle by Aubrey De Vere. The Battle of Credan is the subject of a poem by Edward Walsh, given in the collection of *Irish Ballads* by D. F. M'Carthy.

No answer back those warriors gave, but sternly on they
stept,
And in their centre curtain'd black, a litter close is
kept,
And all the host it guideth fair, as did in Galilee
Proud Judah's tribes the Ark of God when crossing the
Red Sea.

'What paltry trick is this I see?' O'Niall sternly
said;
'Do shaven priests with stole and pall Tyrconnell's
rebels head?
Then shall they learn how scant I prize such mean and
pompous show.
O'Hanlon! you have steeds and men, and yonder is the
foe.'

Then reined that chief his panting steed, his sword above
him flash'd,
And 'forward! sons of Coll,' he cried, and o'er the heath
he dash'd;
And like a rock that thunders down some dried-up
torrent bed,
Clan Hanlon's horsemen bounded on, young Redmond
at their head!

But M'Sweeny (*a*) met them in the midst and check'd
their fierce career—
M'Sweeny, Chief of Fanad broad, with many a mountain
spear—
And he slew their gallant leader, and clove both crown
and shield;
And wide Clan Hanlon's horsemen bold are scattered
through the field!

Then rush'd like fire Clan Rory's (*b*) race with shouts that
rend the skies,
And stricken by M'Gennis stern, the stout M'Sweeny
dies ;
But from the hills O'Cahan (?) bursts, with Chiefs of
Inishowen,
And falls the Tanist of Iveagh for O'Neill and Tyrone !

Then rose the roar of battle loud, as clan meets clan in
fight,
And axe and skian grew red with blood, a sad and woful
sight ;
Yet, in the midst of all unmoved, that litter black is
seen
Like some dark rock that lifts its head o'er ocean's war
serene.

Yet once when blenching back fierce Brian's charge
before,
Tyrconnell wavered in its ranks, and all was nearly
o'er ;
Aside those curtains wide were flung, and plainly to the
view
Each host beheld O'Donnell there all pale and wan in
hue.

And to his tribes he stretch'd his hands and pointed to
the foe,
And with a shout they rally round, and on Clan Hugh
they go ;
And back they beat their horsemen fierce, and in a
column deep,
With O'Donnell in their foremost ranks, in one fierce
charge and sweep.

And on that host a panic came—a panic and a fear—
And then their hearts wax faint and low—their hands
drop sword and spear;
And stricken by the ghastly sight, despite their leaders
high,
They shrink before O'Donnell's face and turn their
steeds to fly!

In vain O'Niall dash'd along, with banner in his hand,
And for the honour of Tyrone he bade them turn and
stand;
In wild affright his squadrons flee, as ebbs the tide away,
Tho' the north wind strives to check it in Dundrum's
rocky bay.

Lough Swilly's banks are thick with spears!—O'Niall's
hosts are there;
But rent and tost like tempest clouds—Clan Donnell in
the rear.
Lough Swilly's waves are red with blood, as madly in its
tide
O'Niall's horsemen wildly plunge to reach the other side.

And broken is Tyrowen's pride, and vanquished Clanna-
boy,
And there is wailing through the land from Bann to
Aughnacloy;
The Red Hand's crest is bent in grief, upon its shield a
stain,
For its stoutest clans are broken and its bravest chiefs
are slain."

This battle was fought near Letterkenny, in the

streets of which O'Donnell expired on his bier from the wounds received at Credan the previous year :

"They dug him there a fitting grave upon that field of pride,
And a lofty cairn rais'd above by fair Lough Swilly's side."

O'Neill, though discomfited, was by no means defeated ; and on Godfrey's death he again sent heralds demanding submission and hostages, when, according to the *Four Masters*, the Cinel Conal held a council to deliberate on what should be done and as to which of their chiefs they would yield obedience to, as they had no certain lord since the death of Godfrey. Whilst they were thus deliberating they saw approaching them Donal Oge O'Donnell, son of Donal More, then eighteen years of age, who had just arrived from Scotland, and on whom they conferred the Chieftainship.

On being told of O'Neill's demands, the Four Masters add, he deemed them "extravagant and exorbitant," and it was on this occasion he repeated the proverb in the Albanian Gaelic, "that every man should have his own world," or, "Let each man hold his own."

In the end, however, Donal, whose mother was a daughter of Cathal Crov Dearg, King of Connaught, was obliged to submit to O'Neill, who—at a great

meeting held soon after at the castle of Cael Uisce, at the extremity of Lough Erne—was unanimously elected and crowned "King of the Irish of Ireland," and hostages were given to him as such by Hugh, son of Felim (*c*) O'Conor, King of Connaught, grandson of Cathal Crov Dearg; Tiege O'Brien, Prince of Thomond and Chief of the Irish of Munster; O'Melaghlin of Meath, and the other nobles present.[1]

He was thus, for the time at least, the acknowledged King of the Irish, a title never claimed by the English kings, who, up to the reign of Henry VIII., the first English King of Ireland, were satisfied with the style and title of Dominus or Lord.

The English kings, or their Deputies, exercised little authority in Ireland down to the reign of Henry outside their own districts.

They had one great advantage over the Irish princes, however. For though they had no standing army—it not being in the power of a king at this period, as Dr. Richey says, to maintain such—they yet could collect the whole forces of the Pale by summoning their barons or sub-chiefs on penalty of treason, a thing unknown to the Irish, whose laws recognized no offence against the state, and who consequently thought little of throwing off their allegiance. In this respect, as Dr. Todd (*Wars of Gael and Gall*) observes, "an Irish army was a

[1] *Annals of Ulster; Four Masters; Clonmacnoise; Loch Ce,* etc.

rope of sand." "Each clan, no doubt," he adds, "adhered with unshaken loyalty to its immediate chieftain; but the chief, on the smallest offence, could dismiss his followers to their homes, even on the very eve of a decisive battle. He was ready at every personal insult or supposed insult, to abandon the national cause, and for the sake of a selfish revenge, disguised under the name of honour, to expose the whole national army to inevitable defeat. Nor did his defection, however capricious or unreasonable, expose him to any loss of caste or of reputation; for all were conscious that under similar circumstances they would have done the same." Brian was not long in experiencing the truth of these remarks.

After his coronation at Cael Uisce, beside "O'Maldorey's flagstone," he set about .preparing to take the field against the English, and making good his claim to the supremacy; but the old dissensions soon arose to frustrate his efforts.

O'Brien, though he only retained a shadow of his former power, was overcome by jealousy on seeing a chance of disposing of the English, and determined on further cosideration on withholding his support; so when, according to ancient custom, he was presented with a taurcrec of 200 war-steeds, with their harness and gold bits, as token of the subordination due by him to the Ard Righ, he refused to accept them.

Meanwhile the Lord Justice, Stephen Longespee, grandson of Henry II. and Fair Rosamond, collected an immense army, at the head of which he marched to Downpatrick, where he was joined by the English of Ulidia with the mayor—Roger Le Taylor—and citizens.

Brian, hurriedly, as it would appear, mustered his forces and advanced against him, accompanied by his Tanist and commander, Hugh Boy, and O'Melaghlin of Meath, and O'Conor with the men of Connaught. The Cinel Conal and Ulidians failed to appear.

At Drumdearg—the Red Hill or Ridge near Downpatrick—he found the English drawn up ready to receive him. After addressing his men in a few inspiriting words, he gave the signal for battle, withdrawing himself to an eminence overlooking the battlefield, with his standard-bearer, O'Hanlon, and the men of Orior, who apparently acted as his bodyguard, for it was as unusual as imprudent for the monarch to take the lead.

Though the English apparently had the advantage in every way—in numbers, in equipment and doubtless in position—the victory inclined to the Irish, till the monarch, breaking through his guards, took up a position at the head of his men, when he soon fell, disabled by a poisoned arrow or spear. His troops then gave way, and were finally routed with the loss of 352 men, among whom were reckoned

O'Melaghlin of Meath, Manus and Hugh and Murta O'Kane, or O'Cahan, with twelve of his kinsmen; Cian O'Henery, of Clan Henery, in the valley of Glenconkene, in Londonderry; Auliffe O'Gormly of Cinel Maen; Donal O'Cairre of Cinel Aengus; Dermot M'Loughlin, O'Hegny of Fermanagh; Donslevy M'Cann of Clan Brassil; Conor O'Duvdirma of Bredagh, in Inishowen, and his son, Hugh; and Culadh and Nial O'Hanlon. Of the Connaught chiefs there fell Gilchreest O'Malroney M'Dermott, Chief of Moylurg, and many of his kinsmen; Cathal, son of Teernan O'Conor; Tiege, son of Cian O'Gara; Gillaberaigh O'Quinn, and many others.

Brian was left on the field with the rest, and his head, like Bruce's, after the battle of Dundalk, was preserved in salt and sent to London, to Henry III., who, writing to his son, Edward I., in June, 1260, says he has lately learnt by letters from Sir Roger de Altaribus, the Prior of St. Thomas, at Down, that the English had "by the help of Divine grace," defeated Brian O'Neill, who bore himself—presumptuously of course—as "King of the Kings of Ireland."

Leland (*History of Ireland*) says that in this battle Brian fell by the treachery of his own people, on the authority of the translation of the old *Annals of Innisfallen*, made in 1665, by M'Firbis for Sir Jas. Ware.

There is no mention of this in any of the other

books of Annals, or in the Dublin copy of the *Annals of Innisfallen*; but the Bodleian Copy of these *Annals*[1] says that Brian "was killed by his own Gaeidhil (Gaels) and some of the Galls (English) of Dun-da-leath-ghlas" (Downpatrick).

The English annalists record this battle also—as Clyn, Dowling, Grace, Hanmer, etc.—but make no mention of the treachery, which most probably refers to the desertion of the Ulidians and Cinel Conal.

The following lament for Brian by his chief bard, Gillabride M'Namee (Gilla Brighde Mac Conmidhe), is taken from the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*, edited by O'Donovan.

In this long poem he lauds the hospitality and laments the loss of Brian, King of Tara, "the tall fair hero," in bardic eloquence; bewails the misfortune of the Irish in losing him; enumerates the chiefs of the Cinel Owen who fell along with him, among whom he mentions Manus O'Kane as the greatest loss next after the king himself; and observes, in a tone of grief and despondency, that all the former victories of the Cinel Owen were more than counterbalanced on this occasion.

The text was obtained by O'Donovan from four copies, the only ones known to him. The one was a parchment MS., the property of John Nugent, Esq., of Farrenconnell, Co. Cavan; the others,

[1] Quoted by O'Donovan in *Miscellany of the Celtic Society*.

paper MSS., were the property of the O'Conor Don; the R. I. Academy, and O'Curry.

The M'Namees, who were hereditary poets to the Princes of Ulster, are still very numerous there. Loughlin, or Malachy M'Namee, of Draperstown Cross, Co. Derry, was believed to be the head of the family in 1835, when he told O'Donovan several anecdotes of his ancestors.

LAMENT FOR O'NEILL.

BY

M'NAMEE, HIS CHIEF BARD.

A.D. 1260.

Death of my heart is the head of Brian
In a strange country under cold clay.
O head of Brian of Sliabh Sneachta (*d*),
Eire after thee is an orphan.

To the King of the Saxons eastwards
Was carried the head of the King of the Gaeidhil by the Galls.
Is it not sufficient over the Gaedhil
That thou, O head, art triumphed over.

It is equal to all the evil the foreigners have done
To bring the head of Brian to London.
It is a sore consummation of his fate
That his head should be in a stranger's church.

Alas! that his noble face was removed from Dun (Down),
From the place where is the grave of Patrick.
It is grievous to us that the King of Caiseal (*e*)
Is not interred near the relics of the Tailginn. (*f*)

In Ard Macha are the interments
Of Ulaidh, with their limestone graves,
Among (the tombstones of) our Clann-Neill ;
Alas ! that his resurrection shall not be there.

There is in London, under a white flagstone,
A head which the Gaedhil would dearly ransom.
All my cattle, although thou hearest it not, O head !
I would give to ransom thee.

He gave twenty horned cows
For my poem, (*g*) it was a goodly purchase,
Were the twenty cows with golden horns,
My honour was no greater or better.

I brought away with me on another day
Twenty cows at May-day,
Along with much other wealth besides,
Not counting gold and raiment.

I received a better gift,
The blessing of the Chief King of Eire ;
The reward for his poem is not trifling,
(But) more lasting the fame of his blessing.

All have poured from east and west
Upon my cattle since the good Brian departed.
They and my king have passed away at the same time
The noble Brian, from whom I got them.

Were we without horse, without cow,
For want of cattle we would not repine,
And there would not be felt want in my house,
If the King of Macha were living.

Woe is me, it would seem distressing to Brian
To see what indignity is offered me ;
Injustice to me from east to west would be unlikely
If Brian were living.

The war of the Gaedhil with the foreigners
Was playing for a check at foreign chessmen.
The foreign pawns checked our chess king,
We cannot now escape defeat.

The top of one carn was cut down
By a hideous exotic horde of reapers ;
Who came against us on Sunday to Dun
When the crop was put to ripeness and turning.

Till the day at Dun no battle was gained
Over the race of Mileadh of Teamhair ;
But when it is the destiny of people to pass away,
Valour or prowess is of no avail.

In its own time we have not seen
The deed which would relieve Eire,
As valour, it is ascertained,
Ought to be exerted on the cessation of prowess.

From the number of forts which he plundered and burned ;
From the number of great battles which he gained ;
Every flank of a fortressed town which he shattered ;
By the foreigners of Dun was revenged.

The foreigners from London,
The hosts from Port-lairge (Waterford)
Came in a bright green body thither,
In gold and iron armour.

Unequal they engaged in the battle,
The foreigners and the Gaedhils of Teamhair,
Fine linen shirts on the race of Conn,
And the foreigners in one mass of iron.

The cause of our defeat was our being in guilt
In the battle for the possession of Maenmhagh.
Ah ! if all were indeed to abstain from the battle.
Sunday was no day for fighting.

Of what avail is valour or many spears ?
By poison a fierce battle is gained,
Until O'Neill was disabled by poison ;
The prowess of the hero was terrible.

The cow of a poor man was never brought to his house ,
The reliquary of a priest he never violated.
What curse could have followed him for which the battle was lost ?
There is no church against which he sinned.

A steed with his ornamental bridle on his head,
Would pass (*h*) throughout Eire,
Through Inisfail to Brian of Breagh
It would pass without anyone putting a hand to the bridle.

A woman would pass to Brian
From Sliabh Callain to Corrsliabh ; (*i*)
The walk among the Gaedhil is frightful to me
Since the chief man of Eire has departed.

O'Neill did not violate a sanctuary ;
He did not disobey the church ;
The prosperity of Brian was destroyed by poison.
To be pious after him is difficult.

The heroes of Leth Chuinn in the battle
Fell together in defence of Teamhair,
As when the prop is withdrawn from a house,
Its ridge falls down after it.

The fall of the chieftains of the men of Fail
Is not to be compared to this one plague.
The chieftains of the Gaedhils being mortally wounded,
One man would supply their loss. (*j*)

There, upon the heroes of Leth Chuinn,
Reproach on reproach is heaped by us,
To have allowed the king into the battle was not right.
Alas the deed that he was not prevented.

To leave the King of Oileach among the slain
Is a disgrace to the race of Eoghan of white steeds.
It was a false guarding in the soldiers of Eamhain (*k*)
To have allowed their lord to break through them.

After the bloody battle
The Gaedhil cannot move;
The flagstaff of Fail (moves not) west or east
Only because Brian liveth not.

It was the first battle (*l*) which Brian fought
In which the head chieftain of Orghialla fell;
Until our fair chief fell at Dun,
His footstep was not put back.

When Brian of Beann-abhaidh (*m*) fell
In the battle of Dun by the barbarians,
For the battles gained by the race of Neill of old
We have there fully paid.

Our battle at the heavy Craebh-tulcha (*n*)
At Dun was avenged upon us.
Eochaidh fell in the eastern conflict,
But it did not here go unavenged.

The battle of the placid ford of Ath Solais (*o*)
We paid for to the foreign tribe;
The defeat at Dun revenged our battle
On the smooth plan of Magh-n-athrach.

At the battle of Rath-Bhoth (*p*), which we gained
At the battle of the fair sided Sliabh Toad, (*q*)
The rivers were full of blood
On the plain of Maighin in Mumhain (*r*).

The battle of Sliabh Caein (*s*) was fought by Nial
To defend us against the country of Orghialla.
Our battle in the fertile valley of Moin-ghlas (*t*)
Alas! was revenged eastward at old Dun.

We fought a battle at another time
At Dun-droma Dairinne (*u*).
We caused slaughter at Loch Cuain in my memory,
But alas! we have paid for it,

Proud men our people,
When we fought the battle of Formael; (*w*)
And oh! high were our sprits
When the battle of Caisbhearna (*x*) was won.

Chess of the shinbones of Leinstermen (*y*)
In our workshop was constructed.
Smooth chessmen were on the table of our ancestors
Of the bare bones of Leinstermen.

The tribute of Ath Cliath from the foreign race;
The hosting of the leathern coats obtained;
We got hostages from Caiseal-chuirc (*z*);
At the knotty road of Dun it was revenged.

Ceallachan, King of Caiseal-chuirc,
In fetters was brought to our house.
We burned the palace of Cean-coradh, (*a*)
In which were steeds without fetters.

Conchobhar, (*b*) the son of Tadhg,
Chief King of Connaught, was a captive at our court.
The hostages of the king of the foreigners (*c*) were in our custody.
Alas! that it was not at home he tarried.

The victories,—till the death of Brian of Banba—
The preys, deaths, and defeats,
And all the achievements of the foreigners
Till the slaying of O'Neill
Were to us nothing but mere reproach.

A severance of the heart from the body
Is the death of Brian of Loch Laeghaire (*d*)
Not a white wound, (*e*) but a heart wound to us,
Is the loss of the man from Corrsliabh.

The beheading blow of the men of Fail
Is the death of O'Neill of white-glebed Oileach.
The death of the tall fair hero, is a manacling of the Gaedhil
And a dispersion of the men of Eire.

The tomb of the King of Oileach of thick hair
O you people who forget its identity,
I would point out to you the grave,
On the north side of the church.

Brian Borumha in the north of the church,
Brian O'Neill of red-armed Oileach,
Farther to the west is the descendant of Con of Cobha
And his feet towards Brian Borumha.

As Mac Liag of Luimneach (*f*) said,
To the head of Conaing (*g*) of battle troops,
"It grieves me that an enemy has cut it off."
The head of O'Neill, beloved guest!

Thirteen score bright years,
And one thousand from the birth of Christ,
Until on the dark green sward fell,
Brian at bright Dun-da-leath-glas.

Twenty enduring years have passed,
From the battle of Caimerge of red spears,
One year, two, and part of a year,
To the death of the descendants of Nial Naoighiallach.

Bitter to my heart to see the grey Galls,
Triumphing over the slaughtered Maghnus, (*h*)
That the head of O'Cathain, attracting no notice,
Should be seen on the bridge of Dun.

A night did Maghnus of Macha remain
Between wounded bodies.
If Brian had not been in the slaughter,
There would be no loss like O'Cathain.

Maghnus himself, Echmacarch too,
Muirchertach, Donncadh, Domhnall,
And Niall O'Cathain, all falling with wounds
Alas! it was not one loss only.

A misfortune to our children and our wives,
Was the killing of Maghnus O'Cathain,
That scion of Inbhear-abhaigh (*i*) never neglected,
A son or a daughter of Eoghan's race.

Vain is the joy of this perishable world.
Woe to him whom it deceives after Domhnall,
Powerful was the voice of O'Carra (O'Cairre) over
the rest,
Alas that the descendant of Nial Caille (*j*)
Should obtain such a reward.

Often had I gone on a visit of pleasure,
To see Amhlaeibh O'Gairmleadhaigh (*k*)
Why should I go now to the house tho' beside me,
Alas! it is now a house without Amhlaeibh.

Conchobhair of Malainn, (*l*) son of Conn,
Women and men lament at Faendruim (*m*)
O'Duibhdhirma (*n*) is a breach in our house,
A people without head are his race.

With Cian (*o*) of the fleet hounds disappeared,
The nobility and glory of Eire;
Removed from us were wisdom and comeliness,
When Cian was hidden in the grave.

Want of friends and of wealth,
Is M'Cana to the race of Eoghan;
Donsleibhe M'Cana (*p*) the fair skinned,
Is a loss to hospitality and valour.

Woe to him who wielded the axe or spear,
By which fell Cu-Uladh of Emhain
Great pity that thou beneath the axe has fallen,
Oh Cu-Uladh O' hAnluan. (*q*)

There would be no weakness in Leath Chuinn
If Mac Lochlainn had not been slain,
From this day of the death of generous Brian;
'Tis grievous that Diarmid lived not after him.

The son of Nial O'Neill now
Who was in succession to his patrimony
A blossom not ripened into fruit,
Was Conchubhar (*r*) when carried off from us all.

The sons of the King of Connaught of Carn-Meadhbha (*s*)
Deserted not their lord,
Until every noble prince was cut down,
Of the valiant scions of Cruachan.

The son of Tighearnan (*t*) fell in the east,
And the curly haired son of Cormac (*u*)
And O'Maelseachlain of all Midhe, (*v*)
Of the fine race of Conn by the foreigners,

The comely youth of great Eamhain Macha
Fell by them on the day of the violent battle,
The great complaisant O'Dubheamhna (*w*)
Good right have his people to mourn him.

Alas! deep grief overspread the country,
To anticipate the death of O'Dubhlin (*x*)
Gofraidh our grief unto the Judgment day,
Generous of his banquet was the youth.

Seven days wanting of a month,
Before the battle Ruadhri (*y*) was slain,
It was a drop before the shower for us to part
With the blue eyes of O'Gairmleadhaigh.

O'Neill the great and his son (*z*)
(Dear are the oak and the sapling)
Oh what a noble pair are they,
Domnhall and Aedh of Oileach.

Ardghal of Aileach (*a*) under sacred mould,
In the Diseart of Doire-Chalgaigh, (*b*)
Near the fair miraculous hill
Well do we remember O'Laithbheartaigh.

Brigid (*c*) the chaste of Cill-dara (Kildare),
My holy virgin, my woman friend,
May she encircle my body like a warm girdle,
May she come to visit me as a guest.

From this poem we learn that Brian was buried beside the high altar in the Cathedral of Armagh, with his ancestors, in the " mausoleum of the Kings." Here, as remarked in a previous chapter, most of the Princes of Aileach were buried.

Dr. Sigerson, in his *Bards of Gael and Gall*, gives a metrical translation of the first few stanzas of the above :

" Death of my heart !—Brian's head,
Far in foreign land is laid :
High head of dauntless daring,
An Orphan Isle is Erin.

" To their King of Saxon they
Bore our Gael King's head away ;
What could enemy wish more—
Thou, O Head ! art triumphed o'er.'

O'Donovan, in the *Miscellany*, gives another poem on this battle by Fergal Oge Mac-an-Bhaird, or M'Ward, which commences :

" The tomb of friends are in the battle of Brian
Ruined is Eire from the one conflict,
The side of the hill is full of tombs,
Whereon the prophesied one has fallen.

" Brian O'Neill of Aileach was in the slaughter
With Maghnus O'Cahan of Craebh
O'Dubhdiorma, the high O'h Eanaigh (*d*)
And the royal fierce O'Gairmleadhaigh.

" O'h-Inneirghe of the sedate brow,
O'Corra (*e*) the Great, Mac Lochlainn
The chief of the brave Clan Cana,
Great, therefore, are our losses."

Brian, who was succeeded in Ulster by his cousin and Tanist, Hugh Boy—progenitor of the Clan Hugh Boy, or Clannaboy—son of Donal Oge, was father of Donal—the author of the famous remonstrance—of whom later on.

Brian, it appears, married (*f*) Julia, daughter of Donal, son of Reginald, Prince of Argyll and the Isles,—who died about the year 1252—by his wife, daughter of Walter, the High Steward. She was of the family of the M'Donnells, who settled in Ulster about this time.

NOTES.

(*a*) The M'Sweenys who always fought with the Cinel Conal succeeded the O'Breslins in the Chieftainship of Fanad in the thirteenth ~~or fourteenth~~ century, but were not present at this battle!

(*b*) Clan Rory, or descendants of Rory More, of the line of Ir, third son of Milesius, who founded the military order of the Red Branch Knights. His descendant, Fiacha Araidhe, King of Ulster, gave name to the Dal Araidhe as remarked.

(*c*) This Felim founded in 1257 the Abbey of Roscommon. His tomb is one of the finest existing royal monuments in Ireland, It is in the thirteenth century style, and represents him arrayed in royal robes, a crown on his head ; and in his hand a staff or sceptre.

(*d*) Slieve Sneachta, *i.e.*, the Mountain of Snow, now Slieve Snaght in Inishowen, near Carndonagh.

(*e*). Now Cashel.

(*f*) Tailgin, *i.e.*, the tonsured, the name applied by the Druids to St. Patrick, and which continued to be applied to him by the poets.

(*g*) O'Donovan says the only poem known to him attributed to this M'Namee is that on Cathal Crov Dearg, King of Connaught, who died in 1224. If this be really his he thinks he must have been a very old man in 1260.

(*h*) Would pass. This is an allusion to Brian's justice and the tranquility of Ireland under his rule.

(*i*) Corrsliabh, *i.e.*, the rugged mountain, now the Curlieu hills between Roscommon and Sligo. Sliabh Callain, *i.e.*, Callain's mountain, now Slieve Gallion, referred to in the reign of Hugh the Lazy.

(*j*) One man would supply their loss, *i.e.*, the escape of Brian would counterbalance the loss of all the rest of the chieftains who fell in this battle.

(*k*) Soldiers of Emhain, *i.e.*, of Oriel.

(*l*) This probably alludes to the battle of Carnteel.

(*m*) Brian of Beann-abhaidh. There is no place of this name now in Ulster, it was probably the name of Beann-aibhne in the barony of Keenaght, Co. Derry.

(*n*) Craebh Tulcha. This battle is referred to in the reign of Hugh, son of Donal O'Neill, King of Ulster, who died in 1003.

(*o*) Ath Solais, *i.e.*, Ford of the Light. Not identified.

(*p*) Rath Bhoth, *i.e.*, the Rath of the Booths or tents, now Raphoe in Donegal. The Bishops of Cinel Conal took their title from this place.

(*q*) Sliabh Toadh, now " Bessy Bell " Mountain near Newtown Stewart, Co. Tyrone. The above battles were fought according to O'Donovan, in 291 and 610-14 A.D.

(*r*) Magh Maighne in Munster. Not identified.
(*s*) Sliabh, or Slieve Caein. Not identified.
(*t*) Moin-ghlas, *i.e.*, the green bog, now Monglass, Co. Kildare.
(*u*) Dun-droma Dairine, *i.e.*, the fort of Dairine's ridge, now Dundrum, barony of Lecale, Co. Down.
(*v*) Loch Cuain, now Strangford Lough, Co. Down.
(*w*) Formaeil is referred to in the reign of King Donal of Armagh, the first O'Neill.
(*x*) Caisbhearna. Probably Casarna, Barony Strabane, Co. Tyrone.
(*y*) See Part I., reign of Hugh Allan I., for this legend.
(*z*) Caiseal-chuirc, *i.e.*, the City of Cashel.
(*a*) Kencora, the O'Brien's palace.
(*b*) This Conor was the progenitor of the O'Conors.
(*c*) King of the foreigners, *i.e.*, of the Danes of Dublin.
(*d*) Loch Laeghaire, *i.e.*, the lake of Laeghaire Buadhach, or Leary the Victorious, one of the heroes of the Red Branch. The name is now corrupted to Lough Mary. It is situated near Baronscourt, the residence of the Duke of Abercorn in the barony of Strabane. Brian had a crannoge there, referred to further on.
(*e*) A white wound is the mark of a stroke that does not cut, or raise a lump.
(*f*) M'Liag of Luimnech, or Limerick, chief bard of Brian Boru, of whom he is said to have written a life. (See M'Curtin's *Antiquities*, and Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*).
(*g*) Conaing, son of Donchuan, and nephew of Brian Boru. He was slain at Clontarf, and his head was carried to Armagh and buried there.
(*h*) Maghnus, pronounced Manus. This name, now so common, was borrowed from the Danes. It is sometimes made Manasses by the O'Cahans. Manus was chief of Keenaght and Fir na Creeve, and father of Cooey na Gall mentioned in the next Chapter.
(*i*) Inbhear-abhaigh, probably the name of the mouth of the River Roe in Keenaght.
(*j*) O'Donovan took this to refer to Brian, unaware, evidently, that O'Cairre or O'Carra of Cinel Aengus was a descendant of Nial Calle.
(*k*) Aulaf O'Gormly.
(*l*) Malainn, now Malin in Inishowen.
(*m*) Faendruim, probably Fordrum, a townland near Greencastle in Inishowen.
(*n*) O'Dubhdirma, Chief of Bredagh or Bredach.
(*o*) Cian O'h-Inneirghe, or O'Henery, Chief of Glenconkene, comprising the parishes of Ballynascreen, Kilcronaghan, and Desertmartin in the barony of Loughinsholin, Co. Derry. The O'Henerys, according to O'Donovan, were of the race of Brian, son of Eoghan. The late Dr. Henry of Maghera, he adds, was of this family who had their burial place at Ballynascreen.
(*p*) Donlevy M'Cann, Chief of Clan Brassil on the south side of

Lough Neagh. The late Major M'Cann was the reputed head of this family.

(*q*) Cu-uladh O'hAnluain, anglicised Culad or Cooley O'Hanlon.

(*r*) Conor, son of Nial O'Neill, brother of Brian. His name is not given in the *Annals* as having fallen in this battle. In 1261 the Annalists record the death of a Conor O'Neill in Derry.

(*s*) Carn Meadhbha, *i.e.*, the Carn or sepulchral heap of Maeve, daughter of King Eochy of the Constant Sighs, mentioned p. 65, Part I.

(*t*) The son of Tighernan. This was Cathal, son of Tighernan, or Teernan, O'Conor.

(*u*) Son of Cormac should be grandson of Cormac. He was father of Conor whose son Gillachrest O'Malroney, now M'Dermot, Lord of Magh Luirg or Moylurg, now the plains of Boyle Co. Roscommon was slain in this battle. The Rt. Hon. The M'Dermott, P.C., who died lately, was the chief of this sept.—See Burke's *Landed Gentry*.

(*v*) O'Melaghlin, Prince of Meath.

(*w*) O'Dubheamhna, now O'Devany.

(*x*) O'Dubhlin or O'Dobhailen, now O'Devlin, Chief of Muntir Devlin, a district west of Lough Neagh.

(*y*) Anglicised Rory.

(*z*) O'Neill the Great. This, as remarked, was Donal Oge the senior representative of Hugh the Lazy from whom the Earls of Tyrone branched. Aedh, or Hugh, his son, was the now King of Aileach and Ulster.

(*a*) Ardgal O'Laverty. In 1241 the Annalists record the death of Ardgal O'Laverty, "the lamp of valour and hospitality of the North of Ireland."

(*b*) Diseart of Doire-Chalgaigh *i.e.*, the hermitage of Doire-Chalgaigh. This was the name of a Church at Derry.

(*c*) Brigid is probably invoked here because she was buried in Down with Patrick and Columcille, as an old Latin poem says :

> "Three Saints one grave do fill,
> Patrick, Brigid, and Columcille."

(*d*) O'Hegny.

(*e*) O'Cairre of Cinel Aengus.

(*f*) O'Byrne, in his *History of Queen's Co.*, quoting from an ancient Irish or Anglo Irish MS. in possession of Lady Doren, says that Lysagh O'More, a celebrated Chief of Leix who died in 1342, was the son of Evergenus, who married Anne, daughter of O'Conor Faly, son of Faelan, whose wife, Catherine, was a daughter of O'Neill of Tyrone. Ever was the son of Cineth or "Fiannoth," by his wife Anne, daughter of O'Dunne, Lord of Hy Regan by Mary, only daughter of the valiant Prince O'Cearnach, whose wife was daughter of Roderick O'Conor, King of Ireland. Cineth (Cinaedh) was the son of another Cineth, and "Catherine, daughter of Bryan O'Neill, Prince of Tyrone, by Julia, daughter of the Earl of Lorne and Prince of Argyll."

CHAPTER V.

HUGH BOY, SON OF DONAL OGE, KING OF ULSTER—*A QUO* CLANHUGHBOY OR CLANNABOY—

A.D. 1260-83.

EDH Buidhe, or Hugh Boy, *i.e.*, the Yellow, or Tawny, son and heir of Donal Oge and grandson of Hugh Duff, was inaugurated immediately after the death of Brian.

This ceremony, sketched in the next chapter, is well described in Davis's poem :

" Come look on the pomp when they make an O'Neill ;
The muster of dynasts—O Hagan, O'Sheil,
O'Cahan, O'Hanlon, O'Breslin, and all,
From wild Ardes and Orior to rude Donegal,
' St. Patrick's Combharba ' with bishops thirteen,
And Ollaves and Brehons and Minstrels are seen,
Round in Tulach Oge Rath, like bees in the Spring,
All swarming to honour a TRUE IRISH KING.

" Unsandalled he stands in the foot-dinted rock,
Like a pillar-stone fix'd against every shock,
Round, round in a Rath on a far-seeing hill
Like his blemishless honour and vigilant will.
The grey beards are telling how Chiefs by the score,
Have been crowned on the ' Rath of the Kings,'
heretofore,
While crowded, yet ordered within its green ring,
Are the dynasts and priests round the TRUE IRISH KING.

"The chronicler read him the laws of the Clan,
And pledged him to bide by their blessing and ban;
His skian and his sword are unbuckled to show,
That they only were meant for the foreigner foe;
A white willow wand has been put in his hand—
A type of pure upright and gentle command,
While hierarchs are blessing the slipper they fling,
And O'Cahan proclaims him a TRUE IRISH KING!

"Thrice looked he to Heaven with thanks and with prayer—
Thrice looked to his borders with sentinel stare,
To the waves of Lough Neagh, the heights of Strabane;
And thrice on his allies and thrice on his clan,
One clash on their bucklers!—one more!—they are still—
What means the deep pause on the crest of the hill?
Why gaze they above him?—a war eagle's wing!
'Tis an Omen!—Hurrah! for a TRUE IRISH KING."

To Hugh the war eagle coming so soon after the late struggle, could have been but a bird of ill omen, as indeed it proved; for during his whole reign he was troubled by the intrigues of his brother, Nial Cualanagh, who put an end to all hopes of carrying on the work of his predecessor, Brian, on whose death he had despatched ambassadors to Hakon, King of Norway, for aid. Soon after his inauguration Nial succeeded in dethroning him, when he was obliged to call upon the Cinel Conal, with whose assistance he expelled him and put to death some of his chief supporters, including M'Cawell (~~Donlevy~~ Campbell) of Cinel Farry.

O'Cahan he took prisoner, but afterwards released on his giving pledges and hostages. This was the celebrated Cumhuide or Cumaighe (pron. Cooey), surnamed na Gall—of the Foreigners—the chief whose tomb is still to be seen in the church of the Augustinian Priory of Dungiven, which was founded by his ancestor, A.D. 1100.

The church, romantically situated upon a bold and projecting rock which rises 200 feet above the river Roe, is the most interesting and important ruin in the north of Cinel Owen—now Co. Derry. Like all the early Irish churches built prior to the 12th century, it consists only of a nave and chancel separated by a choir arch, the former 40 feet long by 20 ; and the latter 22 by 18. At the south angle of the west front is a round tower bell-house, the base of which was square and attached to the church. The architectural ornaments are few and simple, the arches are semi-circular, and the windows mere loops, with sharp angular heads apparently not intended to receive glass. In the nave or body of the church, however, there are larger windows in the pointed style, later additions. Of the Priory which was attached to the church only the foundations of some of the walls are now visible.

Here the O'Cahans had their burial place ; and the church and cemetery are filled with their graves and monuments, the most remarkable of which is that of Cooey. Referring to the coat-of-arms which formerly

appeared over this monument, a writer in the *Coleraine Chronicle* says that they varied from those in the peerage. The crest had the cat-a-mountain alluded to in Laverty's *History of the Diocese of Down and Connor* as merely a pun on the first three letters —Cathan—of the name made by an English herald. There was also "a salmon on which the cat stood, and above it was a man's bust." The late Mr. James Ogilby, D.L., of Pellipar, caused considerable repairs to be made to the chancel of the church, the effigy, and the fine tracery above it. A short distance from the church stood an ancient castle of the O'Cahans, the materials of which in the 17th century were used for erecting another in the town.[1] Cooey, after his first lapse, became Hugh's most devoted adherent, and, as appears, his chief commander.

In 1264 Hugh, doubtless in right of his grandmother, assumed the Lordship of Arghialla, which he afterwards divided between the chief of Fermanagh; M'Mahon—whose territory, henceforth called Oriel, included Monaghan and some small parts of Louth and Armagh—and O'Hanlon, of Orior, his standard-bearer, whom he was obliged to chastise some years later when he broke out in rebellion, and with Nial's followers of Cinel Owen defeated and slew M'Mahon (Eochy).

In 1265 Hugh's Commander of Gallowglasses and Constable M'Donnell founded the celebrated

[1] *Dublin Penny Journal.*

Franciscan Friary at Armagh, where many of his descendants and kinsmen were buried. The M'Donnells first settled in Ulster in Hugh's time. They were originally Arghiallans, deriving from Godfrey, son of Fergus, Prince of Arghialla, who, as stated (p. 262),[1] was sent with a force to Scotland to aid King Kenneth M'Alpin, by the monarch Nial of the Callan in 835. Godfrey derived from Colla Uais; and Carthan, son of Eric, son of Eochah, mentioned at pages 174 and 185,[2] figure on his pedigree in which there are many gaps.

Godfrey's descendant, Somerled, married a daughter of Olave the Swarthy, King of Man, and, according to Laing (*History of Scotland*), died in 1164, leaving a son, Reginald, Prince of Argyll and the Isles, ancestor of the M'Donnells of Scotland and Ireland; of the O'Gnives or Agnews, bards to the Clannaboy princes; and of many other distinguished families. The M'Donnells were celebrated leaders of gallowglasses; and as we go along we shall find them figuring prominently in the affairs of the province, with their chief, noted in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*: "The merciless M'Donnell from the Western Isles. . . . of kernes and gallowglasses is supplied."

About this time (1265) Hugh "took to wife the daughter of Mac Goisdelbaigh, or Mac Costelloe, Baron Nangle, an English Chief. This is one of the very few marriages recorded by the Annalists, who,

[1] Part I. [2] *Ib.*

like the genealogists, seldom noticed the ladies, though they occupied an important position in ancient Ireland, where their rights were carefully protected by the Brehon Laws.

On marriage, the daughter of a landowner or Flaith received a marriage portion—usually one-third of the personal property of the bride's father—from her father, or if he were dead, from the Chief of her Fine or family. In early times it consisted exclusively of clothes, household furniture, and live chattels (*a*); but at some early period land might also be given—one-third or the whole if she had no brothers. This land was then known as "an inheritance of hand and thigh." Part went to the Fine in payment for the military and other services attending the land which could not be fulfilled by her. On the morning of her marriage she received a gift from the bridegroom called *coibche*, which was intended as a recognition of her virginity, and as a return gift for its bestowal on him.

Part of it called the *tendscra* or bridal price went to the bride's father; or, if she were married after his death, to the chief of her family. The chief or prince of the tribe also received a tribute—varying from three screpalls to an ounce of gold—which was called the *Faine Maighdena*, or "maiden's marriage ring." This was equivalent to the Welsh *amboyr* or king's share of the "bride price." [1]

[1] *Manners and Customs.*

To resume. In 1265 Hugh, after taking the hostages of Fermanagh, Oriel and Ulidia, with his neighbour De Burgh—Earl of Ulidia in right of his wife, daughter of Hugh De Lacy, who died *s. p. m.* in 1244—marched into Tyrconnell to reduce O'Donnell, who, it is exasperating to read, made a predatory excursion "against the Cinel Owen after the battle of Down, and the greater part of Cinel Owen was burned by him on that occasion." [1]

O'Donnell now retired before him; and so he had to return "without gaining either hold or sway."

It was some time before he succeeded in reducing the Cinel Conal owing to the intrigues of Nial Cualanagh, who at this time held the Lordship of Inishowen. In 1270, in the hope of gaining some advantage, he joined the Justiciary, from whom he received for himself and his followers "robes, furs, and saddles." [2]

Nial had little else to gain from the English now, for their power was already on the wane; and so Hugh extended his sway over portion of "the King's lands" in Ulidia about this time. These lands, afterwards included in Clannaboy, were retained by the English monarch after the rebellion of De Lacy or De Courcy, and were ruled by his Seneschal, William Fitzwarren. In 1275 he attempted to distrain "for debts due to the King," Sir Robert and Sir Henry de Mandeville; Thomas

[1] *Four Masters* [2] *Calendar of State Papers.*

FitzRichard, Sir Thomas and Sir Martin Mandeville, and others ; " their friends and relatives " who had transferred their allegiance to Hugh and placed themselves under his protection.

Hugh, accompanied by Cumee O'Kane, marched against the Seneschal, whom he routed with the loss of 200 horsemen, or " 200 horses and 200 heads, besides those who fell of the plebeians."

He then wasted " the King's lands," demolished five towns ; and destroyed three mills and 2,000 crannoges of oats belonging to the Seneschal, whom he likewise deprived of an annual rent of 57 marks.[1]

He was prevented from taking further advantage of this victory by Nial Cualanagh, who, with M'Dunlevy (*b*), " King of the Irish of Ulster " (Ulidia) ; O'Flyn, Chief of Hy Tuirtre and Fir Li ; O'Hanlon, Chief of " Ergallia " ; Mac Gilmore, " Chief of Anderkin " ; and M'Artan, Chief of Kinel Arty, joined Fitzwarren and Hugh Bisset of the Glens, a Scoto-Norman, and obliged him to retire.

Nial, " King of Yncheun," or Chief of Inishowen, on this occasion, in a letter to Edward I., says that with the above chiefs, his followers, he endeavoured to rout his " Irish enemies " ; " but some of the Council of Ireland, at the instigation of those enemies, endeavoured to oppress " him. The Deputy and his advisers had some doubts as to Nial's good intentions. So he evidently informed the King ; for

[1] *Grace's Annals ; Four Masters ; Calendar of State Papers.*

Nial prays Edward "to confide in these matters to the testimony of the Seneschal." He earnestly hopes that the aforesaid evildoers may not so easily escape, otherwise he "fears that this war will be followed as an example" by others.[1]

He hoped that Edward would give orders to the Justiciary to take the field against Hugh, and so give him a chance of gaining the throne. However, he was disappointed in this; for Edward was altogether occupied with the Welsh and Scots; and being about to invade the former in this year, he writes to "Odo Oneyll, King of Kenelyon," for his aid. There are many letters of this description in Rymer's *Fœdera* addressed by the Plantagenet kings to the Irish chiefs; but they appear to have given them little attention, save when, like Nial, they had something to gain, or were under some obligation to the Deputies.

Nial, finding he had nothing to gain by his alliance with the English, turned to O'Donnell, who gladly espoused his cause, and prepared to deal a crushing blow to Hugh; for this chief had profited so well by Nial's intrigues that he could now reckon on the greater part of Connaught and Ulster, the chiefs of Oriel and Fermanagh about this time having for some reason deserted Hugh.

O'Donnell, accordingly, accompanied by Nial and the greater part of the Irish of Ulster and Connaught,

[1] *Calendar of State Papers.*

marched into Cinel Owen on Hugh's stronghold at Tullahoge.

Hugh, with M'Martin,Chief of Clan Martin, and the Cinel Eoghan, and the English of Ulidia, with whom he appears to have been a favourite,advanced to meet him and at Desert da Chrioch, now Desertcreight, about a mile west of Tullahoge, defeated and slew him with many of his men, including Owen O'Donnell, son of Malachy ; Cellach O'Boyle, Chief of Boylagh ; M'Gillifinen, a Chief of the O'Maldorey sept ; M'Glanchy, Chief of Dartry ; Cormac O'Doherty, and O'Gormly (Enna) of Cinel Main.

O'Donnell, whom the Four Masters style "the greatest commander in the west of Europe in his time," appears to have been beheaded by the English, who brought his head to Dublin. His body was interred in Derry, where, in 1274, he founded a Dominican convent,[1] at the request of St. Dominic himself.

From this prince (*c*) son of Donal More, all the subsequent Princes of Cinel Conal traced their descent.

The death of Donal was a severe blow to the Cinel Conal, who had hitherto held out against Hugh and no doubt encouraged Nial to persevere in his claims.

After taking the hostages of Ulster, Hugh proceeded against the men of Connaught, over part of whose territory he appears to have extended his

[1] Brenan's *Ecclesiastical History.*

sway. This included the territory of the O'Reillys—East Breffny—in the now Co. Cavan, the chiefs of which paid tribute to Hugh and many of his successors, who numbered them among their Urriaghs, or under kings, in the 16th century. In the 15th century some of the chiefs of this territory are mentioned as having been elected by O'Neill. In 1562 Prince Shane, in enumerating the chiefs over whom he claims sway, tells the English queen that he "has ancient rights over O'Reilly's country, and rents out of other lords of small reputation which it were prolix to write." Angus O'Daly thus satirizes O'Reilly :

"O'Reilly the feeble, the palsied, the old,
The most wretched of wretches the earth can behold
Dines along with his dumb sons, whose glazed eyes
and lank wet
Chin and cheeks make his dinner a sort of death's
banquet."

Gilla Isa Roe, the now chief of the tribe, who, according to Burke (*Landed Gentry*), was married to a daughter of Nial," Dynast of Tir Egan," and founded the Monastery of Cavan, was too powerful to take kindly to the rule of the Cinel Owen ; and in 1283, with his neighbour, M'Mahon (Brian), and doubtless Nial's supporters, he rose in arms and obliged Hugh to march against him. In the struggle ensuing Hugh fell, in the twenty-third year of his reign, " the head of the liberality and valour of the

Irish; the most distinguished in the north for bestowing jewels and riches; the most formidable and victorious of his tribe in his time, and the worthy heir to the throne of Ireland." [1]

A poem on Hugh—"Aedh Buidhe"—by his bard, is still preserved among the MSS. of the O'Conor Don (*Hist. MSS. Report*) with others on Brian, the Clan O'Neill, Hugh and Turlough (Leynagh ?).

Hugh is the last King of Ulster to whom the ancient title—King of Aileach—is given by the Annalists. One of the many legends relating to that fortress tells us that in a cave under the hill a troop of O'Neill's horse lies in magic sleep, waiting to have the spell removed before rushing to the aid of their country; and a man, continues the legend, who wandered accidentally into the cave found them lying beside their horses fully armed and holding their bridles in their hands. One of them lifted his head and asked: "Is the time come?" But receiving no answer, dropped back into his lethargy. This suggestive story is the subject of the poem on *The Awakening of Hugh O'Neill's Horsemen*. The latest work on Ailech is Mr. F. H. O'Donnell's legend, *The Messages of the Masters*, published in 1901.

Hugh's descendants, known in history as the Clan Aedh Buidhe—generally written as it is pronounced in English, Clannaboy—settled in and gave their

[1] *Four Masters; Annals of Loch Ce.*

name to that principality which he and his predecessors and successors recovered from the English, and which is described in the reign of Hugh's grandson, Henry.

The persistent attacks of Hugh and his predecessors must have rendered almost the whole of Northern Ulidia—now Co. Antrim—debatable ground, and left it an easy conquest for his successors, save along the coast where the English had principally settled, and in places strongly fortified themselves. There is reason to think, as we have remarked, that a great part of Clannaboy was ceded to Hugh's grandfather by De Lacy.

Hugh left a son and heir, Brian, by his wife, daughter of M'Costello, whom, as recorded, he married in 1263, according to the *Annals of Ulster*. This Mac Costello, Chief of his sept, was an Anglo-Norman Baron of note at this time. He was a descendant of Gilbert de Nangle—probably a grandson—who came to Ireland with Henry II., and is mentioned in Regan's poem. His eldest son, Jocelin De Nangle, the first Baron of Navan in Meath, according to Ware, was father of Peter "Pepard," who was viceroy in 1195, and ancestor of the Pepards of Ardee, where, in 1307, Roger founded a priory and hospital. Costello, who, according to O'Hart, was the second son of Gilbert, gave his name to the present Barony of Costello, in Mayo, where his descendants founded in 1430

the Dominican Convent of Urlare. Costello's second son, Meyler, was ancestor of the M'Jordans, and his eldest son, Costello Oge, of the M'Costellos. They are frequently mentioned in the *Annals of Loch Ce.*

Philip appears to have been the chief of the sept at this time; and in 1333 is recorded the death of Gilbert, styled "Lord of Slieve Lugha." This was the original territory of the O'Garas. In the reign of Hugh Duff the M'Costellos held the territory of Carbury, with the castle of Beleek, from which they were driven to Mayo, where they dispossessed the O'Garas. In 1575-7 Lord Deputy Sydney enumerates five great English families in Connaught who had taken Celtic names and claimed to be Barons of Parliament. They were: Nangle or M'Costello; De Exeter or M'Jordan; Barret or M'Padden; Staunton or M'Evilly; and Prendergast or M'Maurice. On Norden's map attached to Mr. Byrne's translation of O'Sullivan Beare's *History*, the territory of "M'Costelloe, Baron Nangle," is marked near Lough Mask and adjoining the territory of "M'Jordan, Baron D'Exeter."—(*See* O'Hart's *Pedigrees*).

[1] *Annals of Clonmacnoise.*

NOTES.

(*a*) Angus Og M'Donnell of the Isles, who at this time held the Island of Rathlin, married an O'Cahan and took for her dowry seven score men of all the names in O'Cahan's country, that he might settle them on his lands of Cantire.—See Hill's *M'Donnells of Antrim.* She married secondly Murkertac, Prince of Clannaboy, greatson of Hugh.

(*b*) This was the last Chief of Ulidia, which name was, after his death, applied to the whole province by the O'Neills, who thereupon assumed the title—King of Ulster.

(*c*) His pedigree runs thus: Donal Oge, son of Donal More, son of Eignechan, son of Donogh, son of Donal, son of Hugh, son of Teige, son of Conn, son of Caffir, son of Gillcrist, son of Caffir, son of Donnell (*a quo* O'Donnell) son of Eigneghan, son of Dalaigh (*a quo* Clan Dalaigh), son of Murtagh, (who had a brother, Fianan, grandfather of Doherty, ancestor of O'Doherty; and another son Bradagan, father of Boyle, ancester of O'Boyle) son of Cenfala, son of Garve, son of Ronan, son of Lughdach (*a quo* Cinel Lugdach) son of Fergus (who had an elder brother Anmire, monarch of Ireland, ancestor of O'Maldorey, O'Canannan, O'Gallagher, etc.), son of Sedna, son of Fergus, son of Conal Gulban.

From Hugh, son of Donal, who died in 1333, the last Chief of Tyrconnell descended. The surname of O'Donnell was first taken by Caffar, great-grandson of Donnell, mentioned above, who died in 1106. See Fr. Murphy's *Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell.*

CHAPTER VI.

BRIAN II., PRINCE OF THE CLANNABOY AND KING OF ULSTER, SON OF HUGH BOY.—HIS INAUGURATION.

BRIAN was installed in Ulster after the death of his uncle, Nial Cualanagh, who, aided by De Burgh, had defeated Donal in 1286, and again in 1291, when he was slain by some of Donal's followers. This deed, the Annalists say, was not a fortunate one for Donal, who was thereupon formally deposed and banished from Ulster by the Cinel, who had a horror of such deeds, as Viceroy Mountjoy informs us in 1603 : "No subjects have a more dreadful awe to lay violent hands on their sacred prince than these people of (Ulster) have to touch the person of their O'Neills."[1]

Nial had many followers in Ulster outside Cinel, Owen where he had few supporters. He could not thus claim to have been lawfully elected, and so was in the unhappy position of that O'Reilly of Breffny, set up by James I., of whom Sir John Davies says that "not being elected O'Reilly" by his clansmen, "the poor gentleman had little benefit, for they would not suffer him to cut and exact like an Irish prince."

Nial is the last O'Neill, Lord of Inishowen, of

[1] *Life of Hugh O'Neill.*—Mitchell.

whom there is any record. This territory, where De Burgh received a tract of land for his services from Brian, or his father, Hugh Boy, and on which he is said to have built the Greencastle, was ceded by charter to the O'Donnells, with Cinel Main, and Tooragh and Lurg in Fermanagh. From Tooragh and Lurg the O'Donnells appear to have taken their title of "Lord of Fermanagh," as in 1542, in exchange for them, Maguire "gave up himself, his country, and his lands" to Manus O'Donnell, or, in other words, he gave him Lordship over the whole of Fermanagh.

"Inishowen," says the *Description of Ireland*, 1598 (Ed. by Hogan), "is governed by a Captain, called Sir John O'Dogherty, who, not being of power able to defend himself, was forced to contribute both to O'Neill and O'Donnell, and by turn to serve them both." He was able to make 80 horse and 300 foot. Greencastle, in 1601, was held by Hugh Boy M'Caire, one of the O'Dohertys. It was known in Irish as Caislean Nua, or Newcastle. Sir John held Donyrish fort and the castles of Aileach and Birt. Hugh Boy M'Caire's brother, Shane, lived at Moville. In the island of Inch Doltagh O'Doherty. In Buncrana Castle, Conor M'Garret O'Doherty, and at Carrickbraghey Castle, Cashlin Stoke and Dun Owen, Phelim Brasselagh O'Doherty and his sons. "In this country also Hugh Carragh M'Loughlin dwells in the Castle

of Caire Mac Elwyn and Brian Oge M'Loughlin at the Castle of Carnegall." (*Description* of *Lough Foyle*, 1601, in the *Ulster Journal.*)

The Four Masters always, or nearly always, style the O'Donnells Lords of Fermanagh, Cinel Main, and Inishowen, from 1241, in opposition to O'Neill, who on occasions claimed the territories as having been surrendered, as they often were. This gave rise to great contentions in the 16th century, when the power of the O'Neills was on the wane, and in 1542 Conn Baccagh and Manus O'Donnell exhibited their old parchment deeds of lease and release before the Deputy, as noted further on.

Nial's nephew, and Donal's Tanist, was now elected and inaugurated by his chief councillor—and his father's chief commander at Desertcreight —M'Martin, Chief of Clan Martin, and M'Eoin.

We have already dealt with the mode of election, and described the qualifications necessary for the Chief, who, according to the Brehon code, should be "the most experienced, the most noble, the wealthiest, the wisest, and most truly popular man of the tribe," as Davis says :

"His frame must be stately, his step must be fleet ;
His hand must be trained to each warrior feat ;
His face as the harvest moon, steadfast and clear,
A head to enlighten and a spirit to cheer,
While the foremost to rush where the battle brands ring,
And the last to retreat is A TRUE IRISH KING."

He was generally succeeded by his eldest son. In Cinel Owen at this time the idea was for the decsendants of Hugh Duff—henceforth known as the Clannaboy—and his brother, Nial Roe, to reign alternately, like the High-kings, but this idea did not remain long in force, for the Clannaboy princes, residing outside the ancient Cinel Owen, and occupying themselves so much with the affairs of their own principality, gave the advantage to their juniors, by whom they were soon supplanted.

They, however, never surrendered their rights or lost an opportunity of asserting their claims down to the 16th century, when Nial More, Prince of the Clannaboy, the last contender in 1502, marched triumphantly through Cinel Owen.

The election was sometimes carried out in the hall of the Primate's palace at Armagh, the Primate himself presiding; the inauguration was performed on the Rath of Tullahoge, and in early times on or near the Hill of Aileach, as we learn from the *Tripartite Life*: "Patrick went to Aileach of the Kings, and blessed the fortress and left his flagstone there." Again it says that: "in the place where the flagstone is" in the great wood, Eoghan believed and was baptised. This would appear to have been another flagstone, probably that on which Eoghan himself was inaugurated, and the same known as St. Columba's stone—referred to at p. 116.[1] On this, most likely, the O'Neills Lords of Inishowen, were

[1] Part I.

inaugurated, as every chief had a coronation stone and a special place of inauguration, which was held in much respect—invested indeed with a half sacred character. It was on top of a hill or ancestral cairn, or, as in Cinel Owen, on a large lis or fort, and sometimes under a venerable tree, called in Irish a *bile* (billa).

Thus Brian's descendants, the Princes of Clannaboy, were inaugurated at Castlereagh, where their inauguration chair, described further on, was found some years ago. The Cinel Conal Princes of the O'Maldorey sept were inaugurated on "O'Maldorey's Flagstone," near Beleek, and the Clan Dalaigh Chiefs—the O'Donnells—at the Rock of Doon, near Kilmacrenan. The Ulidian princes at Crewe, near Glenavy, Co. Antrim, under certain trees mentioned in the annals. The Fermanagh Chiefs of Oriel were inaugurated on the Cuilcagh Mountains, near Swanlinbar, and at Lisnaskea, near Enniskillen, by O'Neill himself. O'Sullivan Beare [1] refers to this place as "a deserted old fortress, built of small stones, and surrounded by a trench and lofty trees planted on the sides. It was called O'Neill's Fort by the natives, because he used to inaugurate M'Guire there." The M'Mahons were installed at Tullyrea, in Monaghan, and the

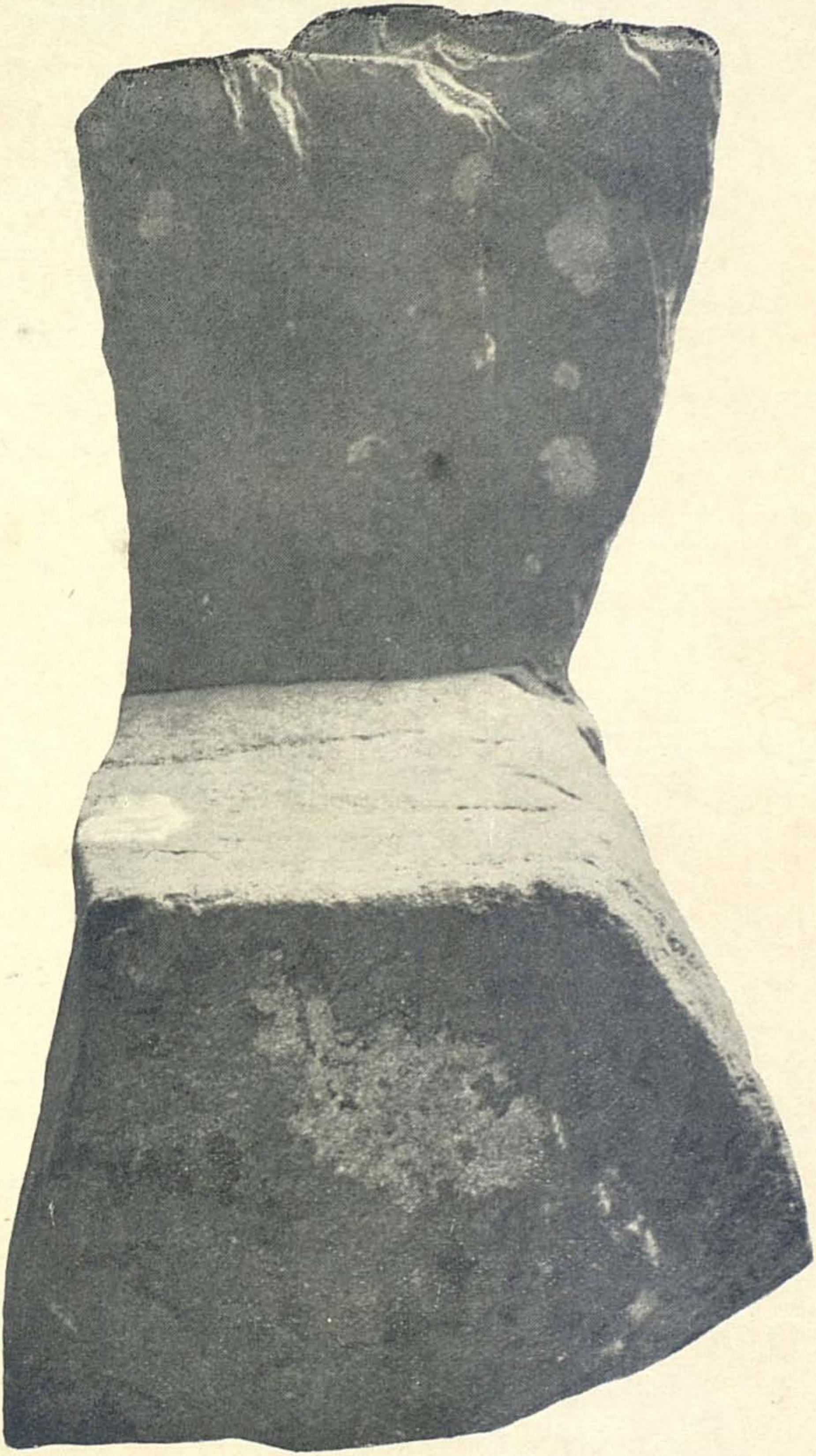
[1] *History of Ireland.* The materials for this chapter are taken chiefly from the *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, edited by O'Donovan; *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, Vol. V.; Joyce's *Social History* and *Annals.*

O'Hanlons on a cairn or "great hill of stones" near Newry.

Some time after the desertion of Tara, the Princes of Aileach chose as their place of inauguration the Rath of Tullahoge, which district was free from tribute, "because in its proud land is assumed the sovereignty over the men of Erin." This was before the 9th century.

In 1111 the Annalists record that the inaugura' trees under which the kings were crowned were uprooted by the Ulidians. Down to the 17th century the inaugural chair, known as the *Leac na Righ, i.e.*, the Stone of the King, and also as O'Neill's Chair, stood in the remarkable circular rath. It was formed of three huge stones, and its site is indicated on a map in the State Paper Office of 1571 by the inscription: "Ye stone where O'Neill is chose." Stuart (*History of Armagh*) states that in his time fragments of it were shown on the glebe of the parish of Desertcreight, near Tullahoge.

Fynes Moryson, Secretary to Viceroy Mountjoy, says that in August, 1602: "the Lord Deputy spent some days at Tullahoge, where the O'Neills of old custom were created, and there he spoiled all the corn of the country and broke down the chair wherein the O'Neills were wont to be created, being of stone, seated in the open field." Camden, another Sassenach, refers to the rath as the place



CORONATION CHAIR OF THE PRINCES

" where O'Neill, the haughty tyrant of Ulster, used to be crowned."

On the day of inauguration High Mass was celebrated in the neighbouring church, or in the open, by the Primate, who briefly addressed the assemblage concerning their respective duties. A procession was then formed , and a cleric, in surplice, bearing aloft a crucifix, and accompanied by two trumpeters, to announce the approach of the procession, led the way to the hill. After him came the King elect, with his bards, counsellors, and guardsmen. Then his chiefs and princes, bearing wands, the youngest foremost, and after each his train of bards, counsellors, and guardsmen. To these succeeded the inferior clergy, followed by the bishops of the province, and last of all the archbishop in his vestments and with mitre and crozier. On arrival the respective parties took up the positions assigned them. The bishops' thrones were placed directly opposite the *Leac*, and the clergy sat in order on either side. The lay chiefs formed a circle on the outside, and behind each were his bards, heralds, and guardsmen to preserve order and direct the movements of the clansmen below. Then, after a brief prayer by the archbishop, the inauguration was proceeded with.

On this occasion Brian had as inaugurators M'Martin of Cinel Martin—who appears to have

been the principal sub-chief of the Clannaboy at this time—and M'Eoin of the Glinnes.

Seated in the *Leac na Righ*, he had the heads of the laws relating to his conduct—or, perhaps, King Cormac's *Instructions*—read to him by his chief bard—O'Gnive, or M'Namee—after which he received an oath to preserve all the former customs of the country inviolate, to rule his subjects with strict justice, and to deliver up the succession peaceably to his Tanist or Secondary, in case he was incapacitated by age or infirmity, or was deposed like Donal.

Having taken the oath on the Bell of St. Patrick, with which O'Mulholland and O'Mellan attended, he laid aside his sword and battle-dress, when he was given a rod or straight white wand by his junior chief, Mac Eoin—as an emblem of rectitude and to indicate that his people would be so obedient that they would require no other weapon to rule them.

After receiving this, his shoes were taken off his feet and placed in position on "St. Patrick's Flag-stone," on which was marked "the form of the first chieftain's feet," doubtless to indicate that he should walk in the footsteps of the founder of the Cinel. M'Eoin again stepping forward placed sandals on his feet in token of obedience; and M'Martin, retaining one of the royal shoes as an honourable perquisite, throws the other over his

head as an augury of good luck, when, "amid the clang of bucklers, the music of a hundred harps and the ringing cheers of thousands" of his subjects, THE O'NEILL is proclaimed, first by M'Martin, who pronounces in a loud voice his surname—the surname only, without the Christian name—which was then pronounced aloud by the clergy in succession, according to their dignity, and by his subchiefs and freeholders, according to their respective ranks.

The general recognition over, he descends from the Stone and turns himself round, thrice forward and thrice backward, in honour of the Most Holy Trinity, and to view his people and territory in every direction.

He was then anointed with oil by the Primate, who, having set the crown on his head, leads him to the throne which he himself had occupied, and there does homage as his subject.

The bishops follow, and then the chiefs, each of whom breaks his wand, to indicate that the sovereign authority was now vested in the chief they had chosen.

After this ceremony the procession re-formed and returned to the church in the same order as it had gone out, the King, as most entitled to honour, coming in last. Here another exhortation was made by the archbishop, the object of which was to impress on the new king the necessity of

governing with justice and mercy, and of promoting to the utmost of his power the interests of his subjects. The multitudes then dispersed, and the event concluded with festivities and rejoicing.

He was now THE O'NEILL, and the legitimate Chief of his name, "in comparison of which," says Camden, "the very title of Caesar is contemptible in Ireland."

Apropos of this, the following good story is told of a gentleman of the O'Cahans, the celebrated amateur harper, Rory Dall, or the Blind.

Having made an excursion to Scotland during the reign of James VI., who succeeded Elizabeth on the throne of England as James I., he was sent for by that monarch to play on the harp before him. Rory appeared, and so delighted the royal circle with his performance, that James walked towards him and laid his hand familiarly upon his shoulder. One of the courtiers present remarking on the honour thus conferred, Rory observed "a greater man than King James has laid his hands on my shoulder." "And who is that man?" cried the King. "O'Neill, sire," replied Rory standing up. There was much less point in this in Rory's time as we can gather from Camden and other English writers.

The English always regarded the title with fear and jealousy, and as the one great bar to the conquest of Ireland.(*a*)

Recently the title has been assumed, like some

few other Irish titles, (*b*) by His Excellency D. Jorge O'Neill, of Portugal, a Grand Officer of the Royal Household and the senior representative of the O'Neills of Ulster. His Excellency is a lineal descendant of Murkertac, the last elected Prince of the Clannaboy.

Some of the above curious inaugural ceremonies descended from Pagan times, and some in their origin carry us back almost to the days of the great Nial and his friend, Moses.

Thus the "giving of the rod" manifestly derives from the Asiatic custom of symbolising seignorial sway by a wand or rod, which was the primeval sceptre borne by each of the heads of the twelve tribes of Israel. It is still in use in the court of St. James, as borne by the "Usher of the Black Rod."

In feudal times the vassal did homage and received possession of his fief, as the chief received his authority, by being given a wand, branch, or sod of turf, a form of seizin which survived in Scotland up to a very recent period. He placed himself in the hands of his lord by kneeling, placing his hands in his, and—with head uncovered, belt ungirt, and sword and spurs removed—promising him obedience, as the chief promised obedience to the wishes of his clansmen, and to walk in the footsteps of his predecessor by removing his skian and sword, and placing his feet in the "foot-dinted rock."

In virtue of his taking the rod the chief was

entitled to a tribute called " rod money "—generally an ox—from each of his followers.

The flinging down of a sandal on a territory as a symbol of taking possession was another Asiatic custom. " Upon the land of Edom do I cast my shoe," says the Psalmist, and this was a sign of subjection to the Edomites.

Several curious anecdotes related by the old chroniclers show the superstitious sentiment attaching to the ceremony of putting down a shoe, such as that of a crafty, would-be chief of the Maguires, who, ambitious of office, yet fearing to confront a more powerful faction, contrived to outreach his rival by marching over-night to Lisnaskea and leaving his slipper there as a token that he had claimed and taken possession. Similarly, when O'Conor of Offaly, a popular and powerful Leinster prince, rode at the head of his horsemen to the Hill of Tara, and braving the rage of the Englishry and their Viceroy's vengeance, caused his horse to be shod on the site where the ancient High-kings were crowned, he evidently intended the act as a symbol that he aspired to revive the monarchy of the island.

The main parts of the inaugural ceremony were performed in Cinel Eoghan, usually by O'Cahan and O'Hagan (*c*). The former, in consequence, had the privilege of the first drink at the inaugural feast, and as a perquisite he received the rich dress

worn by the king for the first and only time on the day of his inauguration, together with his charger and battle-dress. In like manner O'Cahan's horse and battle-dress passed to O'Hagan. The Primate, who always inaugurated the High-kings, and who, as remarked, presided at the election of the Ulster princes, occasionally took the leading part.

The ceremony was much the same in its general features all over the country, but there were differences in detail, some tribes having traditional customs not practised by others.

It would seem from Giraldus that the Cinel Conal princes, before being completely invested, had first to proclaim themselves beasts by approaching a white heifer and declaring themselves to be "just such another." It was then killed, he says, and a bath was prepared of the broth, in which the new king publicly entered, and eat and drank like a beast by lapping up the broth.

Needless to say this is but one of the many beastly and abominably filthy yarns which abound in Giraldus's work (*d*) and of which he makes a speciality, and tells indeed in all sincerity.

He evidently took a keen delight in hearing and telling these travellers' tales, like his countrymen of the present day, who, says Mr. Gwynn (*Highways and Byeways in Donegal and Antrim*), are willing to believe anything that is told them in Ireland, the more palpably ridiculous the better.

As an instance of this, he tells us that "a lady whom a friend of mine met began to talk to him of the North of Ireland, which, she said, was a delightful country in the early summer, but that it usually became insupportable to a stranger as soon as the shamrocks came into flower. This was naturally quite news to my friend, and he inquired further. It appeared that she had been driving somewhere in the neighbourhood of Lifford, and was struck by the universal prevalence of a most intolerable stench. After a while she made bold to mention it, but her driver promptly told her, 'sure, ma'am, that's just the shamrocks coming into flower.' My friend at once recognised that this had happened when the flax was being steeped and dried on the fields, a process which used to make a good deal of Donegal and Derry unsavoury enough, but it was no use for him to explain, the lady had her explanation given her on the spot by the natives, and she bore a grudge against the shamrocks that nothing could obliterate." Just as Giraldus was prejudiced against the Irish by swallowing the same old tales, of which that concerning the inauguration of the Cinel Conal princes is typical.

The mode of inauguration, as remarked, was much the same in its general features all over Ireland, as very probably it was all over Europe in very early times.

Auban (quoted in *Cambrensis Eversus*) tells us

that : " In Carinthia (an original province of Austria between the Tyrol and Istria), as often as a new prince of the republic enters upon the government, they observe a solemnity nowhere else heard of. In the open fields stands erect a marble stone, which, when the duke is about to be created, a certain countryman, to whom through his race the succession to that office hereditarily belongs, ascends, having on his right hand a black heifer in calf, while on his left is placed a working mare, remarkable for leanness. The people of the country assemble around in a vast crowd. Then the duke about to be invested with the purple moves thither, surrounded by a multitude, the ensigns of the principality preceding him, and the entire company are richly apparelled except the future duke. He, in the common dress of the country, wearing a hair cap, carrying shoes and a pastoral staff, acts the herdsman more than the prince. As he is approaching, he who has possession of the stone, on beholding him, exclaims in the Illyrian language 'who is this who comes on so proudly ?' Then he asks whether he is a just judge ? Does he desire the welfare of the country ? Is he free of birth ? Is he worthy of the honour? A cultivator and defender of Christian piety ? It is exclaimed he is indeed and will be. Again the same man says : 'I ask by what law will he remove me from this seat ?' The master of the ducal hall replies : 'This place is bought from thee

for sixty pence, these cattle shall be thine,' pointing with his hand to the heifer and the mare, 'you shall have the dress which the duke will put off, and you, with all your house, shall be free from tribute,' which being said, the countryman strikes the cheek of the duke, the blow being lightly struck, and commands him to be an equitable judge, and cedes up the place, leading away the price. Then the prince takes possession of the stone, turns himself round to every part, brandishing a naked sword, addresses the people, and promises to be an equitable judge. They bring water, and it is offered to him to drink in the Cup of the Country as an argument to future sobriety, etc. Thus the princes of Austria obtain the empire, and are called Archdukes." The similarity between these observances and those anciently in use in Ireland has often been noted. To return to Brian.

Brian in the fourth year of his reign (1295) was called upon to battle for the crown by Donal, who refused to abide by the decision of the majority of his clansmen. In consequence he raised a numerous army—a not very difficult task outside Cinel Owen, considering the policy of the Ulster tributary chiefs, a policy which had well nigh put an end to the supremacy of the Cinel Owen in the 12th century. They were now ready to march against Brian—as under the circumstance they would have been against Donal himself. Though backed by his own

clansmen, he could not hope to hold his own against the combined forces. He was thus, like his father at Desertcreight, obliged to seek the aid of his neighbour, De Burgh, the Red Earl, who, consequent on these events in Ulster, and on the decline of the O'Conors in Connaught, had now reached such a height of arrogant greatness that the English monarch was obliged to consult him in preference to the Viceroy.

With his own and De Burgh's forces Brian advanced to give battle to the rebels, by whom he was defeated and slain, in the fourth year of his reign, as recorded by the Annalists: "A.D. 1295. Brian, son of Aedh Buidhe O'Neill, son of Donal Oge, son of Aedh Meith, King of Cinel Eoghan, was slain by Donal, the son of Brian O'Neill, and a great slaughter of the Foreigners and Gaedhal along with him."[1]

Brian's seal was found by some of his English followers or kinsmen, who carried it to England, where it was discovered in 1849. Some think it belonged to Brian of the Battle of Down, but that is unlikely, seeing that he claimed the sovereignty the island, a fact which would doubtless appear on his seal, in the title, which is King of Cinel Eoghan:

S. BRIEN. REGIS DE KENEL EOGAIN.

An engraving of the seal is given in the *Miscellany of the Celtic Society* and *Ulster Journal.*

[1] *Annals of Loch Ce.*

In the *Proceedings of the R.I.A.* (Vol. IV., pp. 484-5) for February, 1850, it is stated that an impression of it was exhibited by Sir William Betham, who stated that it was found "lately," near Beverly in Yorkshire. On it was represented a mounted cavalier, with a sword, spear, or dart in his hand. Around this is the inscription given above.

Brian left a sister, Sadhbh, Sawe, or Sabia (*ob.* 1298), married to Tiege, son of Andreas O'Conor of Connaught, and a son and heir, Henry, the first Prince of Clannaboy, who succeeded Donal, son of Brian, in the sovereignty of Ulster.

The above Tiege O'Conor was the grandson of Brian of Leyny (brother of Cathal Red Hand), from whom the O'Conors Sligo, Lords of Lower Connaught, traced their pedigree. (*e*) O'Donovan remarks that the last chief of this family was Lt.-General Donal O'Conor, of the Austrian service, who died at Brussels in 1756, and was buried in the Church of St. Gudule, where the last lady of the House of Hapsburg erected a monument to his memory.

NOTES.

(*a*) The Act of Parliament, 11th of Elizabeth, informs us that "the name of O'Neill in the judgments of the uncivil people of this realm doth carry in itself so great a sovereignty as they suppose that all the lords and people of Ulster should rather live in servitude to that name than in subjection to the Crown of England."

(*b*) At the present time in Ireland none of the distinguished septs of Ulster or Meath are, we believe, represented. The Connacians are well represented by The O'Conor Don, Chief of the O'Conors of Connaught, whose grandfather, Owen O'Conor, Esq., of Belanagare, the first Catholic M.P. for Roscommon since the Reformation, assumed the title in the last century. The M'Dermott of Coolavin is Chief of the M'Dermotts of Moylurg, a branch of whom are represented by M'Dermott Roe of Alderford. The O'Kelly and O'Maine More represent the Hy Many; and The O'Clery, the Bardic Sept of the O'Clerys of Connaught and Tyrconnell.

The only Leinster sept represented by a chief at the present time are the O'Morchoes, or Murphys. The O'Gormans, a distinguished Leinster sept, driven to Munster shortly after the English invasion, were lately represented by Colonel N. P. O'Gorman of Kilrush, who assumed the title—The O'Gorman—shortly before his death. The O'Tool resides on the Continent; also the senior representatives of the M'Murrough Kavanaghs, Kings of Leinster. The ancient name, "M'Murrough" Kavanagh, has been assumed by the Kavanaghs of Borris since O'Donovan's time.

In Munster, The O'Donoghue of the Glens; The M'Gillicuddy of the Reeks; The O'Grady of Kilballyowen; and The O'Donovan of Lissard assumed the title—and the last two the "O'"—in the last century.

(*c*) Dymmok, in his Treatise written in 1608, says: "O'Cahan, the chiefest of the O'Neill Uraughts (Urriaghs, or under kings), createth him O'NEILL by casting a shoe over his head." A writer in the *State Papers* for August, 1594, recommends that "O'Cathan should be restrained from calling or appointing anyone to be O'NEILL, for should anyone take the title without O'Cathan's appointment, the people would not obey him." The office of inaugurator was hereditary in the family of O'Cahan, who, however, as remarked, did not always perform the cermony. In 1493 the *Annals* mention Donal, who was inaugurated by O'Donnell after the death of his brother, Conn More, as the lawful chief, though his younger brother, Henry Oge, was

"created" O'Neill at the same time by O'Cahan and O'Mellan. O'Cahan, as the principal sub-chief, was joined by the Chief of the O'Hagans, a junior sept, who in consequence bore a golden shoe on their arms. The last O'Hagan to perform the ceremony was Henry O'Hagan who died in Rome, and was buried close beside the Baron of Dungannon.

(*d*) *See* Bohn's edition of the works of Giraldus: and Joyce's *Social History*.

(*e*) *See* O'Rorke's *History of Sligo*, Vol. I., p. 85. Tiege, who left an only son, Donal, died a Grey Friar, in the Abbey of Boyle, in 1307.

CHAPTER VII.

DONAL, KING OF ULSTER, SON OF BRIAN OF THE BATTLE OF DOWN, A.D. 1295-TO 1325.

THE death of Brian and so many of his chiefs gave a majority to Donal, who was now reinstated in his princedom, which he held without a break for 30 years.

Donal had suffered so much from the machinations of the English, that he early resolved to establish a combine against them, and if possible to drive them out of the country. This was the great ambition of his life, and the cause in which he laboured for the first 20 years of his reign.

In his friend, Nicholas M'Maelissa, the Primate who had successfully defended the church in his province against the encroachments of the English, he found a warm supporter.

"This prelate," says Darcy M'Gee,[1] "one of the most resolute opponents of the Normans, had constantly refused to install any foreigners in a northern diocese. When the Chapter of Ardagh delayed their election, he nominated a suitable person to the Holy See. When the See of Meath

[1] *History of Ireland.*

was divided between two national parties, he installed his nominee. When the Countess of Ulster (wife of De Burgh) caused Edward I. to issue his writ for the installation of the Bishops of Connor, he refused his acquiescence. He left nearly every See in his province, at the time of his death in 1303, under the administration of a native ecclesiastic."

In 1291 he establish a formal "association" among the prelates at large, by which they bound themselves to resist the interference of the English Kings, and to be subject only to the See of Rome. So when in 1297 Edward I. sent to the Convent of St. John at Down, a letter of licence to elect his nominee as Abbot, Nicholas, the Bishop of Down, broke into the convent, destroyed the King's letter and appointed his own nominee. In the reign of Edward II., the same prelate, who appears to have been an Anglo-Celt, was charged by the English with administering justice on his lands in the Pale, according to the Brehon Laws, and also with combining with the Primate in issuing certain regulations in his diocese, for the purpose of excluding English-born monks from the monasteries,[1] for as Leland says[2] the neglected, the worthless, or oppressed, among their English brethren, sought refuge in the Church of Ireland, to the utter mortification and discontent of the whole body of ecclesiastics.

Primate Nicholas was probably the greatest

[1] Richey's *History of Ireland.* [2] *History of Ireland.*

champion they ever had. He died in May, 1303, after presiding over the See for thirty-one years, and completed the decoration of his cathedral "in a style of such singular beauty that the like was not to be found in the kingdom." He also enriched the church with books and vestments, and a pension of 20 marks annually to be paid out of his manor of Termon Fechin, near Drogheda, in the Pale.[1]—*See* Ware's *Bishops*, by Harris, p. 70.

His predecessors were Patrick O'Scanlan, Bishop of Tyrconnell, Abraham O'Connellan, Reginald, "a native of Ireland"—probably a Dane, Albert of Cologne, Donatus O'Fidabra, Bishop of Clogher, in Tyrone, and Luke Netterville, a Palesman who was elected to succeed Eoghan M'Gillivider, mentioned in the reign of Hugh Duff. All these prelates, save Albert and Reginald, were elected by the Chapter.

The English Kings, as we have seen, fought hard to secure the election of their own nominees, but could never prevail with the Chapter till now, when, agreeable to their wishes, their subjects and favourites were installed by the Popes, who, "out of the plenitude of their power," took the place of the Chapter. So that but one Irishman—David O'Hiraghty—filled the See from this period till the reign of Henry VIII., when the virtues of the despised O's and Mac's were again recognised

[1] Brenan's *Ecclesiastical History*.

The immediate successors of Nicholas had some difficulty in getting possession of the See, especially Roland De Jorse, or Joyce—brother of Thomas, Cardinal of St. Sabina—whom Donal in his letter to Pope John XXII., refers to as "an ignorant and ill-conducted Archbishop." His successors were only received in Ulster by acknowledging the supremacy of O'Neill, and paying a tribute of or "rendering to O'Neill six yards of good cloth for his (O'Neill's) investiture, and three yards of like cloth for his wife's tunic."[1] De Jorse, it appears, could never get possession of his See, and in consequence was compelled to resign.

About this time(1303) Donal sent a force of the Cinel Owen to the assistance of the Prince of Tyrconnell—Tirlo, son of Donal Oge—whom he had set up in 1295 in opposition to his brother Hugh, who now gained the day, and slew Tirlo with many of his men.

In 1306 his kinsman Donal O'Neill, surnamed Tuirtrech, *i.e.* of Hy Tuirtre in Clannaboy, was accidentally slain "by the household of O'Neill, *i.e.*, by some of the officers of his household, or by some of his household troops.

Among the officers composing the household of the Irish princes are mentioned—a Chancellor and Treasurer, who was also Keeper of the Jewels, a "president of the council," or chief adviser, a

[1] *See* Chapter XVI. on.

marshal, master of the horse, standard bearer, constable, wardrobe keeper, or keeper of arms and dresses, and a high steward, as well as cup-bearers, chefs, carvers, huntsmen, grooms, janitors, musicians, jugglers, jesters, etc.

Torna O'Mulchonry, chief poet to Felim O'Connor, who was inaugurated about this time at Carnfree, has left us an account of his household which is, or was, preserved in an Irish MS. at Stowe.

From this it appears he kept "twelve prime officers" of the chief families of the province in his Court, attending on his person, as his council, and to rule and govern his household, as well as to manage the affairs of his kingdom in war as well as peace.

O'Tiege was the marshal of the household or steward, O'Flyn was "steward of the horse," O'Kelly of Hy Many was "steward of the jewels," M'Dermott of Moylurg was chief marshal of the armies, O'Beirne the carver, O'Finachty the door-keeper, O'Flanagan the high steward, and O'Flaherty and O'Malley admirals of the fleet. [See *The O'Connors of Connaught*].

The person appointed to each office nearly always belonged to some particular family in which the office was hereditary. Some were in constant attendance and lived in or about the Court, others, like the inaugurators or deposers, attended only on special occasions. These commonly lived at a distance in

their own territories, for they were themselves generally sub-chiefs.

Thus in Cinel Owen at this time the chiefs of Cinel Farry—the M'Cawells (*a*)—were the hereditary advisers of the king, the O'Hagans of Cinel Fergus were high stewards, and the O'Quins, Rechtaires or house stewards.(*b*) The title of this office was hereditary as a surname—like Butler—in Scotland, and was borne by the Steward or Stewart Kings. In early times in England the name was applied to the *Stige ward*, or master of the hogs, an important office. The term was afterwards applied to the seneschal, or head of the royal household, and thence to the chief officer of state.

O'Hagan also—with O'Cahan—held the office of inaugurator, and likewise that of chief Brehon, though not always. The M'Cawells are likewise mentioned as Brehons, and in the reign of Shane, this office was held by an Anglo-Irishman, William Fleming, one of the Flemings of Slane, styled *Judex Tyroniae*. In Cinel Conal and Fermanagh the O'Breslins were Brehons, and Sir John Davies in his *Historical Tracts* gives an interesting account of the last O'Breslin to hold the office in Fermanagh.

Campion (*History of Ireland*) says, "the Brehons consider of wrongs offered and received among their neighbours, be it murder, felony, or trespass, all is redeemed by compositions. The Breighon, as they call this sort of lawyer, sitteth him on a bank, the

lords and gentleman at variance about him, and then proceed."

The O'Donnellys of Fir Droma, according to Keating, were the hereditary chief marshals of the army in Ulster, like the M'Dermotts in Connaught, O'Mores in Leinster, M'Geoghegans in Meath, and M'Namaras in Munster.

The O'Hanlons of Orior, like the O'Molloys in Leinster, were the hereditary standard bearers. The Chief of Omeith—O'Hanvey—at this time, appears to have been commander of the horse, as M'Donnell, a Clan Donnell Chief, was commander of the gallow-glasses and constable of Cinel Owen, like the M'Sweeneys in Tirconnell and Clannaboy.(*c*)

The M'Namees, O'Donnellys, O'Clercins and others were distinguished bards in Tyrone, as were the O'Gnives, or Agnews in Clannaboy, and the M'Wards, O'Sgingins, O'Clerys, O'Husseys, M'Crifferties, O'Donnellys, O'Dalys, and O'Farrellys in Cinel Conal, Fermanagh, Oriel and Breffni respectively.

The O'Cassidys, O'Mellans, O'Quins and O'Donlevys were distinguished physicians in Ulster, and the O'Brolchains of Cinel Farry were renowned as architects and builders.

They received an ample stipend which included a separate house and lands, as Camden notes :—" These lords (the Irish chiefs) have their historians, who write their acts and deeds, their physicians, their

rhymers, whom they call bards, and their harpers, all of whom have their lands set out for them."

The territory of Loughty, now included in the Barony of Monaghan in that County, according to Ware (*Antiquities*) was so called because it was set apart for the maintenance of M'Mahon's household.

In Cinel Owen the names Derrybard, near Fintona, and Ballyward still indicate the lands held by the bards. O'Hagan and O'Cahan as inaugurators were free from tribute, and M'Donnell as constable held the castle and lands of Knocknaclogha, or Knocknacloy, near Pomeroy. The M'Donnells were probably invited to Ulster by Donal's father, whose lady, according to the MS. quoted, was of that family.

At home or abroad the Irish Prince or Chief was always surrounded by state. He was prohibited from going about unattended, save in harvest time, when he might travel with two attendants and a Brehon. On all other occasions he journeyed attended by his dam or retinue. A Chief had twelve persons, a prince, eighty, and a provincial king thirty, the retinue of a prince was even larger than that of a provincial king, and was evidently a military escort, for in time of war he could command at least 2,000 [1] men. His retinue was composed, among others, of the children of chiefs and princes kept in fosterage, of the more adventurous of the noble youths of the tribe, and often of foreigners living as guests.

[1] O'Curry's *Manners and Customs.*

Sir John Harrington (*Nugae Antiq.*) writing of the retinue or guard of Hugh O'Neill in the 16th century, says : "for the most part they were beardless boys, who, in the frost, wade as familiarly through rivers as water spaniels." "With what charm such a master makes them love him," he adds, "I know not. But if he bid them come, they come, if go, they do go, if he say do this, they do it."

A retinue of 50 or 150 men was considered splendid in Ireland. The household troops were called *Amuis*, a name also applied to mercenaries. The *Amuis* or Ambuis were similar to the Ambacti of the Gauls, and Caesar's remark (*De Bell. Gall.*) that the Gaulish nobles surrounded themselves with Ambacti and clients, which they considered as a mark of favour and power, is equally applicable to the Irish princes.

Kenneth O'Hartigan, in his poem on Tara, speaks of a great house or barrack of thousands of *Amuis*, and at the Battle of Allen it is recorded that Fergal, Prince of Aileach, and High-king, was killed with 6,000 of his *Amuis*. In the 16th century the Prince of Cinel Owen, according to Camden and Fynes Moryson, had 900 guardsmen or household troops—700 foot and 200 horse.

A few picked men commonly accompanied the prince as a personal bodyguard, and stood beside him whenever he sat down with drawn swords and battle-axes in their hands, for Irish kings were not

less liable to assassination than others from ancient times to the present day. According to the Brehon Code a Chief should have four such men.[1]

The *Four Masters* have left us an account of the body-guard of Prince Shane O'Neill in the 16th century. " In front of his tent burned a great fire and a huge torch thicker than a man's body was constantly flaring at a short distance from the fire, and 60 grim and redoubtable gallowglasses with sharp keen axes, terrible and ready for action, and 60 stern and terrific Scots with massive broad and heavy striking swords in their hands (ready) to strike and parry, were watching and guarding O'Neill."

In 1314 Donal's brother " Neal M'Bryan O'Neill, a prince famous for riches and good government, and that did bear great sway in Ireland, died." Neal or Nial was one of those to whom shortly before this, Edward II. wrote for assistance against the Scottish king, Robert Bruce.

Bruce's gallant struggle for independence was watched with interest by the Irish chiefs, and especially by Donal, who, as an ally and kinsman received the news of his victory at Bannockburn as the signal for that great fight for Irish independence for which he had been preparing so long. Accordingly, he resolved to at once seek the aid of the victor and to resign in his favour all his rights to the sovereignty of Ireland, to which he, like his prede-

[1] *See* Chapter IV., Part I.

cessors and successors, had first claim, as the Annalists—who seldom omit to give them their title of Roydamna, or heir of Ireland—remind us. He himself, as M'Gee says,[1] "felt the utter impossibility of conciliating that family pride fed into extravagance by bards and seanachies. . . . which was the worst consequence of the Celtic system. He saw Chiefs proud of their lineage and name submit to serve a foreign Earl of Ulster, who refused homage to a native Prince of Ulster. He saw the seedlings of a vice of which we have seen the fruit, that his countrymen would submit to a stranger rather than to one of themselves. And he reasoned not unnaturally that by the hand of some friendly stranger they might be united and liberated." "A more patriotic design," he adds, "or one with fairer omens of success could not have entered into the heart of a native prince after the event of the battle at Bannockburn."

The hopelessness of expecting Chiefs like O'Brien and O'Donnell to combine under a native prince became apparent after the battle of Down to Brian's successor, Hugh Boy, who, in 1263, appears to have despatched ambassadors, on his own behalf and that of other princes, to Hakon, King of Norway, offering him the crown if he would aid in expelling the English.

Hakon, who was then lying at Lamlash in the

[1] *History of Ireland*

Clyde, with 160 ships, was about invading Scotland in the interest of the Norsemen of the Hebrides, when many of his vessels were driven ashore by a storm, and when his men landed to rescue them, the Scottish king, Alexander III., the last male descendant of Kenneth M'Alpin, assailed them at Largs, and after a day of storm and battle drove them off. Hakon retired to the Orkneys to recruit and prepare for the invasion of Ireland, but he died on his way,[1] and so ended all hopes of freedom for that time.

Another opportunity now presented itself of securing the aid of Bruce, who, since his coronation at Scone in 1306, had been battling with such success against the English, that after a campaign of seven years, Stirling Castle, which was on the point of surrendering, alone remained in their possession. On this occasion it was that Edward II. resolved to take the field himself and wrote to Donal and his chiefs: Neal M'Brian, O'Cahan, O'Flynn of Hy Tuirtre, in Clannaboy, O'Donnell, M'Guire, M'Mahon, O'Hanlon, Magennis of Iveagh; and O'Reilly of Breffny, for aid.

Donal, however, had already despatched a force, under O'Cahan, to the assistance of Bruce, whom he regarded as his kinsman, for in the female line both their pedigrees converged in Kenneth M'Alpine, the first of Scotland's kings.

[1] *Annals of Ulster* 1263. *See* also *Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church.*

Bruce was no stranger to Ulster, as in 1306, after his defeat at Perth, he had sought refuge in the island of Rathlin—off the coast of Ulidia—then in possession of a cousin of Donal, Augus Oge M'Donnell of the House of Somerled, who was married to a daughter of O'Cahan. In the Castle, now known as Bruce's Castle, tradition says he learned the lesson of perseverance from the six times baffled spider.

During his sojourn here, Donal doubtless, came to an understanding with him as to the future; for he returned to Scotland with a body of Ultonians, who under O'Cahan,(*d*) fought by his side at Bannockburn, where in 1314, the English were so decisively defeated.

The grant of the territory of Kincardine-O'Neill which they received after this battle, remains, as M'Gee says, a striking evidence of their fidelity to his person, and their sacrifices in his cause.

Soon after, Donal despatched ambassadors to Bruce soliciting his assistance, and besought that if he could not come himself he would send his brother Edward to be king.

Edward, who had commanded the right wing at Bannockburn, agreed to accept the crown, and on the 25th of May, 1315, accompanied by Thos. Randolph, Earl of Moray, Sir John and Sir Allen Stuart, Sir Philip Mowbray, Sir John Sandal; Sir Jas. Douglas, Lord Walter de Soulis, Sir Fergus of

Ardrossan, and many other distinguished knights, he arrived with 300 ships and 6,000 men in the Glandun river, near Glenarm, where on landing, he was joined by Donal and the Ulster Chiefs, with their forces.

Now commenced the three years war for Irish independence, which began so promisingly and ended so disastrously.

They first, under Donal's leadership, as it would appear, advanced towards the town of Antrim to give battle to the English of Ulidia, whom they defeated under the Mandevilles and Savages at Rathmore, in the plain of Moylinny. Moving southward they stormed and burned Downpatrick, Newcastle, Dundalk, and Ardee, encamping in the wood of Iniskeen, seven miles west of the former place, where they got an abundant supply of victuals and wine.

Meanwhile O'Donnell (Hugh) marched on Connaught, stormed and sacked the castle and town of Sligo, and wasted the adjoining country, so as to create a diversion and give employment to De Burgh, the English Commander-in-chief, who, with Felim M'Hugh O'Connor, King of Connaught, had mustered at Athlone. Together they advanced towards Drogheda with "20 cohorts" about the same time that Sir Edmund Butler, the Viceroy, came up with 30 cohorts, in all about 30,000 men. The opposing armies came in touch near Ardee, and there was

some skirmishing. But the allies, outnumbered, led by Donal, retraced their steps northward—followed by De Burgh—and crossed the Bann at Coleraine, the bridge of which was broken down to stop De Burgh's passage. The combined forces—Irish and Scots—then marched through Cinel Owen "to the borders of Inisowne," where they encamped.[1]

By negotiation Bruce and Donal succeeded in detaching O'Connor—who retired to Connaught on the plea of suppressing an insurrection—from De Burgh, who then retreated towards the castle of Conor, near Ballymena, in Clannaboy, where he was overtaken, and after a furious contest utterly defeated with the loss of a great part of his army. He then fled crestfallen to Connaught, leaving his brother, Sir William, Sir John Mandeville, Sir Allen FitzWarren, John Staunton and others in the hands of the victors, who laid siege to Carrickfergus Castle, in which a body of English had taken refuge.

Shortly after, reinforcements having arrived from Scotland, under William, brother of Edward Bruce, the allies, leaving a party to carry on the siege, advanced on Meath, and captured in succession, Granard, Fenagh, and Kells, where, supported by O'Melaghlin and the Southern Hy Nials, they routed Sir Roger Mortimer, the Viceroy—who had superseded Butler—at the head of 15,000 men.

[11] *Annals of Clonmacnoise*

After this they proceeded to Lough Sewdy, now Sunderlin, in Westmeath, where they were joined by the De Lacys of Rathwire, which estate had been given their ancestors by Sir Hugh. Here they halted and spent the Xmas of 1315.

NOTES.

(*a*) The Cinel Farry chiefs are sometimes styled in the *Annals* chief advisers and peace makers of Ulster. In the *Calendar of State Papers*, 1566, Cormac M'Ardle, President of Shane's Council is noted.

(*b*) In the *State Papers* for 1593-4 mention is made of "the Seneschal O'Hagan," who was sent to Belfast by O'Neill to induce the Clannaboy to join him. Sir John Davies, writing about the same time, says "Tyrone" must have assumed his Irish title, as he commands O'Quin, his steward, to pay this wise: "O'Neill bids O'Quin to pay sixty pounds."

(*c*) This M'Sweeny is mentioned in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, under 1449, only. M'Donnell, Constable of O'Neill of Tyrone is frequently mentioned.

(*d*) He appears to have sailed for Scotland with supplies in 1313, in galleys which Bruce despatched, for the purpose, as it was believed, of making a descent upon the English settlements along the coast of Ulster.—Gilbert's *Viceroys*.

CHAPTER VIII.

DONAL'S APPEAL TO POPE JOHN XXII.

IT was now, when Ireland was on the point of being wrested out of the clutches of England, that the English monarch, Edward II., as a last resort, had recourse to the aid of the spiritual power, an old expedient, practised for what it was worth against the Welsh and Scots, and indeed against the Irish themselves. (*a*)

Edward accordingly applied to the Court of Rome, earnestly supplicating the interposition of the Sovereign Pontiff, John XXII., to whom he represented Bruce and the Irish chiefs—who had never acknowledged his authority—as rebels, traitors, and what not.

A solemn sentence of excommunication was then fulminated against Bruce and his brother, Robert, "the self-styled King of Scotland," their adherents, and all the enemies of Edward II. All such persons were to be shunned as under the ban of the Church, and the sentence was to be read aloud by the clergy on Sundays and holidays, with candles lighted and bells tolling.

Being sensible that English policy and misrepre-

sentation had been as usual artfully employed in procuring this sentence—which, however, had little effect outside the Pale (*b*)—the Irish princes and chiefs, to the number of twenty-two, headed by Donal, came to the resolution of doing justice to themselves and their country by laying a fair, circumstantial, and detailed account of their sufferings before the Holy Father.

A Remonstrance was accordingly prepared and presented to His Holiness, setting forth in language most affecting the wretched state of the country, and the grinding oppression which they had endured at the hands of the English.

The following—from King's *Church History of Ireland*, pp. 1119-23—is considered the best translation from the original *sub* 1318 in the *Chronica Gentis Scotorum*, commonly called the *Scoti Chronicon*, of John of Fordun, a work compiled 1384-7 :

"*To Our Most Holy Father in Christ, the Lord John, by the grace of God, Supreme Pontiff, his attached children, Donal O'Neyll, King of Ulster, and rightful hereditary successor to the throne of Ireland, as well as the princes and nobles of the same realm, with the Irish people in general, present their humble salutations, approaching with kisses of devout homage to his sacred feet :—*

Lest the bitter and venomous calumnies of the English, and their unjust and unfounded attacks upon us and all who support our rights, may in any degree influence your mind—though heaven forbid that it should be so—or

lest circumstances unknown to you and made by them the subjects of misrepresentation, may seem to require some correction at your hands—as tho' their statements were fully in accordance with truth—with loud imploring cry we would convey to your Holiness, in the contents of the present appeal, an account of our first origin, and of the condition in which our affairs at this moment stand—if indeed to "stand" be now a proper expression to apply to them. And also of the cruel injuries to us and our forefathers, inflicted, threatened, and to the present hour continued, by successive kings of England and their wicked ministers and Anglican barons of Irish birth, that so you may have it in your power, to examine into the particulars of the case at issue and thus to discern for yourself which party it is that has been compelled by real grievances to raise a clamour. Then shall it be for your judgment, after careful and satisfactory inquiry into the matter, to determine, according to the character of the evidence brought before you, what punishment, or correction, should visit the offences of the delinquent party.

Be it known to you then, Most Holy Father, that since the time when our ancient progenitors, namely, the three sons of Milesius, *alias* Micelius, the Spaniard, came by Divine providence with their fleet of thirty ships from Cantabria, a city of Spain—situated on the bank of the river Hiberus, from which we derive our name—into Ireland, at that time entirely destitute of inhabitants, 3,500 years (*c*) and upwards have passed away, during which period 136 kings and their descendants, without any admixture of foreign blood, have been successively possessed of the monarchy of all Ireland, to the time of King Laeghaire (Leary), from whom I, the aforesaid

Donal, have derived in a direct line my origin, according to the flesh (*d*) ; in whose days also our chief apostle and patron, St. Patrick, commissioned by your predecessor, Pope Celestine, according to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, became, in A.D. 435, a missionary to our forefathers, and was most successful in his efforts to instruct them in the truth of the Catholic faith, and subsequently to the time when that faith was preached and received among us, a series of monarchs to the number of 61, who in temporals, acknowledged no superiors, inherited the same throne to the yeai of our Lord, 1170, all of them of the same stock without any admixture of foreign blood ; princes who lived in humble obedience to the Church of Rome, excellently well instructed in the faith of Christ, and noted for their abundant works of charity ; and these are the men and not the English, nor any other persons belonging to a different nation, that have richly endowed the Church of Ireland with landed and other property of large extent and many additional privileges, although of these lands and privileges she has by the English in modern times been damnably despoiled. And after that the kings aforesaid, had, for so long a time, by their own efforts, energetically defended against the rulers and kings of various climes, the inheritance granted them by God, ever preserving inviolate their native liberty, at length, your predecessor, Pope Adrian, an Englishman—although not so completely in his origin as in his feelings and connections—in the year of our Lord, 1170, when the representation, false and full of iniquity, which was made to him by Henry, King of England—the monarch under whom and perhaps at whose instigation, St. Thomas of Canterbury in that same year suffered death, as you are aware,

in defence of justice and the church—made over this realm of ours in a certain set form of words to that prince, whom for the crime here mentioned, he ought rather have deprived of his own kingdom, presenting him *de facto* with what he had no right to bestow; while the question *de jure* (touching the justice or fairness of the proceeding) was utterly disregarded. Anglican prejudices, lamentable to say, blinding the vision of that eminent pontiff, and thus despoiling us of our royal honour. Without any offence of ours, he has handed us over to be lacerated by teeth more cruel than those of any wild beast. And those of us, who, after having been flayed alive, had escaped half alive, the fatal fangs of those crafty foxes and ravenous wolves, have been violently reduced to the deep abyss of miserable bondage. For ever since that time, when the English upon occasion of this grant aforesaid, and under the mask of a sort of outward sanctity and religion, made their unprincipled aggression upon the territories of our realm, they have been endeavouring with all their might, and with every art which perfidy could employ, completely to exterminate and utterly to eradicate our people from the country. And by their acts of low false cunning, they have so far prevailed against us, that after having violently expelled us, without regard to the authority of any superior, from our spacious habitations and patrimonial inheritance, they have compelled us to repair, in the hope of saving our lives, to mountainous, woody and swampy, and barren spots; and to the caves of the rocks also, and in these like beasts, to take up our dwelling for a length of time.

Nay, even in such places they are incessantly molesting us, and exerting themselves to the utmost of their

power to expel us from them, with audacious falseness asserting, in the depth of the frenzy which blinds them, that we have no right to any free dwelling place in Ireland but that this whole country belongs of right, entire and entirely to themselves alone. Whence it is that on account of these and many other like atrocities, there have arisen, between us and them, enmities irreconcilable and wars without end. From which have followed mutual slaughters, continual depredations, constant rapine, and instances of perfidy and fraud of detestable character, and too frequently repeated.

But alas, our miserable fate! for want of a fit ruling authority, the correction and redress of these evils, which are so justly due to us, we look for in vain.

The clergy and people of Ireland have, therefore, now for these many years, been placed in a position of the most serious and awful danger, not only in regard to the transitory interests of the body, but also as concerns the salvation of their souls, exposed as they are to the unfortunate circumstances which we describe, to perils the most fearful and unprecedented. For we hold it as an undoubted truth, that in consequence of the aforesaid false suggestion and the grant thereupon founded, more than 50,000 persons of the two nations—from the time when the grant was made to the present date—have perished by the sword, independently of those who have been worn out by famine, or destroyed in dungeons.

These few observations, relative to the general origin of our progenitors and the miserable position in which the Roman Pontiff has placed us, may suffice for the present occasion.

Know further, Most Holy Father, that King Henry of England, to whom the grant was made, allowing him

to invade Ireland in the manner aforesaid, and likewise the four kings who succeeded Henry, have plainly transgressed the limits of the conditions on which the grant was made to them in the Papal Bull according to the distinct articles contained in it, as is clearly evident from a reference to the substance of the Bull itself.

For the said Henry promised, as it is specified in the said Bull, that he would extend the boundaries of the Irish Church, and preserve her rights inviolable and secure; that he would bring the people into a state of obedience to laws and improve them by the introducing of good morality; that he would implant new virtues in the land and eradicate the nurseries of crime; and pay to blessed Peter, the apostle, a pension of one penny annually for every house. This promise, however, concerning Ireland, as well he himself as his successors aforesaid and their wicked and crafty English ministers, have in every instance violated, entirely departing from the terms of the grant made to them, and studiously and intentionally exhibiting in their actions, a line of conduct directly contrary to all those conditions which they had promised to fulfil. For the territories of the church are so curtailed, narrowed and mutilated by them, that some cathedral churches have been plundered of a moiety and more of their lands and property, (*e*) while ecclesiastical privileges of every kind are for the most part entirely abolished by the individuals here spoken of. And our bishops and prelates are indiscriminately summoned, arrested, seized upon and imprisoned by the ministers of the King of England in Ireland. And, though suffering as they do such constant and serious injuries, they are yet so strongly influenced by a slavish timidity, that they never venture to bring before your Holiness any

representations concerning them. In consequence of such scandalous silence on their part, we also are disposed to refrain from further observations on this topic.

Then as regards the Irish people whom in their agreement they had promised to instruct in good morals, and bring into subjection to their laws, they are giving them some of unprincipled character which, by way of example, are here inserted, and those which we subjoin are inviolably observed in the court of the King of England in Ireland, namely, that permission is given to every person who is not Irish to summon at the law any Irish person, in any sort of action whatever. But every Irishman, whether he be clerk or layman, the prelates alone excepted, is *ipso facto* excluded from commencing any action whatsoever.

Further, as it very constantly happens, whenever an Englishman, by perfidy and craft, kills an Irishman, however noble, or however innocent, be he clerk or layman, be he regular, or secular, nay, even if an Irish prelate were to be slain, there is no penalty or correction enforced in the said court against the person who may be guilty of such wicked murder; but rather the more eminent the person killed, and the higher the rank which he holds among his own people, so much the more is the murderer honoured and rewarded by the English; and not merely by the people at large, but also by the religious and bishops of the English race, and above all, by those on whom devolves officially the duty of inflicting upon such malefactors a just award and suitable correction for their evil deeds.

Furthermore, every Irishwoman, whether of noble rank or otherwise, who marries an Englishman, is deprived on her partner's death, of the third part of the

landed property and other effects which belonged to her deceased husband.

Again, these English, whenever they can compass the destruction of an Irishman by violent means, will not allow by any means such an Irishman to dispose of his own property by a last will or testamentary arrangement of any kind. But, on the contrary, they make their own of all his goods, depriving the church of her just rights, and by their violence reducing on their own authority, to a state of bondage, the blood which flowed in freedom from the days of old.(*f*)

Moreover, by the Common Council of that King of England and certain Anglican bishops—the principal of whom was a person of small discretion and of no knowledge—the Archbishop of Armagh—(*g*) an iniquitous statute has been lately enacted in the city of St. Keynice (St. Canice, or Kilkenny) in Ireland in the following unnatural terms :—" It is ordained that all the religious who dwell in this land in peace among the English, are prohibited from receiving into their order or form of religion, any excepting such as are of the nation of the English. And if any shall do otherwise, our lord the king shall deal with them as with persons guilty of contempt for his command ; and the founders and patrons of such institutions shall proceed against them as disobedient and contumacious in resisting the present ordinance promulgated by the authority of the Council of the whole land of Ireland under the government of the English." (*h*)

Even before this statute had been enacted, as well as since that time, the preaching friars, and the minors, the monks and canons and other Anglicans were in the habit of observing the rule with sufficient exactness,

being very great respecters of persons. And yet those monasteries for monks and canons from which in modern times the Irish are thus repulsed, were founded, for the most part, by themselves.

Again in a country where they had bound themselves to introduce virtues and exterminate the nurseries of vices, these, by engrafting vices introduced by themselves, they have affected a radical extirpation of already-existing virtues. For the English who inhabit our country, who style themselves of the middle nation, are so widely different in their principles of morality from the English of England and from all other nations, that they may, with the utmost propriety, be denominated a nation not of any middling, but of the most extreme degree of perfidy. For they have kept up ever since the days of old this wicked and unprincipled usage, which is not even yet falling into disuse among them, but, on the contrary, gaining every day new strength and becoming more inveterate (*i*), namely, that when they invite to an entertainment, some of the nobles of our nation, at the very time of repast, or during the hours devoted to rest, they will shed, without mercy, the blood of the unsuspecting guests, whom the have invited, terminating in this way their abominable feasts.

And after such odious conduct they have also cut off the heads of their victims, and sold them for money to their personal enemies ; as did the baron, Peter Bermingham—surnamed, only too justly, *The Treacherous*—to his own kinsman, Maurice de Santa Cruce (*j*), and his brother, Calvagh, individuals of very high rank and very much respected among us. After having invited them to a banquet on the festival of the Most Holy Trinity, on that very day when the repast was over, immediately

on their rising from the table, he fell on them with 24 persons of his gang and inhumanly butchered them, and afterwards sold their heads to their enemies for a considerable sum of money, and when an indictment for the crime was brought against him before the King of England—the father of him that is now king—he inflicted no penalty whatsoever on this atrocious traitor.

In like manner Lord Thomas de Clare, brother to the Earl of Gloucester, having invited to his house that illustrious individual, Brian Roe, Prince of Thomond, his own kinsman, and having also,in token of more intimate alliance and friendship, shared with him in taking the communion from the same consecrated Host divided into two parts, after all this unprincipled hypocrisy, at the instigation of that wicked people aforesaid, he caused him to be arrested and hurried away from the table and entertainment to be torn limb from limb between the tails of horses, and then, having cut off his head, he gave orders to have the mutilated corpse hung to a gallows by the feet.

Again Geoffrey de Penthoiris of the same nation, was guilty of similar treatment towards Maurice, King of Leinster (*k*), and Arthur, his father, persons of exalted rank and high influence. After having first made them an entertainment, he afterwards, in the course of the same night, murdered them in his own house as they lay asleep in their beds. And in like manner, John Fitz-Thomas, Earl of Adare (*l*), having been guilty of the murder of an Irishman of noble rank, a near connection of his own ; three days after the bloody act, caused the head to be cut off with the mean object of selling it. Not indeed perpetrating the act himself directly, but employing others as his agents for the business. And

in the same way did the same Earl John deal towards John, son of that most worthy individual, Calvagh, aforesaid, a fine promising youth whom he had received from the baptismal font, and who had, ever since, been constantly reared up with himself, but whom at length, after the detestable death of his relatives, above noticed, he first immured in a murky dungeon, and then a few days after, caused him therein to be assassinated, staining with guiltless blood his guilty soul.

These few instances, notorious to the public, of the numberless outrages of that people, may suffice by way of example for the present occasion. And although conduct of the kind must appear to all Christians abominable and worthy of detestation, nevertheless by those of that nation above mentioned—as we are compelled to feel in the too afflicting experience of every day—it is regarded as honourable and praiseworthy, since the perpetrators of these crimes never undergo the punishment which they deserve to suffer. On the contrary the prize of commendation, to which they have no claim, is too absurdly lavished upon them. For it is not merely their lay and secular persons, but even some of the religious among them too, who are asserting the heretical doctrine that it is no more sin to kill an Irishman than a single dog or any other brute animal. And in confirmation of this heretical assertion, some of their monks audaciously affirm, that if it were to happen to them, as it often does happen, that they should kill an Irishman, they would not for this refrain from the celebration of Mass even for a single day. And accordingly what they preach in words is unhesitatingly and shamelessly put in practice by the monks of the Cistercian Order of Granard, in the Diocese of Ardagh, and also by the monks

of the same Order belonging to Inch, in the Diocese of Down. For making their appearance publicly in arms, they invade and slaughter Irish people (*m*), and yet celebrate their Masses notwithstanding. And in like manner Friar Simon, of the Order of the Minors, full brother to the Bishop of Connor, supports and is one of the chief preachers of that heresy, who in the year last past, while in the court of that noble lord, Lord Edward de Bruce, Earl of Carrick, unable from the overflowings of a heart full of malice, to contain himself in silence, did in the presence of the said lord, as he himself testifies, break out impudently into preaching words of this kind, namely, that it is no sin to kill an Irishman, and that if he himself were to be the doer of the act he would not for this be the one whit less ready to perform the celebration of the Mass.

And from this mischievous heresy, stepping on into another error, they all indiscriminately, as well secular as regular, pertinaciously affirm, that it would be allowable for them, by violence and arms, to take from us, of our lands and property of every kind, whatever portion they can lay hold on, not considering this anything to trouble their consciences, even in the hour of death. And all the land which they occupy in Ireland they occupy by usurpation of this kind. And of whatever condition or station the person might be who would set his face against this error, or preach to them the contrary, he would be thereupon denounced as an enemy to the King of England and to the realm, as one that had incurred sentence of death and as condemned to banishment by authority of the King's Council. For it is those people who, by their deceitful and crafty scheming, have alienated us from the monarchs of England, hindering

us,to the very great detriment of the king and realm,from holding lands—those lands which are our own by every rightful title—as voluntary tenants immediately under those princes ; between whom and us they are sowing everlasting discord under the powerful influence of their covetous desires to get possession of our lands.

This, indeed, seems to be a peculiarly characteristic habit of theirs, and one that gives rise to many an act of perfidy and fraud—that they never cease from sowing such discords in their unprincipled way, not only between such as are distant in blood from one another, but also between brothers and near kinsmen. And seeing that in their circumstances and language, as well as in their actions, they are alien from us, and from other people to a far greater extent than can possibly be described in any writing or statement,all hope of our maintaining peace with them is therefore entirely out of the question. For such a spirit of pride are they possessed of, and such an excessive passion for tyranizing over us,and such a proper and natural determination have we formed to shake off the intolerable yoke of their bondage and recover our inheritance, which, in defiance of all justice, they have so wickedly seized upon, that as there never has been heretofore, so neither will it ever be possible in future, that any sincere concord can be established, or maintained between us and them in this life. For we have towards each other a natural hatred arising out of the unmerciful and long continued slaughters that have been going on, on one another's father, brothers, nephews, and other friends and near kinsmen ; so that we never shall be able, as long as we and our children live, to entertain any kind of inclination for friendship for one another.

Again, that the Court of Rome has not received the penny a year from each house in Ireland, according to the promise that has been made, is a circumstance which cannot be unknown to you, manifest as it is to all the world. In this way then, after no other fashion whatsoever, have the Kings of England observed the articles of the aforesaid Bull relative to the church and people of Ireland.

And, therefore, about two years ago, a letter, describing these outrages and abominations of the people aforesaid in a clear and simple way, with a view to obtaining a remedy, was addressed by several of the nobility of our nation, to the Council of that King and also to the King himself, through Lord John Hothome, who is now, as we have been informed, Bishop of Ely. We also made a courteous proposal to the same party, that for his greater profit and our own peace, we should hold our land—that land which is by right our own exclusively—immediately from himeslf, without any opposition, according to the conditions and articles assigned and contained in the Bull of Adrian, a copy of which in full we transmit herewith to you (*n*), or that he should with consent of both parties, himself divide our land—aye, that land which is our own property—according to some reasonable plan, between us and them, for the sake of avoiding wholesale bloodshed, but never since have we obtained from himself or his council any answer whatever to this application. Let no man then be surprised if we are endeavouring to save our lives and making whatever efforts we can to defend the privileges of our independence against these cruel tyrants and usurpers of our rights, especially as the said king, who was at that time styling himself the lord of Ireland,

as well as the aforesaid kings his predecessors, have totally failed in our own case, and in the case of most of our people, to secure to us the titles or possessions of our several properties.

If then upon these grounds we are driven to fight with the king himself and our enemies aforesaid now resident in Ireland, we are herein doing nothing unlawful, but are, on the contrary, engaged in a highly meritorious undertaking. Nor can we for such proceedings be open to a charge of disloyalty or perjury, inasmuch as neither we, nor our fathers, ever did homage, or swore fealty in any other way to him or his fathers. Therefore, without any remorse of conscience whatsoever, we will fight with them as long as life shall last in defence of our rights, never to cease from fighting with them and annoying them, until they, for default of power, give over their unjust worrying of us, and the Allrighteous Judge avenge Himself by some plain visitation of condign retribution for their abominable sins, which, it is our belief and firm persuasion, will come to pass ere long.

Furthermore the statements which are here inserted and the recital of outrages which we have given, we are prepared and ready to verify by the testimony of twelve bishops at least, and also of several other prelates, duly proven according to time and place, and such a legal order of proceedings as we have a right to demand and not like the English, who were never willing to abide by any just ordinance, or upright principle, so long as their prosperity lasted, advantages which, if they were not possessed of, they would never have thought of running for shelter under the wings of the Court of Rome—nay rather would they oppress every nation around with their usual tyranny and violence, contemptuously disregard-

ing alike the Divine Authority and that of the Court of Rome, so that if the said Court were fully informed concerning their behaviour, in such a way as to show how little they deserve the patronage of their wickedness by that Court, they would not feel much satisfaction at the proceeding.

Therefore, in consequence of the injuries above noticed, and others without number, which it is beyond the power of the human mind easily to comprehend, and also on account of the Kings of England and the everlasting perfidy of their wicked ministers, and of those English borderers of the middle race, who—after having bound themselves according to the ordinance of the Court of Rome to govern our people in a just and moderate way—have made it the subject of their unprincipled study to exterminate them from the country, and also for the purpose of shaking off the cruel and insupportable yoke of their bondage and recovering our national liberty that we have lost for a time, by means of these parties here mentioned, we are compelled to keep up mortal war with them ; preferring—since necessity obliges us to make the choice—to expose ourselves like men to the dangers of war in defence of our just rights, rather than submit, like women, to their atrocious outrages any longer.

In order to effect our object in this behalf with more promptness and in a more dignified manner, we are inviting to our aid and assistance, Edward de Bruce, Earl of Carrick, brother german to the Lord Robert, King of the Scots, and a descendant of some of the most noble of our own ancestors. Seeing that it is freely allowable for any person to renounce his right and make it over to another, the whole right in the said kingdom which is known to pertain to us as its true inheritors, we have

by our letters patent, given and granted to the said individual, and for the establishment of judgment and justice and equity in the land—which, for default of a proper supreme authority having failed therein—we have constituted him our king and lord, and appointed him ruler by unanimous consent in our realms aforesaid, seeing that he is in our judgment, and that of the people generally, a person of piety and prudence, of a chaste and modest disposition, and of great sobriety, and, in fact, altogether orderly and unassuming in his demeanour. He is also possessed of abundant power—praised be the Most High!—to deliver us with a high hand from the yoke of bondage, the Divine assistance and our own righteousness favour his cause. He is, moreover, very well disposed to render unto every man his just dues, but, above all, he is entirely ready to make to the Irish Church a full restitution of those possessions and privileges of which she has been damnably despoiled. It is, indeed, his intention to endow her with greater immunities than she had ever at any former period been wont to enjoy.

May it please thee, therefore, Most Holy Father, out of regard for justice and the public peace, mercifully to sanction our proceedings relative to our said lord, the king, prohibiting the King of England and our adversaries aforesaid from further molestation of us, or at least be graciously pleased to enforce for us from them the due requirements of justice.

As a P.S. he adds:—

Be it known to thee also, Rev. Father, that independently of the Kings of Scotia Minor, who have derived the source of their blood from our Scotia Major,

retaining more or less our language and manners, 136 kings of our own blood have occupied the throne of the entire island of Ireland. etc.

On receipt of this spirited remonstrance, which was dated at the fortress of Dungannon, His Holiness sent a copy of it to the English king, together with a letter, in which he says : " We have received letters, addressed to us long ago by the magnates and people of Ireland, to the address of our beloved sons, Anselm, Cardinal presbyter of SS. Marcelline and Peter, and Luke, Cardinal deacon of the title of St. Mary of Broadstreet, nuncios of the Apostolic See, and by them transmitted to us, enclosed in their own letters, in the sayings of which, among other things, we have seen a document stating that, whereas Pope Adrian, our predecessor of happy memory, had granted the dominion of Ireland to Henry II., your progenitor of illustrious memory, by Apostolic letters containing certain modifications and limits, that the said king and his successors, Kings of England, to this time have not observed this modification, nor these limits, but, on the contrary, transgressing them, have oppressed the Irish with unheard of grievances, of insupportable servitude, and superfluous afflictions. Nor was there hitherto any who would redress those grievances or punish those crimes. No one was moved with a pious compassion for the destruction of these people, although they have often had

recourse to you, and the loud cry of the oppressed sometimes rung in your ears.

"On these accounts, unable any longer to bear such tyranny, they were compelled to withdraw from your dominion, and to call another to rule them."

He earnestly exhorts Edward to redress the grievances of the Irish, "that so no one may have any cause of complaint against you, and that the Irish, led by sounder counsel, may obey you as their lord." After this, he says, "if they should continue in their foolish rebellion any longer, they would make their own cause appear unjust, and leave you excused before God and man."

They were now, forsooth, on the strength of this bit of fatherly advice, to lay down their arms, turn their back on him to whom they had sworn allegiance as their sovereign, and to wait till the English king felt inclined to redress their grievances.

To a Catholic, it is decidedly unpleasant—to put it mildly—reading of the extreme partiality of the Popes in those days for the English monarchs, at whose bidding the Welsh, the Scotch, and the Irish were hampered in every possible way in their struggles for independence.

Father Taafe, in his *History of Ireland*, commenting on this, says that the Irish allowed the Pope spiritual, but not temporal supremacy. "From this rock," he says, "not all the efforts of Popish

England first, or Protestant England afterwards, could drive them. How different were the pretended reformers of the holy island? Like a pendulum, swung from the perpendicular point of equipoise to the extreme of Popery, they were as easily swung to the opposite point of heresy, in whose inextricable mazes they still continue, tremulous, quivering, shifting, changing, without a fixed point of cohesion or repose."

"Nothwithstanding the damning evidences of the immorality, treachery, and inhumanity of these infamous marauders," he adds, "the Pope supported their usurpation with the misapplication of his spiritual power, and sent his mad bulls roaring through Europe against the sacred island and its defenders."

However, they had now justified themselves before God and man, so that they felt themselves free, as they say, without any remorse of conscience whatsoever, to fight as long as life shall last.

NOTES.

(*a*) In 1356 Thos. Giffard, Bishop of Kildare, was ordered to no longer delay to publicly excommunicate the O'Conors and O'Dempseys of Leinster, who, by invading the County of Kildare, within the bishop's jurisdiction, had thereby incurred the sentence of *greater* excommunication—Rot. cl., 29 and 30, Edw. III., 134. In the reign of Mary, 1558, it was proposed to Primate Dowdall to curse the "Irishry" for not answering the sheriff's writs.—*Calendar of State Papers.*

(*b*) The Irish clergy, like the Scottish, always sided with their countrymen. Donal says he could reckon on the support of at least twelve prelates—little less than half—not counting the Abbots and priors who ranked as such. These were all Irish.

(*c*) About 2,300 would be nearer the mark.

(*d*) This he says to give point to his remarks, except we are to understand in the female line, as Leary was Eoghan's brother.

(*e*) Giraldus, King John's secretary, who never has a good word to say of the Irish, writing a few years after the English invasion, says that by the English, "the miserable clergy are reduced to beggary in the island, the cathedral churches, moreover, having been robbed by the aforesaid of those lands and ample estates which had been formally granted to them faithfully and devoutly. Thus the exalting of the church has been changed into the plundering of the church."

(*f*) These, and like remarks, apply chiefly to the Irish living in the Pale, or among the English.

(*g*) This prelate brought on himself, personally, sentence of excommunication, and remained under it for five years.—Malone's *Church History.*

(*h*) In 1306 Edward I. seized on the temporalities of the Abbey of Mellifont, founded by the Irish princes, as recorded, in the 12th century, alleging that the community were "mere Irish." In 1322 following the English, the monks decided on excluding monks of that nation, but this was condemned in the following year, and "all fit persons of all nations" were admitted. The English towards the close of the century then got possession, and excluded the Irish. In 1366 the Abbot was sentenced to a month's imprisonment for constructing a weir near Oldbridge.

In 1324 Edward II., who, like his father, had refused to admit the Irish into the monasteries of the Pale, complained to the Pope that the Irish (following his own example) refused to admit Englishmen into their monasteries. His son, Edward III., seized on the lands of Newry—as the monks were "mere Irish."—

founded by the monarch Murkertac, Prince of Cinel Owen, in the 12th century. In 1404 Henry IV. granted the Manor of Carlingford and town of Irish-Grange, which had belonged to this abbey and convent, to Richard Sedgrave. These proceedings appear to have met with the approval of the Popes, for even in 1515, in the reign of that last great "Defender of the Faith," Leo X. issued a Bull confirming the exclusion of Irish from the Cathedral of St. Patrick in Dublin.—*Cambrensis Eversus;* Archdall's *Monasticon;* Brenan's *Ecclesiastical History;* Rymer's *Fœdera*, etc.

(*i*) Treachery and deceit were recognized modes of warfare with the English from first to last, as a reference to the *Annals* will show. In the 16th century, Brian O'Neill, a Clannaboy Prince, was invited to a banquet, by the Earl of Essex, where he was seized, with his followers, who were butchered before his face. He was brought to Dublin, where with his wife and brother he was murdered and cut in quarters by the "authorities," who hoped to get possession of his lands. About the last example of this kind recorded to the credit of the English, is that known in history as the Massacre of Glencoe in Scotland. M'Donald, chief of that district, after entertaining Captain Campbell and a band of English soldiers for a fortnight, was set upon and butchered before dawn, with his wife and thirty-six of his followers. The order for this was signed by William III., in 1692.

(*j*) This was Murtagh or Maurice O'Conor, Prince of Offaly, whose death is thus recorded in the *Four Masters*, "A.D. 1305. O'Conor Faly (Murtagh), Maelmora, his kinsman and Calvagh O'Conor with twenty-nine of the chiefs of his people, were slain by Sir Pierce MacFeorais (Bermingham), in Mac Feorais's own castle, by means of treachery and deceit." His castle of Carrick where, according to Grace, this was committed is described in Wilde's *Boyne and Blackwater*. From him descended the Berminghams, Barons of Carbury in Kildare, a territory which belonged to the O'Kierys of the Hy-Nial race.

(*k*) Maurice, King of Leinster, a descendant of Dermott M'Murrough, was ancestor of Art M'Murrough mentioned further on. Richey (*History of Ireland*), judging by the above names, which are all Latinized, wrongly asserts that three of the victims of English treachery mentioned by Donal "were Normans, not Irish." It is quite clear that they were Irish as Donal tells us. They were:—Maurice O'Conor and his brother Calvagh; Maurice M'Murrough Kavanagh and his father, Art; John, son of Calvagh O'Conor, who was slain by Bermingham; and another nobleman.

(*l*) Kildare. This John FitzThomas was the first Earl of Kildare. He, like Bermingham, was a neighbour of O'Conor Faly, from part of whose territory in Kildare, of which he got possession, he took his minor title of Baron Offaly.

(*m*) Friar Clyn, an Englishman, who wrote about this time, records in his *Annals* under 1323, that Philip Tallon, with his son, and 27 of the O'Collatans, were slain by Edm. Le Butler, Rector of Tullow, who, aided by the Condons, dragged them out of the church—where they had sought sanctuary—which he burned with the women and children and relics of St. Moling.

In 1373 Stephen De La Valle, Bishop of Meath, had a grant of £320 for endangering his life in Munster with men-at-arms, in fighting against, and reducing to the King's peace, O'Brien of Thomond.—*Rot. Cl.*, 46, Edward III.

A volume might be filled with extracts of this description, taken from the English State Records and Chronicles, which throw an amount of light on the character of these English clerics, the great majority of whom truly—

Believed their swords,
On points of faith, more eloquent than words.

They were certainly no improvement on the reformers of the 16th century, of whom Spenser says (*View of the State of Ireland*), "they are either unlearned, or men of some bad note, for which they have forsaken England."

(*n*). This document, which reminds us of one of Cromwell's epistles, is given in most Histories of Ireland. It commends Henry for his "praiseworthy and profitable zeal," in proposing to extend the boundaries of the church; "to make known the truth of the Christian faith to an unlearned and savage race; and to root out the weeds of vice from the Garden of the Lord!"

CHAPTER IX.

FROM 1316 TO 1318 A.D.

AT the opening of the new year (Jany. 1316) the armies were again on the move. Bruce, who now took the lead, learning that the English had assembled at the Moat of Ardscull, in Kildare, accompanied by Donal, marched to give them battle, through Offaly and Kildare, encamping successively at Naas, Kildare, Rathangan, Castledermott, Athy, and Rheban "yet not without loss." Being joined by the Leinster Chiefs, they advanced to Skerries near Ardscull, where they were faced by the English under Edmund Butler, the Lord Justice, John FitzThomas FitzGerald, Lord Arnold Poer, and other magnates, who retreated after a severe skirmish, leaving Hamon Le Gros, Lord John Bonneville, Sir William Prendergast and others on the field.[1]

The victors, who lost Sir Walter De Moray, Sir Fergus of Ardrossan, and Sir Alan Stewart, then marched to Athy, which they plundered, and took possession of Castledermott.

Having thus kindled the war in Leinster, and taken

[1] Grace's *Annals*.

the hostages of the province, they returned through Offaly—where they burned the castle and town of Lea—to Ulster, where the siege of Carrickfergus was actively resumed, while the Earl of Moray, in March, was despatched to King Robert to Edinburgh for his personal aid, being assured by Edward that if united in the field they would prove irresistible as in Scotland.[1]

In April a truce was arranged with the garrison of Carrickfergus, but Lord Thos. Mandeville, coming to its relief by sea, refused to be bound by the treaty, and a bloody encounter took place in the town, wherein Mandeville was slain on the English side, and Nial Fleming on the Scottish. The garrison now agreed to surrender unless relieved before May 31.[2]

This place, which is still in possession of the government, and which is said to have taken its name from Fergus, son of Loarn More, from whom in the female line Donal and Bruce descended, was the principal English stronghold in Ulster, being walled partly with stones and partly with sods, and defended by two garrisons, one in the castle in the south end of the town, and the other in the abbey in the north end.

The chiefs of Ulster, Meath, Leinster and Connaught having declared for Bruce, he convened that great assembly at Dundalk, where he was

[1] *Robert the Bruce*, by Sir H. Maxwell. [2] *Idem.*

formally elected King of Ireland, Donal having by "letters patent," as son and heir of Brian, the last acknowledged king, resigned in his favour. He was then, on the 1st of May, according to Grace, in the presence of the Irish and Scots, solemnly inaugurated and crowned, doubtless by Donal himself, on the hill of Knocknemelan, within a mile of the town in one of the churches of which he was solemnly consecrated.

He was now hailed as Edward I., King of Ireland, and heir presumptive to the throne of Scotland, as he was acknowleged in a Parliament held at Ayr in April, 1315.

Surrounded by all the external marks of royalty, he established his Court in the Castle of Northburgh, a fortress near the town, where he took cognizance of all pleas that were brought before him.

At that moment, as M'Gee[1] remarks, his prospects compared very favourably with those of his brother a few years earlier. The English were bitterly divided against each other, while according to the joint declaration of loyalty signed before De Hothun, the English King's agent, "all the Irish of Ireland, several great lords and many English people" had given in their adhesion to Bruce.

On the 31st of May, the day appointed for the capitulation of Carrickfergus, a party of Scots were sent to take possession, but they were treacherously

[1] *History of Ireland.*

seized on entrance, cast into the dungeon, and eight were afterwards eaten.[1]

At length, some time during the summer, the English commander was compelled to surrender unconditionally, when, in consideration of his heroic defence, and notwithstanding his treachery, his life was spared.

Bruce then took possession of the town, which he made his capital. He was now successful everywhere, and the Irish rose up in many parts of the country, but in Leinster, failing to combine, they were beaten in detail by the Lord Justice, who left their country as Bruce had left the Pale, almost a wilderness.

This method of reducing the enemy was practised with great success by the English,who had possession of nearly all the seaport towns, and could depend on supplies from England. The confederates, who had little or nothing to expect from Scotland after the late campaign, might have lived on the Pale, but it was Bruce's policy to lay it waste, and this soon told against him.

Famine was always the great ally of the English. Even in the 16th century, Spenser believed it was the only way to reduce the Irish, and this idea was adopted by the English commanders in the wars of Hugh O'Neill. Essex writing to Elizabeth in June, 1599, says that "your Majesty victualling your

[1] Note to Grace's *Annals*.

army out of England and with your garrisons burning and spoiling the country in all directions, shall starve the rebels in one year, because no place else can supply them." In this way, Fynes Moryson tells us, 3,000 were starved to death in Tyrone alone.

This, as remarked, was the policy now favoured by the English, who accordingly only gave battle when they had a decided advantage.

In August, 1316, O'Conor of Connaught resolved to expel them from his province, and marched to Athenry, where he was confronted with a large army under Richard Bermingham and William De Burgh, who had been released by Bruce.

The English had the advantage in everything over the Irish, who were defeated with the loss of their king, then in the 23rd year of his age, and thousands of their men.

In this battle most of the native nobility of Connaught perished, and the Annalists state, that in the whole province there remained of Felim's family but his brother able to bear arms.

A few weeks after this King Robert, in response to Edward's appeal, landed with a great force of gallowglasses at Carrickfergus, having left his kingdom under the guardianship of Douglas and Walter the High Stewart.

King Robert's first encounter on Irish soil was unfortunate. He met the enemy on Oct. 25, under the chief of the Bissets—Lord Hugh Bisset—and

John Logan, who defeated him with the loss of 300 men, including Alan, the Steward, and Sir John Sandal, who were taken prisoners to Dublin.[1]

During the winter the two kings remained inactive in Donal's kingdom, "feasting in mirth and jollity," according to Barbour,[2] before entering on the third campaign.

The combined forces now numbered 20,000 men, including those of Donal and the Ulster chiefs, who appear to have accompanied him in all his campaigns. Of the twelve reguli or princes in King Edward's train, none are mentioned as having come out of the Southern provinces.

The O'Briens joined the English. Friar Clyn says that from the time the Bruces landed in Ulster "almost all the Irish of the land adhered (to them), very few preserving faith and fidelity" (to the English king.)

In Jany. 1317 it was again resolved to take the field, contrary, very probably, to the wishes of the Irish, who were no believers in spring and autumn campaigns, it being contrary to custom for the Irish princes to call upon their men when they had to attend to their crops.[3]

Bruce, however, gave scant consideration to these matters, and anything but endeared himself to his

[1] *Robert the Bruce;* M'Geoghegan's *History of Ireland.*
[2] Barbour's *The Bruce*, Edited by Innes.
[3] *Brehon Laws.*

subjects outside Ulster, who, between both parties were left in a sad state.

With King Robert in supreme command, the army set out on its march, and advanced through Meath to Castleknock near Dublin, where Hugh Tyrrell, lord of the district, was taken prisoner with his wife, who ransomed herself for a sum of money.

As the army approached Dublin the citizens burned the suburbs and retired within the walls.

Bruce's brother-in-law, Earl De Burgh, was taken and imprisoned by the mayor on suspicion of favouring the enemy, who for want of provisions moved on to Kildare and encamped at Leixlip and Naas. Having to traverse the districts which had formally been wasted, the army suffered greatly from hunger, the men being obliged to eat their horses.

The English with, according to the *Annals of Inisfallen*, the O'Briens—now, as ever, the greatest allies of the enemies of their country—were encamped in the neighbourhood of Limerick under Edmund Butler and Richard De Clare, and Barbour says, that as the Scots were passing through a wood in the vicinity, their rear division, under the immediate command of King Robert, was attacked by a party of English who galled them with a destructive discharge of arrows. Edward in command of the vanguard. continued to advance, unaware of the presence of the enemy. Robert suspecting that the archers were the advance party of the English army, would not allow

any attempt to be made to disperse them, but continued to move forward in "schiltrome." Sir Colin Campbell irritated by the daring of a couple of sharpshooters who pressed nearer than their comrades turned his horse, galloped after them and slew one with his spear, But the other bow man let fly a shaft which killed Sir Colin's steed. King Robert then rode up and dealt the knight such a blow with his truncheon for his disobedience at such a critical time, that it felled him to the earth.

Barbour adds that when the wood was cleared the English to the number of 40,000 were found drawn up in battle array, but they appear to have declined battle and sheered off after a few skirmishes.

After this the army returned over the same ground without meeting any further opposition, to Ulster, which was reached in May after great suffering.

So ended the campaign of 1317, which contributed so much to Bruce's unpopularity, and served apparently no other purpose than to weaken his forces and harass his subjects, who had reason to thank him for the failure of the harvest of that year. This, according to the ancient belief, was one of the surest signs of a bad king, so that in the *Annals* we have to go back to the first century to find such another.[1]

King Robert, convinced of the hopelessness of conquering Ireland on the lines pursued by his brother,

[1] See p. 339, Part I.

returned to Scotland, when the Pope, at the instance of the English king, issued a Bull commanding a truce for two years between Scotland and England, on pain of excommunication.

Two foreign Cardinals were sent to enforce this decree, and to excommunicate "the self-styled King of Scotland" who refused to receive the letters, which were addressed to "Robert Bruce, governing in Scotland."

"Among my barons," said he, "there are many of the name of Robert Bruce who share in the government of Scotland; these letters may possibly be addressed to some one of them, but they are not addressed to me who am King of Scotland. . . . I am in possession of the Kingdom of Scotland, all my people call me king, and foreign princes address me under that title; but it seems that my (spiritual) parent is partial to his English son. Had you presumed to present letters with such an address to any other sovereign prince, you might perhaps have been answered in a harsher style, but I reverence you as messengers of the Holy See."

Following Donal's example, a remonstrance was then drawn up, when his Holiness advised Edward to make a lasting peace with Scotland, and finally tells him he is compelled to address Bruce as King of Scots and begs that he will not take it amiss.[1]

Robert, though he could not agree with his

[1] See *Robert the Bruce*.

brother, as remarked, promised to return with reinforcements in 1318.

Donal still hoped for the best and remained King Edward's chief supporter to the end.

Profiting by his late experience, he decided on resting till Oct., 1318, when, accompanied by Donal and about 5,000 men, he marched from Carrickfergus to Faughart, two miles from Dundalk, the key to Ulster, to oppose the English, who, to the number of 10 or 12,000 men, were advancing from Dublin under Sir John Bermingham, who had under him his kinsmen, Sirs Edm., William and Walter Bermingham, Sir Richard Le Tuite, Sir Miles Verdon, Sir John Cusack, Sir Walter de la Pulle, and others.

Bruce was hopelessly outnumbered, and Donal earnestly advised him to fall back and await the promised reinforcements which were on their way from Scotland under King Robert. The other chiefs, both Irish and Scotch, seconded his efforts, but Bruce was inexorable. Strong-willed, self-sufficient, vain of his victories, he was filled with that presumption, which, as Father Dalton says,[1] is often the herald of disaster, and declared that at all costs he would give battle. The Ulster chiefs made a last appeal, but he became impatient and bade them "draw aside and look on," which Archdeacon Barbour says they did. There is nothing surprising in this when viewed from their standpoint, for they

[1] *History of Ireland.*

looked on their kings in a different light to the Scots, or Anglo-Normans, and, above all, expected them to act in accordance with their wishes, as they had sworn on the day of their inauguration. If they failed to do this they forfeited the support of their clansmen and subjects, who, as in 1166, simply elected another to take their place.

When too late Bruce saw what a mistake he had made, and, according to Barbour, having a presentiment of his death, he would not use his usual coat-armour. The legend is, that having the idea that the fall of the king would decide the battle, Sir John Bermingham, the English leader, disguised himself as a friar, passed into the Scottish camp, and being shown the king, who was hearing Mass, craved alms, so as to induce Bruce to look up. This gave Bermingham the opportunity of marking his face, in order to single him out in the fray. The king ordered relief to be given to the importunate friar, but the eager glance of the intrusive applicant so disquieted him, that he presently caused his attendants to look for the friar, but he was nowhere to be found. This caused him to array one Gib Harper, in his armour, and appoint Lord Alan Stuart general of the field.

Bermingham, who was accompanied by De Jorse, the English Archbishop of Armagh, commenced the fight by a rapid charge on the Scots, who appear to have been supported by Donal with a detachment

of his own household troops, and Sir Robert, Sir Amur, and Sir Walter De Lacy, John White and others, to the number of 3,000.

Bermingham, believing Stuart was Bruce, according to the story, singled him out, and after a terrible combat, slew him. Bruce's death, however, is generally ascribed to Sir John Maupas, an Anglo-Irish Knight, who slew him in the midst of his men. He was immediately cut down, and after the battle his body was found pierced all over, lying on that of Bruce with whom fell, among others, Sir John De Soulis, John, brother of Walter, the High Stewart, Sir Philip Mowbray, the defender of Stirling, M'Rory, Lord of the Hebrides, M'Donnell, Lord of Argyll, and 2,000 men.

One of the De Lacys, Sir Robert de Culragh, and others, were taken prisoners, and starved to death.

The survivors fled northward, where they met a body of troops sent by King Robert, but they could make no head against the victors, and made their way to the coast, burning and destroying the country through which they passed.

Robert returned to Scotland without himself effecting a landing, on learning the fate of his brother, whose remains were interred in the churchyard of Faughart, where a tall pillar-stone is still pointed out as marking his grave.

His head, like that of his predecessor Brian, was cut off, and was brought "salted in a chest," to

England by De Bermingham, King Robert's brother-in-law, and unexpectedly laid, with other heads, on a table before Edward II., while seated at a banquet with ambassadors from Scotland who expected he would at least have ceded Ulster to Bruce. The Scottish ambassadors, rising from the table, hurried horror-stricken from the apartment; but Barbour tells us that the English king received the head with great delight, and was "right blithe" at the present. Barbour, however, avers that the head was not Bruce's but that of his devoted follower, Gib Harper, who had worn his coat-armour on the day of battle.

Bermingham who was rewarded with the Earldom of Louth and a pension of £46, followed up his victory by marching into Ulster and retaking Newry, Downpatrick, Carrickfergus, and other English strongholds, and invading Donal, whom he compelled to seek refuge in Fermanagh, whence he returned a few weeks later.[1]

Thus ended all his cherished schemes, in which he had sacrificed so much, and which, but for Bruce's impatience, his total disregard for the welfare and opinion of his subjects, and his love of military glory, would undoubtedly have been crowned with success.

That this was the opinion of King Robert is evident from the fact that in 1327 he planned

[1] M'Gee's *History; Leland*, Vol. I.

another expedition, which we shall have occasion to refer to in the reign of Donal's successor, Henry, Prince of Clannaboy.

The war was not without its good effect, however, for, consequent on the rapid decline of the English power, the Irish from this period till the 16th century were everywhere supreme, and the Ulster princes, freed from the intrigues of their neighbours of Ulidia, were left to reign in peace, so that, save for some private quarrels, and the inevitable war of succession, we shall find things assuming a more peaceful aspect as we go along.

CHAPTER X.

HENRY, SON OF BRIAN II., PRINCE OF CLANNABOY AND KING OF ULSTER.—DESCRIPTION OF CLANNABOY AND ADJOINING TERRITORIES.—1319 TO 47.

NEW benefited more by Bruce's invasion than the Clannaboy, who, under their chief, Henry son of Brian and grandson of Hugh Boy, quietly possessed themselves of a great part of Dal Araidhe, to which they gave their tribe-name of Clannaboy.

Leland states[1] that it was only in 1333, after the death of William De Burgh, son of the Red Earl, the Clannaboy "passed the Bann." They then, he assures us, "seized the occasion of recovering their ancient power, rose suddenly in arms, passed the Bann, and fell furiously upon the English settlers established by the family of De Burgh; and notwithstanding a brave and obstinate resistance the persevering virulence of the Irish prevailed in course of time, so as to extirpate the English, or at least to confine them within very narrow bounds. And their extensive possessions now parcelled out among the conquerors, received

[1] *History of Ireland.*

the name of Clan Hugh Boy, from their leader Hugh Boy O'Nial." This is quite on a par with the statement that the Clan crossed the Bann after 1333; for we know that the Cinel Owen had possession of an extensive tract east of the Bann in the 12th century. This was the territory of the Hy Tuirtre, ruled by the O'Flyns, who, at the time of the English invasion, as appears from the *Annals*, also lorded it over the Dal Araidhe, part of which, known as Trian Conghal, there is reason to think, as observed, was ceded to Hugh Duff O'Neill in the following century, by De Lacy.

There is certainly no record of the Clan rising suddenly in arms and falling "furiously" upon the English settlers, who in truth, were but too glad to live in peace under the comparatively mild sway of the Irish princes and to be freed from the exactions and extortions of rulers like Fitzwarren, and De Burgh, who had rendered himself so obnoxious to the same settlers, that they suddenly rose in arms, and under the Mandevilles put an end to his career.(*a*.)

In fact, as Leland himself acknowledges. "The English freeholder abandoned his lands rather than endure the burdens of exactions intolerably severe . . . he fled to the haunts of the Irish, connected and allied himself with him; learned their language and manners; and marched out with them against the common enemy." Just as in 1272 he did under

Hugh Boy We doubt if the English were at all dispossessed in Clannaboy, the best part of which being hitherto disputed territory, could have been but sparsely populated. There was thus room for all who chose to acknowledge the sway of the Prince of Clannaboy ; and that most of the English settlers did we know from the *Annals*, who since the reign of Hugh Boy, frequently mention them as fighting under the standard of the Clan, (*b*) in which, in the 16th century the Bissets ; Bertiers ; Dawmans ; M'Quillans ; Savages of Moylinny, and other Scoto and Anglo Normans were reckoned as chiefs.

Up to this time (1319) the territory probably included little more than parts of the present baronies of Antrim, Belfast, and Massareene and Upper and Lower Toome in Antrim ; and Loughinsholin in Derry.

It now, and under the sway of Henry's successor, comprised the Barony of Loughinsholin in Derry ; the Baronies of Upper and Lower Toome ; of Antrim ; of Belfast ; Lower and Upper Massareene as well as the towns or castles of Belfast, Carrickfergus, and Lisnagarvey, or Lisburn, in Antrim.

In Down it comprised the Baronies of Castlereagh, Lower Ards, and part of Dufferin.

At Castlereagh, where they were inaugurated, the Clannaboy Princes had their principal fortress south of the Lagan ; and from it the present

baronies—*Caislen Riabhach*, *i.e.*, the Grey Castle—were named. It stood on a height near Belfast, in the townland of Castlereagh.

NORTH CLANNABOY.

They had another strong fortress north of the Lagan in North Clannaboy—Eden Duff Carrick, *i.e.*, the Brow of the Black Rock—on the north shore of Lough Neagh, immortalised in Moore's well-known lines :—

"On Lough Neagh's banks as the fisherman strays,
When the clear cold eve's declining,
He sees the round towers of other days,
In the wave beneath him shining."

Hill, too, sings :—

"Lough Neagh, I stood at close of day upon thy silent strand,
And saw the sun set o'er the hills of old Tir Owen's land;
The fading light, how like the flight of freedom from thy shore,
The old proud place of Nial's race, shall know thy name no more."

Clannaboy, west of the Bann in Londonderry, included the O'Neill territory of Killitra, as well as the territories of the O'Henrys and O'Kellys—Glenconkene and Cinel Eochy.

Of that part of Clannaboy east of the Bann, in Antrim, known to English writers as North

Clannaboy, Dr. Reeve's (*Ecclesiastical Antiquities*), gives a detailed description, from an Inquisition taken at Antrim in 1605.

It contained twenty different territories, most of which (14) are called Tuoghs or Tuaths. These must have been much smaller than the ordinary Tuaths referred to at p. 192 (Part I.), and which contained thirty townlands.

The Tuath of the Clanaghartie, marked on Jobson's and Speed's maps "Glanharky," east of the Main water, and the Tuath of the Muntir Kelly, west of the same river, formed the present Barony of *Lower Toome*.

Upper Toome was formed from the Tuath of the Muntir Rividy and the Tuath na Fuigh, *i.e.*, of the wood, also called "the Feevagh," which contained the parishes of Duneane, Cranfield and Ballyscullion Grange.

The Tuath of Moylinny, in which was the Great Rath—Rathmore—the chief seat of the Princes of Dalaraidhe, was transformed into *Upper Antrim*; and *Lower Antrim* absorbed the Tuath of the Muntir Muregan (which contained the parish of Rathcavan with the district of Glenwherry); the Cinament (*c*) or territory of Knockboynabrade, the Tuath na Keart, the manorial name of the Antrim O'Haras, which contained the parishes of Ballyclug and that portion of Kells in the parish of Conor, north of the Kells water; and the Cinament

of Duogh Conor which contained the sixteen towns of Conor.

Lower Massareene included the Cinament of Kilmakevet; the Tuath of Killelagh, which contained the Grange of Muckamore, and the northern two-thirds of Killead.

Upper Massareene includes Kilultagh, and the territory of the Clan Dermot, a tract comprising the parish of Tullyrusk, the townlands of Derryaghy with the eastern portion of Camlin.

Lower Belfast was formed from Island Magee, the patrimony of the M'Gees, anciently Rinn Sibhne or Ransevyn; the Tuath of Magheramorne, the Tuath of Braden Island, now the parishes of Templecorran and Kilroot, the Tuath of Ballinlyny, which comprised the parish of that name with Umgall, Ballymartin, Templepatrick, Ballywalter and Malusk.

Upper Belfast includes the Cinament or territory of Ballynowre, now the parish of Ballynure; the territory of Carntall, Monksland, and Carnemony—now the united parishes of Coole and Monkstown, in the parish of Carnmoney, with the townland of Carntall in the parish of Ballylinny; the Tuath Cinament which comprised the northern part of the parish of Shankill from the present "Cave Hill" to Belfast; the Tuath of the Fall, *alias* Mylone, comprised the parish of Drumbeg and the southern portion of Shankill. One district of the parish is

still known by the name of "Malone," and another by the name of "The Falls." Belfast was situate in the former. The territory of Derrivolgie *alias* Fealough, was made up of parts of Derryaghy, Lambeg and Drumbeg.

In the *Description of Ireland in* 1598,(*d*) given by an English writer, North Clannaboy is described as "for the most part, a plain country, being in length from the river of Belfast, and Cragfergus (Carrickfergus) to the Rout (Dal Riada); and in breadth from the Glynns to the great Lough, called Eagh (Neagh). . . . The principal followers in this country are these:—the MacYnes (MacEoins), Ownilechabees (? O'Mulhollands), M'Quillans, Dawmans and Bertiers."

The Baronies of Toome and Loughinsholin formed the large territory of the Clan Donal Don of the Bann, descendants, according to O'Donovan, of Donal Don, or the Brown (brother of Henry, and grandson of Hugh Boy) who is mentioned in the next chapter.

Upper Massareene formed chiefly the territory of Kilultagh, south-east of Lough Neagh, anciently held by the Dal mBuinne, or Muntir Brannain. It is described as "a very fast country, full of bogs and woods. It bordereth upon Lough Neagh, and Clanbrassel. The captain hereof was one Cormac M'Neill . . . but at this present (1598) the captain thereof is Brian M'Art, brother's son to the Earl of Tyrone." (*e*).

"This country," the *Description* adds, "before the Barons' war in England, was possessed and inhabited by Englishmen; and there doth yet remain an old defaced castle which beareth the name of Sir Miles Tracie."

In the 15th century it was occupied by the Muntir Kilultagh, or Coille Ultagh, *i.e.*, Wood of Ulster, descendants of Prince Brian Ballagh O'Neill, grandson of Henry, as mentioned further on.

The above Cormac M'Neill, or Cormac, son of Neill O'Neill, was the great grandfather of another Cormac O'Neill, the last chief.—See M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, pp. 36 and 292.

SOUTH CLANNABOY.

Upper or South Clannaboy is described as being "for the most part a woodland, and it reacheth from the Duffryn (Dufferin) to the river of Knockfergus"—the Lagan.

In the 16th century it was principally inhabited by the O'Neills themselves, who formed their different sept or family names by prefixing Sliocht, or Slut—meaning descendant of—to the name of the founder of the family, as the Slut Neals, M'Neals, or M'O'Nealls, whose territory embraced the parishes of Drumbo, Saintfield, and Killaney, with parts of Kilmore, and Knockbreda; the Slut Henry (Caech ?), who held parts of Killinchy, Kilmood and Kilmore; Slut Hugh Brics (*i.e.*, Hugh the Freckled), dwellers

in the district lying between the hill of Scrabo, and the town of Comber; Slut Brian Boy occupiers of five townlands in the north-east portion of the parish of Hollywood. Other septs settled in this neighbourhood, in the Baronies of Castlereagh, were the Maolcroabhs (Mulcreeves)—now anglicised Rice—of Tawnes; Slut Kellies or O'Kellys, who occupied Comber, and Tullynakill; Slut Durneys (O'Dornans ?) and Slut Owen M'Quin.[1]

The Great Ards, now the Barony of Lower Ardes, was occupied in the 16th century by the Mac, or O'Gilmores, who are described as "a rich and strong sept of people, always folowers of the O'Neills of Clandeboye." They at this time held the Lordship of Lecale, which was named from Cathal, a chief of the M'Dunlevy sept, who flourished in the eighth century. In 1276 the *Annals* record the death of Dermod M'Gilmore, Lord of Leth Cathal, or Lecale; and in 1391 of Cooley, who in the *Four Masters* is also styled chief of Ua-n-Earca-chein, anglicised at this time "Anderkin." The pedigree of this Clan is given in the *Book of Lecan*, fol. 142; and in M'Firbis's *Genealogies*, p. 513. They were dispossessed by the Savages early in the 15th century, when they received from the Clannaboy Prince, Ard-mac-croisc, or Hollywood in Castlereagh. In 1442 Patrick M'Gilmore is mentioned as the chief man in the parish of Newtownbreda, from

[1] Reeves' *Ecclesiastical Antiq.*

which it would appear that the sept then held the northern part of the Baronies of Castlereagh.

The Ecclesiastical Taxation of 1303, given in Reeves's *Antiquities*, contains a list of the churches in Clannaboy in Antrim and Down at this time.

In the Deanery of Clan Dermod, which comprised a narrow tract of country extending from Belfast to Lough Neagh, there were sixteen churches, including that of Miloc endowed by Angus M'Maolraba, chief of Clandermod in 1034. In the Deanery of Moylinny included in the Baronies of Antrim and Belfast there were ten churches. At this time Moylinny was held by Robert Savage; and in 1515 Roland Savage is mentioned in the *State Papers* as Chief of Moylinny. The name is still preserved in the town of Ballysavage, parish Donegore.

In the Deanery of Hy-Tuirtre there were eight churches; and in that of Blaethwyc,a name supposed to be derived from the Hy-Blathmac—Ulidians—twenty-one. This is included in Lower Castlereagh, Great Ards, and part of Dufferin. In Dal Boyne Deanery, which included a great part of Upper Castlereagh, there were twelve churches. The ruins of many of these were visible when Dr. Reeves wrote in 1847. Some were cleared away by the natives, who appear to be of an eminently practical turn of mind, so practical, indeed, that even the graveyards are made to turn in handy. Knox (*History*

of Down), writing of the old church of Bally Omeachan—the townland of Omeehan—in South Clannaboy, remarks that not a vestige of it now remains "although it is known to have occupied the site of the present orchard at The Moat," in the erection "of which handsome building," he adds, "some tomb-stones taken from the old burying-ground have been made available!"

Of the English who chose to remain among the Irish, many, as remarked, conformed to their mode of life, in several instances took Irish surnames, and in fine became "more Irish than the Irish themselves." According to O'Sullivan Beare's *Historiæ Catholicæ*, p. 35, many of the Anglo-Irish of his day carried to such length their hatred of England, that they would trace their descent from Dane, or Gaul or Etruscan, rather than from English blood. So early as 1367 the animosity between English by birth and English by descent was so violent, that Parliament interfered and enacted that henceforward there should be no distinction between "English hobbe" (clown) and "Irish dogge," such being the sobriquets of the English and Anglo-Irish.

Of the latter the De Burghs or Burkes of Connaught became M'Williams, the Berminghams Mac Feorais, the De Angulos or Nangles, Mac Costellos and M'Jordans, etc.

In Ulidia the Bissets took the Celtic name of Mac Eoin or M'Keon from an ancestor named Eoin,

or John Bisset; and the Welsh or Norman Ap, or Fitzwilliams became MacUidhelin, or M'Quillans. Uidhelin, O'Donovan thinks, may be a corruption of Lhlewellin.

THE ROUTE.—The latter settled chiefly in Dalriada, or the Route, in the present Baronies of Dunluce and Cary, which name—Cary—was derived from the Cathraighe (pron., Cary) a sept that once occupied it. M'Quillan had his chief fortress at Dunluce, the scene of Mr. Frank Mathew's romance, *Spanish Wine.*

The M'Quillans came over with the first adventurers, and about this time gained the Lordship of the territory, which in 1210 was granted by King John, when at Carrickfergus, to Alan, Earl of Galloway, whose brother, Thomas, is styled in the *Four Masters*, Thomas M'Uchtry, from his grandfather, Uchtred, or Godred. In 1215, he had a grant of Killesantan, now Mountsandal. In 1213, according to the *Four Masters*, with the English of Ulidia, he pulled down all the houses in the town of Coleraine, and all the ecclesiastical buildings, in order to erect his castle. The church alone escaped, probably the same known in after times, as St. Patrick's. In 1244 a Dominican priory was founded here by the M'Evelins, or M'Quillans.

About the middle of the 16th century M'Quillan was dispossessed by the Scots under Sorly Boy M'Donnell, who established himself in Dunluce.

M'Quillan was one of O'Neill's vassals; and it was in his interest as well as that of other chiefs that Shane marched against and overthrew the Scots at Glenshesk in 1565.

In the *Description*, 1598, this place is referred to as "a pleasant and fertile country, lying between the Glynnes and river of Bann; and from Clandeboy to the sea. It was sometime inhabited with English; for there remain in it certain defaced castles and monasteries, their building. The now captain that maketh claim to it, is called Mac Guillin, the posterity, as is thought, of a Welsman. The chief followers and inhabitants in this country are the O'Furries and O'Quinns." The O'Furries is a misprint for the O'Harries, or O'Haras, who migrated from Connaught, and settled here in this century. They, according to O'Donovan (*Tribes of Ireland*), derived from Hugh, brother of Conor Gott O'Hara, Lord of Leyny in Connaught, who died in 1231. O'Daly thus satirizes these O'Haras—

"The tribe of O'Hara are men of some height
But they have never been known to stand stoutly in fight,
They have no other music, but the hum of the flies,
And hunger stares forth from their deep-sunken eyes."

The Clan Magnus na Bush O'Cahans, held part of the Rout, included in Dunluce, with the castle of Dunseverick. Towards the close of the last century, according to M'Geoghegan (*History of Ireland*),

Magnus, brother of O'Cahan, possessed that part of the county of Derry called Coleraine. From his eldest son Henry sprang the M'Henrys; and from his second son Magnus, the O'Cahans known as the Clan Magnus na Bush. In this neighbourhood, there appears to have been a branch of the Carews or Carys settled also, as the Biographer of Sir John Perrot states that when he first took Dunluce Castle he placed one Peter Carey in charge with a ward of fourteen men, "thinking him to be of the English Pale or race"; but he afterwards found that he was of "the Carews of the north," for Peter "reposing trust in those of his country and kindred," gave them possession of the castle and "discharged the English soldiers unknown to the Deputy."

James I., in the second year of his reign, granted to Sir Randal M'Donnell, Kt., "and the heirs males of his bodie, with remainders over, the countrie called the Rout in the countie of Antrim, containing IX Tuoghes (Tuaths); the country called the Glynns in the said countie containing seven Tuoghes," etc., to be held of his majesty.

In the fifth year of his reign Rory Oge M'Quillan was assigned the Tuath of Clanaghartie in Clannaboy; and Cahal O'Hara the Tuath of Keart. From him descended the O'Haras of that place. Sir Arthur Chichester got possession of the Tuath of M'Quillan, who was then assigned Inishowen, which again passed to Sir Arthur. Dubourdieu, in his

Survey of Antrim, states that "a lineal descendant of M'Quillan lives on the road between Belfast and Carrickfergus, near the Silver Stream, and probably enjoys more happiness as a farmer than his ancestors did as princes.—*See* Reeves' *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*.

THE GLYNNS.—The Glynns or Glens passed to the Scoto-Norman Bissets in 1242, when they came to Ireland after the death of Patrick, son of the aforementioned Thomas M'Uchtry, who was slain in his chamber in Scotland, by John and his uncle Walter Bisset, who obtained settlements in the Glynns from De Burgh. In 1279 John, son and heir of John Bisset, an Inquisition finds, held from the Earl, Glenarm, Rathlin and other places. From the first John the family received the patronymic of Mac Eoin or Mac Eoin Bisset, a great part of whose territory in this century came to the M'Donnells by marriage, according to M'Firbis. A branch of the Bissets or Mac Eoins settled in Clannaboy, and by their chief and M'Martin of Clan Martin, Brian was inaugurated Prince of Ulster in 1293, as was doubtless his son Henry, the now Prince. Very likely they were the hereditary inaugurators in Clannaboy, like the O'Cahans and O'Hagans in Cinel Owen.

"The Glynnes," says the *Description*, "is a country so called because it is full of rocky and woody dales; it stretcheth in length twenty-four miles, on the one side being backed by a very

steep and boggy mountain, and on the other side by the sea, on which side there are creeks between rocks and thickets, where the Scottish gallies do commonly land. At either end are very narrow entries and passages into the country, which lieth mostly opposite to Cantyre, from which it is eighteen miles distant." The force of the country, it says, is uncertain, "for that they are supplied, as need requires, from Scotland with what number they list to call for, by making of fires upon many steep rocks hanging over the sea.

"The ancient followers of this country are these, some few of the Missets (Bissets) remaining, but in poore estate, the Magies (M'Kays), O'Nowlans, Mac Nygells (Mac Neills), Mac Aroulbeys, Mac Carnochs and the Clanacasters (Clan Alasters), who are by original Scottish." The Bissets of Clannaboy appear to have fared better than those of the Glens, as the above writer places them among the principal septs in North Clannaboy. They had removed from England to Scotland under William the Lion.—*See* Chambers' *Caledonia*, Vol. I.

DUFFERN.—Most of the English settlers south of Clannaboy in Down appear to have retained their English names, as the Mandevilles, who held part of Kinel Arty in the now Barony of Dufferin, anciently Dubh Trian, *i.e.*, the Black Third, or District. It is described as being "for the most part woody and lyeth upon the Logh called Coyne

(Lough Cuan, the ancient name of Strangford Lough), which issueth into the sea at the haven of Strangford." "This Logh" the *Description* adds, "is farr navigable within the land, wherein there are divers islands, and in some of them strong castles." In later times—probably in the fifteenth century—the Mandevilles were replaced by the M'Quillans, who in turn were succeeded by the Whites. They, however, "were not of power sufficient to plant the same," so their neighbours helped them to occupy the country over which they were placed as Lords (*f*) by the Prince of Clannaboy, who held the castles of Killyleagh, and Sketrick which stood on an island in Strangford Lough and commanded the district. The Whites or Whytes are still represented in Co. Down by the Whytes of Loughbrickland. The founder of the family came over with Strongbow from South Wales.

LECALE.—Adjoining Dufferin was the territory of Lecale, "which is almost an island and no trees in it. In it is the Bishop's seat, called Down." In the 16th century it was disputed territory. "It was first inhabited by one Sir John Courcie, who brought with him sundry English gentlemen, and planted them in this country, where some of their posterity yet remain. Their names are Savadges, Russels, Fitzsimons, Audlies, Jordans, Bensons."

Savage was deprived of the Lordship of this

territory in the 15th century by the Prince of Clannaboy, who confined him to the Ardes. In the 14th century, as stated, the M'Gilmores held the Lordship.

From the settlers of Lecale the Clannaboy Prince received tribute and service which, with that received from the settlers of Louth,—the Pepards, Verdons, Gernons, Tates, Dowdals, etc—amounted in the 15th century to £60, now about £1,000. Part of this (£40) went to the Prince of Ulster, who likewise received from the English Monarch a torque or collar of gold; and from the citizens of Dundalk sixty marks and two tuns of wine annually.[1]

THE ARDES.—Next to Lecale was the territory of Little Ards, now Upper Ardes. It is described as "a fertile and champion country. It is the inheritance of the Lord Savadge, who, being not able to withstand the violence of the O'Neills is constrayened to take what they will give him." O'Daly[2] thus satirizes this chief—Mac-an-Sabhaoise :—

"Ard Uladh, vile sink, has been time out of mind
But a region of famine on its coast you will find,
Slaying barnacle snails with a mallet that savage
Old hang-dog-faced hangabone hangman M'Savadge."

There were besides, dwelling there, the

[1] *Book of Howth;* Gilbert's *Viceroys;* Dalton's *History of Dundalk*, etc.

[2] *Tribes of Ireland*, edited by O'Donovan.

Description states, "certain ancient freeholders of the Savages and Smiths," probably the Logans, Sandals, Stauntons, etc. The Savages derive from Sir. Wm. Le Sauvage, who came to Ulster with De Courcy. In 1559 the Ards was divided between Roland of Portaferry and his kinsman, Raymond of Ardkeen, who are still represented—*The History of the Savages* has been published by Marcus Ward & Co., Belfast, 1888.

The principal Irish septs settled outside Clannaboy, were the ancient Ulidians — the Magennis's, M'Cartans, or M'Artans, and M'Rorys, and the O'Kellies.

IVEAGH.—Iveagh, the territory of Magennis, at the time the *Description* was written, was governed by Sir Hugh Magennis, "the civilest of all the Irish in these parts." But "this old knight being dead his son hath succeeded, who being a very young man, hath joined himself with Tirone, his brother-in-law (for Tirone hath to his wife the sister of Magennis) and thereby he cast away his father's civility." The ruins of his chief castle are still standing on the summit of Castlehill near Rathfriland.

KINEL ARTY.—Kinel Arty, the territory of the M'Artans (*g*) is described as "a woodland and bog. It lieth between Kilwarlin and Le Cahel (Lecale). The captain hereof is called Acholy Mac Cartan, and . . . now (1598) adhereth to the Earl of Tirone

as one of O'Neal's vassals." O'Daly thus satirizes the Kinel Arty :—

Big fellows the Kinel Arty are with fat eyes,
They are growlers and grumblers even over their tumblers ;
For snapping, and snarling, and quarrelling, and lies,
You might travel a long time to see their
Bare equal on earth—or perhaps in Hell either !

KILWARLIN.—This formed part of Iveagh and comprised the northern part of the present Barony of Lower Iveagh. It is "a very fast woodland, the captain thereof was one Mac Rorie . . . who sometimes did contribute and yield to Clandeboy. . . . At this present the Earl of Tyrone hath given the country to one of his Cosens, named Owen M'Hugh."

CLANBRASSIL M'COOLEGHAN.—This territory of the O'Kellies, adjoined Kilwarlin, and extended to Lough Neagh. It is "a very fast country of wood and bog inhabited by a sept called the O'Kellies," who "contribute but at their own pleasure to the captain of Clannaboy. They can make but few horsemen, and but 160 kerne and shot." It was "so called from a difference betwixt it and one other country" in Armagh, belonging to their neighbours the M'Canns, who are thus satirized by O'Daly :—

"You'll allow that I haven't much flattered the Clans
But there is one that I'll praise—the doughty M'Canns
For if I didn't who would ? I guess not a man on
Earth's face—at least no one this side of the Shannon."

From the figures given by the writer of the *Description*, the forces at the disposal of the Clannaboy Prince, including his tributaries, might be estimated at 2,000 foot, and 500 horse, which is half the number credited to the Prince of Ulster by Camden. A writer on the state of Ireland in 1537, however, states that "the Lord of Claneboy is as great a man of strength as (The) O'Neill."[1]

Of course all this is merely guess work; for the English writers seldom agree in their estimates, which, indeed, are extremely modest, if they do not include the attendants on the horse and foot which would more than double the numbers.

The settlers in the Route and the Glynns paid tribute and service to the Prince of Ulster; and in the 16th century the chief of the Route was one of his principal tributary chiefs, as the *State Papers* for May, 1588, inform us: "First under O'Neill are these six: M'Guire, O'Cahan, M'Mahon, Magennis, M'Quillan and O'Hanlon. These six are great men, in land and forces" and "very willing to be rid of the power of O'Neill," no doubt.

The Route, according to the *Description* furnished 140 horse and 300 foot; and the Glynns ordinarly, we suppose, about the same number. In Fynes Moryson's list of Hugh O'Neill's forces, Jas. M'Sorley M'Donnell of the Glynns and Route is credited with 100 horse and 400 foot.

[1] *State Papers.*

Magennis furnished, the *Description* says, 80 horse and 200 foot, and according to the *State Papers* for April, 1575, 80 horse and 600 foot. In the *Carew MSS.* for 1586, he is credited with but 60 horse and 80 foot. This shows how the estimate differ. 1,000 horse and foot would be much nearer the mark, for an ordinary chief of a Tuath or district, according to the Brehon Laws, should have 700 horse and foot; and a chief like Magennis, who ruled several Tuaths, could certainly muster at least 1,000 warriors. Kinel Arty furnished 10 horse and 260 foot. (*Vide Description.*)

Altogether Ulidia now furnished to the Prince of Ulster about 5,000 horse and foot, of which as remarked about 500 horse and 2,000 foot were contributed by the Prince of Clannaboy, who counted about 500 English horse and foot among the number. These doubtless are the English alluded to in the *Annals* as ranged on the side of the Clannaboy about this time.

In 1319 Henry, in consequence of a dispute as to the succession to the kingship of Ulster, led his men against Donal, whom he expelled from his territory to Fermanagh, the inhabitants of which, favouring the Clannaboy, plundered his followers. His son and heir, Brian, whom he had succeeded in getting elected as Tanist, having fallen in the engagement, he was allowed to return and "resume his sovereignty."

In 1320 Henry's inaugurator, M'Martin, chief of Clan Martin, was slain in his own house in a quarrel by Hugh, son of Tiege O'Conor. Hugh, who was evidently Henry's cousin, fled towards Connaught, but he was pursued by Henry at the head of the Clannaboy and Clan Martin to Clogher, where he was overtaken and executed.

In 1325, "Donal M'Bryan O'Neal, King of Ulster, died," and left a son and heir, Hugh, surnamed the Stout.

Donal died at his father's favourite crannoge in Loch Leary, mentioned in M'Namee's poem.

This lake was in the territory of the Hy-Fiacra of Ardstraw, being only about three miles south of the present village of that name in the Barony of Strabane. It is occasionally mentioned in the *Annals* after this, so that we shall have occasion to refer to it again, incidentally.

The name of the lake is now corrupted to Lough Mary. In 1845 when it was drained the remains of the crannoge were discovered and many objects were brought to view, including a pair of bronze and iron manacles,[1] a grim reminder of the good old days.

The crannoges appear to have been the favourite as they were the safest habitations of the Ulster chiefs down to the 17th century. In Scotland they were in use down to the same period, as a crannoge

[1] *Proceedings R. I. A.*, Vol. V.

in Loch Kinnaird in Aberdeenshire—which received James IV. as a guest in 1506,—was only razed by order of Parliament in 1648. Being almost unassailable, they were of prime importance as fortresses ; and about this time we read of Edward II. leading an army to the relief of the crannoge of Lochinadrob in Moray, which was visited by Edward I. in 1303.

Prince Shane was the great crannoge builder of Ulster, and Lord Treasurer Winchester, writing in 1567 to announce his death to the Viceroy, says that : "he ought to inspect Shane's lodging in the fen where he built his abode and kept all his men and cattle."

This was probably the castle built on the site of a crannoge, which he called *Fooha na Gall*, or the "Hatred of Foreigners."

Marshes, small loughs, surrounded by woods and large sheets of water were the favourite sites, the prime need being protection. Considerable ingenuity was displayed in the formation of these island homes, which were frequently constructed in a depth of from 12 to 14 feet of water.

Having decided on the position, the crannoge builder set to work by driving stakes into the bottom of the lake in a circle of from 60 to 80 feet in diameter, a considerable length of the stakes sometimes projecting above the water. These in many instances, were joined together by horizontal

beams. The interior was filled up by branches of trees, stones, bracken, earth and gravel. Often an inner row, or more than one, of piling is found about five feet distant from the outer, and piles are driven into various parts of the interior, either to consolidate the mass, or to act as stays for the walls of the dwelling. Next were placed one or two layers of round logs, cut into lengths of about six feet, generally mortised into the upright piles and kept in position by layers of stone, clay and gravel.

The side most attacked by the action of the water was frequently strengthed by rows of piles, sometimes five or six feet deep, as well as by a breakwater of stones. On the foundation, when raised sufficiently above the water, the dwelling was erected. The hearth was in the centre of the island; for in almost every case a collection of flagstones have been discovered in the interior of the enclosure, bearing on them marks of fire.

Some crannoges were veritable islands, the only means of communication with land being by canoes, of which, both in Ireland and Scotland, remains have been frequently found near the dwelling, in some instances alongside the dwelling, as if sunk at their moorings.

Colonel Wood Martin, in his interesting work on the *Irish Lake Dwellings* (*g*)—from which we have extracted the foregoing particulars—gives a list of the crannoges discovered in Ireland up to the year

1886. A crannoge of the Ua Fhloinns, O'Flynns, or O'Lynns, near the eastern margin of Lough Shillin, a small lake north-west of the village of Desertmartin, gave name to the present Barony of Lough Inis Ua Fhloinn, *i.e.*, the lake of O'Flynn's island, now Loughinsholin in Clannaboy. It was inhabited as late as 1645.

Inishrush, in the middle of a marshy basin, called Green Lough in the same Barony, was inhabited late in the 16th century by the Clannaboy chief, Brian Carragh. Near it was discovered a small portion of chain armour.

In Lough Mourne, three miles west of Carrickfergus in Clannaboy, was another crannoge. Also one at Lough Ravel, at Craigs, at Lisnacroghan, Loughlamand, discovered by Lord O'Neill in 1820; Randalstown, Kilnock, and Ballymena, all in Clannaboy.

In Cinel Owen a crannoge was discovered at Clogherny, in, or near, the territory of the Cinel Farry, near Roscavey in the present Barony of East Omagh.

In 1864 a sword blade of bronze with a bone handle was found adjoining a lake containing a small artificial island in the townland of Galbally in the present Co. Tyrone.

The Inishowen chiefs had a crannoge a few miles from Aileach, on the right hand side of the road leading from St. Johnstown to Burt on

Lough Swilly in the centre of what is now an extensive bog.

According to tradition, a castle which was erected in the centre of the lake was submerged through the negligence of a girl in not carefully re-covering a fairy fountain in the vaults. The result was that the water burst forth in a raging torrent. Sure enough, after the Lough had been partly drained the marks of an island became visible in the centre, and by degrees stonework was observed rising above the surface, proving that the story of the sub-aquatic castle was not all mere fiction.—*See* Hall's *Ireland*, Vol. III.

About the year 1839, on lowering the level of the water for drainage purposes in Roughan Lake, near Dungannon, in Tyrone, an artificial island was exposed to view. On it were numerous fragments of pottery and bones, a bronze pin, a few bronze spear-heads, together with a quern or hand-mill. This is supposed to be the "fortified island called Raghan," where Sir Phelim O'Neill, a descendant of Donal, was captured in 1653.

Donal was succeeded by his kinsman Henry, son of Brian II., Prince of Clannaboy.

Henry appears to have been altogether concerned with the affairs of his own principality; for there is little or nothing recorded of his achievements as sovereign of Ulster.

In 1325 his son and Tanist Brian was taken

prisoner by Robert Savage, afterwards Seneschal of Ulidia, who was ordered to deliver him, for greater security, to the Castellan of Carrickfergus.[1]

About this time he seems to have planned another campaign against the English, in conjunction with Robert, King of Scots, who landed at Glendun in Antrim in the Summer of 1327. He (Henry) was, however, rendered powerless by Hugh the Stout, son of Donal, who was already in arms against him, so that Bruce granted a year's truce to the Seneschal, Henry Mandeville and his people on condition that they would deliver 100 "cendres" of wheat, and the like quantity of barley in the haven of Larne.—See *Robert the Bruce*.

Soon afterwards he returned disappointed, to Scotland, where he died in 1329, in the 54th year of his age. By his first wife, daughter of Donal, Earl of Mar, he left a daughter married to Walter the Stewart, whose son, Robert II. was the first Stewart King.

Hugh proved a formidable opponent to Henry, who, in 1335, according to Rymer, was invited to Scotland by Edward III. of England, and who lost the support of M'Mahon of Oriel and Maguire of Fermanagh in 1337, when they made peace with Hugh, who is first mentioned in the *Annals* under that date.

Two years later he invaded O'Donnell (Nial),

[1] Dalton's *Army List*.

whom he deposed in 1343, when his brother-in-law, Aengus O'Donnell, was set up "by Donal O'Boyle, and by O'Doherty and by the power of Hugh Reamhair O'Neill."

These successes gained him the required majority of the Cinel Owen, and in the following year, assisted by the Deputy, Ralph Dufford, he deposed Henry, who was at the time in Ulidia preparing to receive Dufford, who was routed by M'Artan at Emerdullan, and only made his escape by the aid of the Oriellans, after losing his baggage, gold and silver, and some of his soldiers.

Clyn, who wrote at this time, states he was deposed by Dufford himself, which is improbable. "Dominus Rodulphus Dufford, Justiciarius Hibernie, Ultoniam intravit cum manu valida, et passagium de Ymerdoylan reparavit, et meabile fecit; ejecto Thoma M'Arthan rege patrie, interfectis quibusdam de hominibus dire; et Henricum O'Neyll, regem Ultonie deposuit a regno substituto Odone (Odo) O'Neyll pro eo; et sic cum laude et triumpho revertitur."

This is the only record we have of Henry's deposition. Grace and Pembridge mention Dufford's escape, but say nothing about O'Neill.

In the following year Hugh invaded Clannaboy with a fleet by way of Lough Neagh, but on his return Henry and his Clansmen "overtook him, and many persons were wounded and killed (in the

contest) between them ; but Hugh made his escape in despite of them in his ships." Henry, who does not appear to have made any attempt to recover his kingdom, died in 1347, leaving to his son and successor, Brian a principality which in importance and extent ranked next to that of Cinel Conal. From his other son Murkertac, or Murrough, as he is also called, the subsequent Princes of Clannaboy traced their descent.

NOTES.

(*a*) His daughter married the Duke of Clarence, and so his title—Earl of Ulster—passed to the English monarchs. His uncle, the only surviving son of the Red Earl, was taken in 1328 by the M'William Burkes, who brought him to an island in Lough Mask, put him with a stone in a bag and cast him into the lake.—*Iar Connaught.*

(*b*) The *Book of Howth* states that in the 15th century this locality was "better inhabited with English nobility than any part of Munster or Connaught."

(*c*) Cinament. Harris (*Ware*, Vol. II., p. 226), observes that the word *Cine*, from whence Cinament is derived, signifies no more than a family; and "so Cinament is the habitation, or district, of such a family."

(*d*) The copy of the description referred to above, is that quoted in Dubourdieu's *Survey of Antrim*, which happens to be convenient.

(*e*) The *Book of Howth* remarks that the forest of Kilultagh "was let (about that time) to O'Neill for £100 sterling, and he was content to pay the same to O'Neill of Clannaboy."

(*f*) In 1469, as recorded, White, who appears to have been originally settled in Louth, was installed in the Lordship of Lecale in succession to Savage. M'Quillan about that time transferred his allegiance to the Prince of Ulster, who put him in possession of Skettrick, which he had taken from the Clannaboy. This evidently lost M'Quillan the Chieftainship. In 1356, Dufferin was still in possession of the Mandevilles, when John De Mandeville held Killyleagh.—See Miss Adam's *Ancient Castles of Ireland.* A branch of the Mandevilles were settled in Tipperary under the Earl of Ormond. They held Ballydine.

(*g*) Felim M'Artan, Chief of the Sept, in 1605 granted to Edm. Lord Cromwell his castle of Dundrum, with the third part of all his country, called "Killinartie," in County Down, or Watertirye, or elsewhere, the chief seat and demesne of M'Artan excepted, to hold for ever in consideration of a certain sum of money, and that Lord Cromwell should take into his keeping and bring up Patrick M'Artan, eldest son of said Phelim," etc.—*See* Reeves, p. 214.

The principal seat of M'Artan, according to Harris (*History of Down*) was at Annadorn. It stood on a hill which rises over the edge of a lake about 60 acres in extent; no vestige of it now remains.

(*g*) Some of the articles found in the Crannoges are pictured in this work.

CHAPTER XI.

HUGH THE STOUT, SON OF DONAL, KING OF ULSTER, BRIAN, SON OF HENRY, PRINCE OF CLANNABOY.

—A.D. 1347 TO 1370.

IN 1353 Hugh's nephew, Hugh, son of Rory O'Neill (*ob.* 1365) died, and in the following year his son Brian, a "general sage[1]"

About this time, in consequence of some dispute as to his jurisdiction over the settlers of Louth, he marched against the Prince of Clannaboy, Brian, son of Henry, who, joined by the townsmen of Dundalk, gave him "a great overthrow."

Determined to repair this, he, in the succeeding year, mustered his forces in full, but on his way to the Pale he was met by Primate FitzRalph, who was commissioned to treat with him, and arrange a peace, which he did.[2]

Hugh appears to have succeeded in establishing his authority over the settlers of Louth, from whom he, and his successors, exacted tribute down to the 16th century.

In 1356 another of his nephews, Murkertac, son of John O'Neill (*ob.* 1318) died. In 1358 he was

[1] *Annals.* [2] Pat. Edw. III.

obliged to proceed against the men of Oriel and Fermanagh—sympathisers with the Clannaboy Prince, Brian—over whom "a victory was gained." In 1355 he gave another overthrow to the Cinel Conal, from whom he exacted hostages.

In 1359 Murkertac, son of Thomas O'Flynn, Tanist of Hy Tuirtre, was slain by "Hugh, son of Brian, son of Hugh O'Neill the Tawny." This Hugh, uncle of the Clannaboy Prince, is doubtless the same styled "Hugh Fidhbhaighe," *i.e.*, Hugh of the Wood, or of the Feevagh, by Edenduffcarrick, in Hy Tuirtre. The Hy Tuirtre appear to have been always a trouble to the Cinel Owen Chiefs, who from the first, as appears from the *Book of Rights*, fixed their tribute at a very high figure.

In 1345 the Clannaboy Prince himself was obliged to take the field against them, with his uncle, Donal Don, or the Brown, when one of their chiefs, Manus, was executed.

This Donal Don, according to O'Donovan (*Four Masters*) was the progenitor of the Clan Donal Don, who lorded it over the Hy Tuirtre in succession to the O'Flynns. In 1387 the *Annals* record the death of his descendant, Conor, son of Brian Carragh, who was the son of Cormac, son of John Duff, son of Donal Don.

The territory of the Clan Donal Don of the Bann, comprised the present baronies of Toome, in Antrim, and Loughinsholin in Derry, in which were the

territories of Killitra, Glenconkene, and Cinel Eachach, inhabited by the O'Neills—a branch of the Clannaboy mentioned further on—the O'Henrys and O'Kellys.

Towards the close of the 16th century, according to the *Description of Ireland*, the ancient inhabitants of Hy Tuirtre gave way to the Scotch, who took advantage of the troubles and disturbances of those times, to get possession of a good slice of Ulidia. The writer of the *Description* calls those in the territory of the Clan Donal, "a bastard kind of Scots, of the sept of the Clan Donnells (M'Donnells), who entered the same country, and yet hold it, being a very strong piece of land lying upon the north side of the Bann. The name of the now captain thereof is Bryan Carrogh, who possesseth also another piece of the country (Loghinsholyn) upon Tyrone side of the Bann, for which he doth contribute to O'Neill, and for the lands on the north side (*i.e.*, the Baronies of Toome) to the lord of Clandeboy." This was towards the close of the 16th century, when the Clannaboy became disorganised.

Brian (*ob.* 1590) was the then Chief of the Clan Donal Don. Dr. Reeves (*Eccl. Antiq.*), makes him the same as the Brian Carragh mentioned above (1387), and brings him up to the 16th century by making Donal Don (son of Brian) the grandson of Hugh Boy II., who died in 1444. He does not appear to be correct, however, for the 16th century

Brian Carragh was the grandson, not of Shane Duff, but of a Donal, or Donnell, so that in the *State Papers*, 1509-73, Hamilton *Calendar*, he is entered wrongly as a M'Donnell, "Brian Carragh M'Cormac M'Donnell." Hugh Boy II. had a son Brian, but the *Annals* make no mention of a Donal Don at that period.

Brian Carragh's name appears on Norden's *Map*, drawn about the year 1600. "By reason of the fastness and strength of his country," says the *Description*, "he never yet would appear before any deputy, but yealdeth what relief he can to the Scots. His force in people is very small; he standeth only upon the strength of his country, which indeed, is the fastest ground in Ireland," *i.e.*, the safest, presumably, from attack.

The first Brian Carragh was evidently the "O'Brian Carrag" who founded at Kells, on the border of his territory, in Antrim, the Priory of Regular Canons under the invocation of the Virgin Mary. In 1542, Murtagh M'Annullowe, the last Abbot, was found to be seised of the temporalities as well as the spiritualities, of eight townlands circumjacent to the priory; of five rectories, and the tithes of several other townlands.—*Survey of Antrim.*

In 1621 Sir Arthur Chichester had a grant of this "abbey or monastery of the Virgin Mary of Disert, *alias* Kells, with the site, edifices, orchards, gardens, etc."

About this time Hugh O'Neill, Chancellor of Armagh, was elected Bishop of Oriel, or Clogher, in succession to Matthew M'Cathasaid, or M'Casey. Hugh, according to Colton (*Fasti Ecclesiæ*), was the 57th Bishop of Oriel, and the successor of St. Macarthin, mentioned in the *Tripartite Life* (*see* Vol. I.). SS. Sinell, Ultan, Laserian, Abbot of Devenish, Adamnan, and Aidan, first Bishop of Lindisfarne, who converted the Northumbrians, were bishops of this See in the days when Ireland was famed for its saints and scholars. An engraving of the seal of the diocese, given in Harris's *Ware*, represents a bishop seated, holding a pastoral staff, with the words :—*Insignia Cloghorensia.*

The town of Clogher, from which the bishops took their title, was in the territory of Cinel Farry, in the south of Cinel Owen, though originally in the territory of the Arghialla, whose princes in early times had their chief seat here.

In the street before the palace, St. M'Cairthin, the first bishop, founded a monastery. The church was rebuilt in 1041, and dedicated to the saint, over whose sepulchre Bishop M'Cathasaid erected a chapel, in the last century, which was destroyed by fire in 1395, with the abbey, cathedral, two churches, the bishop's palace, and 32 other houses.

The cathedral and episcopal residence were afterwards rebuilt by the bishop, Arthur M'Cawell, of the Cinel Farry, who died in 1432.

The Clogh-or, or Golden Stone, from which the town is said to have taken its name, and which was covered with gold and worshipped as an idol by the Ultonians in pagan times, was long preserved in the town, and Cathal M'Guire, the compiler of the *Annals of Ulster*, who died in 1498, says that it was to be seen on the right of the entrance to the church, with traces of the gold with which it had formerly been covered.

Within the demesne of the Protestant bishop's residence are the remains of the royal dwelling-house of the ancient Princes of Arghialla,[1] and not far away is shown, in the Glen of Altadavinn, a small circular basin sunk in the surface of a large rock that stands isolated from and rises above the adjacent rocks. In this St. Patrick, according to tradition, baptized the Arghiallans. The chair in which he sat when speaking to the crowd below is close at hand, and the great stone altar where he celebrated Mass stood before him.

The rock-basin is venerated as a holy well, and the people confidently assure us that no matter how often it is emptied, the basin will spontaneously fill in some twenty minutes, although no one can explain how the water gets there, for the rock stands alone and the well is on its upper surface. No aperture or perforation can be discovered, the basin being "smooth, hard and

[1] Lewis: *Topographical Dictionary*.

solid." [1] Harris (*Hist. Down*), describes four holy wells at Struel, in Lecale, celebrated in his time.

North of Lough Neagh, not far from the fortress of the Prince of Clannaboy, was another celebrated holy well. Three ancient white-thorn trees overshadow it, and about a mile distant, is the fragmentary ruin of a wooden cross erected in the olden time to mark the limit of the sacred ground.

Lady Wilde, in her *Ancient Legends of Ireland*, says, that it was the custom up to a recent date, for the pilgrims to go round this well thirteen times barefoot on the 27th June, drink of the water, wash in it, and then, holding themselves freed from all past sins, to return to the old worldly life and begin again, after the usual fashion, the old routine of business or pleasure, or reckless folly, conscious that they could come once more the following year and clear off all the accumulated stains of an ill life by a lavation in the holy well.

A number of yellow crystals are found near, which the people say grow in the rocks in one night upon Midsummer Eve. And these crystals have power to avert all evil, and bring luck and blessing to a house and family, and certain words are said while gathering them, known only to the adepts. The crystals are, however, very plentiful, and are found scattered for a space of two miles round the

[1] *The Holy Wells and Round Towers of Ireland*, by Archbishop Healy.

well, and in the crannies. When burned in a crucible they become pure lime in one hour, and the powder ferments with spirits of vitriol, yet the waters of the well when analyzed present no appearance of lime.

St. Luragh's well, near Maghera, in Derry, and St. Columbcille's in Glen Columbcille, were venerated by the Cinel Owen and Cinel Conal, but that near Clogher is about the best known of the Ulster wells :

"The holy wells—the living wells—the cool, the fresh, the pure,
A thousand ages rolled away, and still those founts endure
As full and sparkling as they flowed ere slave or tyrant trod,
The Emerald garden set apart for Irishmen by God."

Clogher, as remarked, as well as a great part of the present County Tyrone, in the 5th century, was included in Arghialla, and though it was afterwards added to Cinel Owen, the Bishops of Arghialla exercised jurisdiction over it till the last century, when their right was questioned by O'Carrelan, the Bishop of Cinel Owen, who confined them to their own territory.[1] About the same time, according to Ware (*Bishops of Clogher*) Louth, which formed part of Arghialla, was separated from Clogher and annexed to Armagh.

[1] Usher's *Primordiis*.

Cathal Maguire, the compiler of the *Annals of Ulster*, and author of certain annotations on the *Registry of the Ancient Diocese of Clogher*, was Dean of Clogher. He brought the *Annals* up to the year of his death in 1498, from which they were continued to 1541 by Rory O'Cassidy, Archdeacon of Clogher, who completed the *Registry* with a list of the Bishops of the See.

Eight years after his promotion, in 1369, the Annalists record the death of "Bishop Odo O'Neill, namely Bishop of Arghialla, a pious, generous sage." [1]

In 1364 the Chief "Aedh O'Neill, the best king of the half of Conn that came in the late time into the fifth (province) of Ulster died."

This prince's seal, with the inscription, S. ODONIS O'NEILL, REGIS HYBERNICORUM ULTONIE, is still preserved. Odo, or Odonis, is the Irish *Aedh* Latinized. In the *Ulster Journal*, Vol. I., first series, in which it is pictured,it is described as "a beautiful specimen of the sphragistic art," and "the finest work of the kind connected with Ireland which remains. It far exceeds in elegance the other seals of the O'Neill family. The high relief of the scutcheon and the bevelled edge, with the small quatrefoil running round the margin, are very remarkable. It is to be observed that the hand, as in other early seals of the family, is a dexter." The diagonal cross-hatching on the field of the seal,

[1] *Annals of Ulster.*

it is remarked, is not to be regarded as heraldic, being probably an expedient of the engraver to give effect to the relief of the hand.

All that is known of its history is that it came into the hands of Horace Walpole from the neighbour of Belfast in the course of the eighteenth century, as appears from his own description of *Strawberry Hill*, printed in 1784.

It was put up for auction in London, and realised £73. In the sale catalogue it is described as "a curious antique silver seal, extremely ancient, which once belonged to Hugh O'Neill, King of Ulster, brought from Ireland by Mr. Wm. Bristow." It came into " the hands of the late Otway Cave, Esq., in the possession of whose representative it is still supposed to be. An electrotype copy is in the cabinet of a Collector, and from an impression of it in wax," the drawing given in the Journal was made. It is now, we believe, in the collection of Lord Braye.

The value of a silver seal in those days may be estimated from the circumstance that an old silver seal in the Treasury was ordered by the Lord Lieutenant and Council to be broken and sold for the repair of the hall and hall windows in the Castle of Dublin in 1427.—*Rot. Pat.*, 10 Henry VI.

Hugh, in whose reign flourished the Connaught bard, O'Duggan, whose poem on the chiefs of Ulster is given elsewhere, like his father, Donal, had his

principal fortress at Dungannon, about seven miles S.W. of Tullahoge.

From this place and in this year, according to Lewis (*Topog. Dict.*), he addressed letters to Edward III., in which he styles himself "Prince of the Irishry of Ulster."

Dun-Gennain, *i.e.*, the Fort of Gennain, got its name, according to the *Dinsenchus*, from Gennain, son of Cathbhad, the Druid, who lived here in the first century of the Christian era.

It now became, like Aileach and Tullahoge in former times, the chief seat of his successors down to the year 1607. In an unpublished letter Davies mentions that the Earl of Tyrone had his demesnes at Dungannon, Benburb and Strabane.

It was situated on a lofty hill of limestone, commanding interesting and extensive prospects of the surrounding country, which is richly diversified.

The present town is spacious, handsome, and well built. Of the castle, and monastery built here in later times, not a vestige remains :

"High race of O'Neill ! thy splendour has faded,
And the star of thy line sets all altered and shaded
From Dungannon no more thy proud Chieftains sally,
And burst on the Pale from each mountain and valley,
The horn of the hunters hath no lip to sound it,
And the hearth of thy halls hath no joy twined around it,
The Saxons have conquered, thy glories are over,
And darkness descends on the house of Ceancover."

Hugh, by his wife Gormly, daughter of O'Donnell, who died in 1315, and was buried at Armagh, left a son and successor Nial, surnamed More, or the Great, or, more correctly, Nial Senior, to distinguish him from his son, Nial Oge, or Nial Junior.

This appears to be the correct interpretation of More, though it is seldom understood in this sense, the common belief being that the bearer was a man of great deeds. It is always, however, or nearly always, used in a genealogical sense as a distinctive title, as Nial More, or the Great Nial, founder of the Hy Nial race; Cahir More, progenitor of the Cahirians or Leinstermen; and Eoghan More, progenitor of the Eugenians of Munster.

Then we have M'Carthy More, the Chief of the M'Carthys, and O'Sullivan More, Chief of the O'Sullivans. Their Juniors were M'Carthy Reagh and M'Carthy Glas, and O'Sullivan Beare and O'Sullivan Maol.

To distinguish him from other chiefs of the name, the Prince of Ulster is sometimes styled O'Neill More, or the Great O'Neill, a title which came into use about this time.

Niall was opposed by his brother, Donal, who had formed an alliance with the Prince of Clannaboy; for soon after his father's death, with his brother, Turlough, "he mustered, and gave large donatives

and brotherhood and peace to the Clan Aedh O'Neill the Tawney, namely, to Brian,son of Henry O'Neill, with his kinsmen." [1]

This was in order to secure his aid against Brian M'Hugh M'Mahon, who, assisted by Sorley, son of Owen Duff M'Donnell, had succeeded in deposing his kinsman, Nial, son of Murchad, son of Brian of the Mass-Chalice M'Mahon.

Not long after this, M'Donnell, a kinsman of O'Neill, was invited to a feast by M'Mahon, and they continued feasting and drinking for some time when, heated with wine, a dispute arose between them, "whereupon Brian threw his arms about him (Sorley), and ordered that he should be fast and strongly fettered and cast into a neighbouring lake," where he was drowned.

Donal, with his brother, accompanied by Brian, at the head of the Clannaboy and Turlough More, son of Donal M'Donnell, with all the Clan Donnell of Ulster "assembled together, and with one accord, marched into Oriel as far as the confines of Rath Tulach, the mansion seat of M'Mahon," who fled "leaving the town empty and desolate to them." [2]

He (M'Mahon) was then formally deposed and banished to Muntir Maelmora in Breffny, and his wife and daughters were made prisoners, after which Nial was restored.

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Four Masters.*

O'Daly thus satirizes M'Mahon :—

"I'd travel the island of Banba all over,
From the sea to the centre—before I would enter ;
That niggard M'Mahon—his damnable door !
He'll give you the ghost of a dinner,
That leaves you, by jing, rather hungrier and thinner ! "

The M'Mahons, Davies (*Hist. Tracts*) states, were "undoubtedly the proudest sept among the Irish," in his time, 1600, "and do ever soonest repine and kick and spurn at English government."

Under them were the M'Kennas of Trough, the M'Cabes, who, according to M'Firbis, were of Danish descent ; and the O'Connollys.

In 1589, after the death of Hugh Roe M'Mahon, Davies states, the territory was divided between the following Chiefs : Brian M'Hugh Oge M'Mahon, "then reputed Chief of his name," who had five ballybetaghs (about 5,000 Eng. acres), in demesne in Dartry, at a rent of £6 for every ballybetagh, with a chief rent of 12s. 6d. out of every "tath," or 60 acres, in the barony, in which it was estimated, there were 21 ballybetaghs, or 336 "taths," or tates. This Sir Brian, styled Lord of Dartry, married a daughter of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, and died in 1620, leaving issue.—*See* O'Hart.

Rosse Bane M'Mahon had likewise five ballybetaghs in demesne in the barony of Monaghan at the same rent, and with the chief rents of nine ballybetaghs. In the same barony Patrick M'Art

Moyle M'Mahon had three ballybetaghs, and the chief rents of four others.

In Cremorne, Ever M'Collo M'Mahon had five ballybetaghs, and the chief rents of twelve. In the same barony Patrick Duff M'Collo had two-and-a-half ballybetaghs and Art M'Rory, who claimed the whole barony, five.

In Trough, Patrick M'Kenna had three, and twelve tates in demesne (at a rent to the Crown of £22), with the chief rents of seven. Here, also, Brian Oge, brother to Hugh Roe M'Mahon, had three ballybetaghs, and the chief rents of two others. To resume—

Donal, finding himself at the head of a numerous army, determined on contesting the chieftainship with his brother, Nial More. Accordingly he marched into Tyrone against him, and drove M'Cawell of Cinel Farry before him. Nearing a ford on the Blackwater, he sighted a force of the M'Donnells —the Clan Alexander—who had just arrived from the Hebrides—on their way to join Nial, under Raghnall, or Randall, Tanist of the Clan Alexander, son of Alexander.

Donal would probably have allowed him to pass, but Turlough More and his clansmen were for opposing him. Randall sent messengers to Turlough, his kinsman, and his clan to permit him to pass unmolested "in honour of seniority and for the sake of their mutual relationship." Tirlo, however,

made light of the request, and advanced to the ford, where a stubborn battle was fought between the clans. Randal lost his son, and Alexander, Tirlo's son, was taken prisoner. "It was the wish of the people of Raghnall to kill him, but Raghnall did not allow them, for he said that the loss of his own should not be upon him." [1]

M'Cawell, who was on his way to join Nial, returned to Randall's assistance, "and his horse-host was pressing upon the horse-host of Donal O'Neill," when Nial himself came up. Donal was discomfited and retreated, "and he took the rear of his own horse-host, and brought them safe with him, and many of his people were killed and wounded." [2]

Though foiled on this occasion, Donal kept up his pretensions for some time, encouraged by the Clannaboy Prince, after whose death in 1370, he made "a firm and sincere peace," and "gave hostages to Nial that he would not contest the lordship with him, and Nial then gave Donal a share of the territory, and lands," probably some of the "free chieftainships of Ailech."—Magh Ith, or Tullahoge.

Brian, the Clannaboy Chief, "one fit to be a King of (Ulster and) Ireland for nobleness, and generosity, and distinguished prowess," died in 1369. In the record in the *Annals of Ulster*, which is copied into the

[1] *Annals of Ulster.* [2] *Idem.*

Four Masters, *Annals of Loch Ce and Clonmacnoise,* he is called the "son of Hugh Boy," though elsewhere he is referred to as "Brian, son of Henry."

It is evident from this that "Mac Aedh Buidhe O'Neill"—literally the son of Hugh Boy O'Neill—is merely a title (*a*) and the equivalent of the "Mac O'Neill Buidhe," and "O'Neill Buidhe" of later times. These titles were given by the Annalists to O'Neill of Clannaboy, to distinguish him from his kinsman, sometimes for the same reason, styled, as remarked, The Great O'Neill.

This explains why Brian is called "Mac Aedh Boy O'Neill" in the above record. His father's death is given in the same way, translated "Henry, son of Hugh Boy O'Neill, died."

Brian was succeeded by his brother, Murkertac, who was inaugurated Prince of Clannaboy at the fortress of Castlereagh, among the ruins of which the inaugural chair was found about the year 1755.

It was brought to Belfast by Mr. Stewart Banks, the Sovereign, who had it built into the wall of the Butter Market, or Weigh House, at the lower end of Waring St. It remained there for a considerable time, being used as a seat or some such "base purpose" by the weighmaster. The building requiring some enlargement, or repair, the seat was thrown down among the rubbish, and would probably have been broken up but that a workman, appreciating, different from his fellows, the interest

and value which attached to it, saved it from destruction and conveyed it to his house.

Benn, in his *Hist. of Belfast*, says that many went to see this chair where it stood long years ago in a yard near Lancaster St.

A drawing of it was made by Benn's father, who, in 1832, sent it with the above particulars to Dr. Petrie, who published it in the *Dublin Penny Journal* of that year.

The chair is all of one piece, and of solid whinstone. The back is higher than that of an ordinary chair, the seat perhaps a little lower.

Benn reproduces the drawing of this "last ancient relic of the great O'Neills of Clannaboy." It was purchased years ago by a Co. Sligo gentleman—Mr. R. C. Walker of Rathcarrick—and brought to that part of Ireland, where it doubtless yet remains.

At Castlereagh it stood within the ancient Rath on which was built the Castle, which passed from the clan early in the 17th century. In 1744, Harris, in his *Hist. of Down*, mentions, "the ruins of the ancient castle called Castlereagh, from whence the barony of that name is denominated; it is situated on the top of a hill, and in one of those forts the erection of which is usually ascribed to the Danes. This fort has a fosse which encompasses three-fourths of it, and once probably surrounded the whole. In the midst of the fort stood the castle,"

the site of which is pictured in *Old Belfast*, by R. M. Young.

Near it was the old church of Knockcolumcille, or Dundela, the ruins of which are pleasingly situated on an eminence commanding an extensive view of Belfast and the surrounding country. At a short distance stands a fine old earthen fort, or dun, from which, Dr. Reeves supposes the parish took its name of Dundela.

NOTES.

(*a*) That there was nothing unusual in this is evident from the fact that the O'Conors, Lords of Lower Connaught, were known down to the sixteenth century by the *title* of *Mac Donaill Mac Muirchertach*. This title was derived from Donal, son of Murtagh O'Conor—the founder of the family of the O'Conors Lords of Lr. Connaught, who died in 1395. In 1536 his descendant, Tiege Oge, for the purpose, as the Annals state, "of ennobling and honouring the lords who preceded him," assumed the new title of O'Conor Sligo.—O'Rorke's *History of Sligo*. If it be concluded that the foregoing "MacAedh Buidhe O'Neill" is not meant for a title, then it must be believed that Hugh Boy left two sons named Brian, and that one survived the other 74 years.

CHAPTER XII.

NIAL MORE, KING OF ULSTER, SON OF HUGH THE STOUT—MURKERTAC, SON OF HENRY, PRINCE OF CLANNABOY—A.D. 1370 TO 1390.

BRIAN M'MAHON, who had taken advantage of the late struggle, to recover his chieftainship (in which he had been confirmed by O'Neill) rose in arms in 1370, when "defeat was inflicted on him by Nial O'Neill, namely, by the King of the fifth (province) of Ulster." [1]

O'Neill, joined by Murkertac, the Prince of Clannaboy, and the Chiefs of the province, led his men into Oriel in 1368 when he had ousted Nial, son of Murrough M'Mahon, "and a fortified position was taken up in the midst of the territory by O'Neill." M'Mahon then offered to divide with Nial M'Murrough, his kinsman, and to give "large donations" by way of eric for the death of M'Donnell. O'Neill agreed to this, but Nial, son of Murrough, adopted another resolution, and unknown to O'Neill, with Alexander Oge M'Donnell, Lord of the Gallowglasses, and Constable of Cinel Owen,

[1] *Annals of Ulster.*

he marched with a force of "three united great battalions" of kernes, or light infantry against Brian, and made an assault upon his fortress; but Brian and his household troops being ready for action, and "armed and accoutred within the fortress" responded without delay to the attack, and a fierce and furious conflict ensued, in which the assailants were beaten off with the loss of Nial M'Murrough, Alexander, son of Turlough M'Donnell, "Constable of the Gallowglasses, and heir of Clan Donnell;" Owen, son of Tirlo, son of Malachy O'Donnell, and many other *nobiles et ignobiles*.[1]

Brian was then left in possession of Oriel by O'Neill, who afterwards married his daughter, Benmee, who died in 1386, and by whom he was father of his Tanist, Nial Oge, and the celebrated Henry Aimreidh, or the Contentious, one of the most remarkable men of his time. The *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, in recording his death in 1392, says he was "the next successor of the principality of Ulster after his brother, Neal Oge's death, if he had lived, and one worthy of the government of a monarchie, the bountifullest and greatest giver of gifts of the race of Neal of the Nine Hostages, and one of a rare and wonderful freeness of heart in granting all manner of things that came to his hands at all times, and he died a good death upon St. Brandon's day in Summer."

[1] *Loch Ce; Annals Ulster; Four Masters;*

His mildness and love of peace earned for him the soubriquet of "the Contentious," which the *Annals of Loch Ce* say was applied "per antiphrasim," or contrariwise: "Henry, surnamed Aimreidh, per antiphrasim, son of Neill More O'Neill, royal heir of Erin *de jure*, and who would have been king of Uladh, without doubt, if he had lived, and the greatest man for bestowing gifts, rewards, and presents that came of the race of Nial, son of Eocaidh Muighmedhoin, and at other times the most wonderful and famous man for hospitality, *mortuus est*."

An instance of his generosity to the Monks of Carrick—a monastery about three miles from Ardstraw in the parish of Upper Badoney—traditionally handed down, testifies to the truth of the character given him in the *Annals*. The community of Carrick were reduced to great straits, and applied to Henry to furnish them with some cows to supply them with milk. He yielded what they asked, but knowing that they were without pasture land, he bestowed at the same time the lands of Carrick to the monastery free of tithe for ever.

Henry, who married his kinswoman Affric, daughter of Hugh O'Neill, who died in 1389, and by whom he was progenitor of the Clan or Slut Henry Avrey or Awrey, lived at Ardstraw, in the present Co. Tyrone, where a gateway flanked by

towers and other fragments of his castle are still to be seen.

Writing of the many legends and stories still told concerning him, the present Bishop of Cinel Owen, Dr. O'Doherty, in his history of this parish, says :

"There is more truth in the old adage about giving a dog a bad name than one would imagine. And as it fares with dogs, so it fares with their masters. Some playful wag dubbed Henry O'Neill the Contentious, and posterity took advantage of the misnomer. His castle was in ruins—evidently, said the wiseacres, a mark of Divine vengeance, a portion of it was permitted to stand—providentially, no doubt, to point a moral to future generations ; and his very name, whispered with bated breath, was the synonym of Irish barbarity and cruelty. And on these grounds a tale was told of Harry Awrey's castle, which had been told a hundred times before of nearly every castle in Ireland, though in slightly varied forms, and the gentle and humane Henry O'Neill, was thus represented to posterity, as the veriest monster of his age."

In Shaw Mason's *Parochial Survey*, Doctor FitzGerald, the then Protestant rector of Ardstraw, gives some of these old traditions, and we cannot do better than quote his words : "He (Henry Awrey) had a sister who is represented as having an elegant form, but the head of a swine ; and thence called the female monster. Henry, anxious to get

rid of an object that mortified his feelings and his pride, adopted the plan of offering her in marriage to any person who should seem inclined to propose to her, but, on condition that after having seen her, he should either marry or hang. Accordingly, nineteen persons, among whom was a captive prince, who had agreed to the conditions, were all executed on the platform before the castle; and tradition says, the twentieth and last person that proposed for her was the son of his own cow-herd, who was tempted by the magnitude of her dowry, but who, on seeing her, immediately exclaimed, 'Cur suos me, cur suos me,' that is 'hang me, hang me.' The young man, however, was spared, and the unfortunate princess put to death. The spot opposite the castle where the others were executed is still pointed out as 'Gallows Hill.'"

"The ferocity of the tribe, however," Dr. O'Doherty continues, "was not all concentrated in Henry alone, for his brothers seem to have been equally barbarous. They were named respectively Art and Abrim. Each of these built a castle, but so terrible was their hate, one for another, that they deemed it necessary to have their different habitations separated by a river. Art selected a spot on the confluence of the Glenelly and Strule rivers, about half a mile beyond Newtown Stewart, and built his mansion there. It was called Caslin Moiul, or the 'Bald Man's Castle,' from the fact

that nature had denied to Art the ornament of hair. The townland is still called Moyle, and the old Glebe House stood within a few yards of the site of Caslin Moiul.

"Abrim O'Neill built his abode about midway between those of his brothers,and almost in a straight line with them. It was erected in what is now called 'The Holm,' to the left of the old bridge as one passes from the railway station into the town. A large mound of clay, known as the 'Pidgeon Hill' marks the site of it, and it was only in 1722 that the grand old ruin was razed by the vandal Stewart, and its materials employed in the building of the town.

"The builders of these castles were not the brothers, but are believed to have been the sons, of Henry Awrey, and the objects of their building on opposite sides of the rivers was not that they hated or feared each other, but simply to secure themselves from enemies, no matter in what direction they might come."

The remains of another O'Neill castle, he says, built about the same date, near the crannoge of Lough Leary, stands in Baronscourt demesne at a spot called Isley MacHugh. Opposite Henry's castle, which stood on a hill in the vicinity of Newtown Stewart, was the Franciscan Friary of Pubble, marked now only by the remnant of its once extensive graveyard.

Newtown, or Lisglas (*i.e.*, the Green Fort), as it was anciently styled, continued an important stronghold of the Cinel Owen down to the 16th century, and Dowcra in his *Narration*, describes the castle as "a pile of stone, strong and well built, with an iron gate and chain at the door; it hath before it a large bawn, compassed with a good high stone wall." It was garrisoned by 50 or 60 men,who were lodged in a house within the bawn.

Dr.O'Doherty says of the scenery in the neighbourhood that though purely inland, it is, perhaps, "as lovely as any to be found in the North of Ireland. Every eminence around presents the beauties of the locality in a new point of view, but from the summit of Bessy Bell (Slieve Trim) which overhangs the town, you have grouped together before you in one picture all that you saw in parts before, and a thousand times more besides. It is more like a view of Southern France, or the grand panorama of the plains of Lombardy as one descends the mountains into Italy, than like a scene in the County of Tyrone. In the far-extending circle around the base of the mountain, spreads a richly cultivated and smiling plain, speckled with snow-white farmsteads and statelier mansions, studded with fir groves and ducal forests, intersected by a variety of shining rivers that wind in dreamy curves through the fragrant meadows, and the entire presenting that look of comfort which Goldsmith essayed to

picture in his *Deserted Village*. Towards the north rise the mountains of Donegal, clearly defined and beautified by the azure mantle that distance flings around them, whilst glimpses of Lough Erne, with the hills of Fermanagh and Leitrim (Breffny) fill up the picture towards the west. Afar in the distance is the borderland of Lough Neagh, whilst southwards mountain after mountain meets the eye, till the clouds at length draw down their curtains and limit the power of further vision. Eastwards, and just at hand, rise the bleak stern mountain of Muntirloney (the patrimony of the O'Looneys), frowning for ever on the fertile valleys in their midst, and sending down those darkling rills that feed the thirsty channels of Owen-na-Reagh and Glenelly. And there, as if at your feet, in that deep valley on the north-western side of the mountain, is Baronscourt, the residence of the Duke of Abercorn. Its glassy lakes are half-hidden from view by the nodding forests which stretch for miles and miles away, and lonely grandeur and stately desolation brood over a scene instinct with life and busy labour a few short years ago. Truly the whole picture is one of unrivalled beauty, and those who travel to Switzerland and the Rhine to feast their eyes on nature's loveliness, little know the grandeur and enchantment they leave behind them in the Emerald Isle."

That the Ulster Princes were alive to the beauty

of the locality, which was in the territory of the Hy Fiacra, is evident from the fact that they had most of their fortresses there, and King Donal, after desertion of Aileach in the 10th century, had his chief fortress of Inchenny erected but a few miles distant.

About this time Murkertac, Prince of Clannaboy, being troubled by some of the neighbouring foreigners, Nial mustered his forces and advanced against them when "the Knight Roche" and "Bosca-na-Cairrge," *i.e.*, Bosca of the Rock, or of Carrick-fergus, probably the governor, and the Chief of the Sandals and De Burghs, and "William of Bailedalad" the heads of the "inhospitality of Erin" were slain.

On this the Deputy, Sir James Talbot of Malahide, marched from Dublin to Downpatrick, where he was signally defeated and slain with his lieutenant, De Burgh of Camline, and many others, by Nial and his kinsman, Murkertac the Clannaboy Prince, who by this time had reduced a great part of Ulidia. Sir John Davies, in his *Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never Subdued*, written in the reign of James I., states that "after expelling the English out of the barony of Tuscard, which is now called the Rout, and likewise out of the Glyns and other lands, as far as Knockfergus (Carrickfergus), which country, or extent of land, is at this day called the Lower Clan Hugh Boy . . . they (the

Clannaboy) came up into the Great Ardes, which the Latin writers call *Altitudines Ultoniae*, and was then the inheritance of the Savages, by whom they were valiantly resisted for several years, but at last, for want of castles and fortifications (for the saying of Henry Savage mentioned in story is very memorable: That a castle of bones was better than a castle of stones), the English were overrun by the multitude of the Irish, so as about the 30th of King Edward III. (Camden's *Annals*), some few years before the arrival of the Duke of Clarence, the Savages were utterly driven out of the Great Ardes, and their greater patrimony took the name of the Upper Clan Hugh Boy from the Sept of Hugh Boy O'Neal, who became invaders thereof."

The English made several attempts to reconquer the country. First under Ralph Dufford, the viceroy, who had married the widow of Earl De Burgh. He, it will be remembered, invaded Ulidia in 1344, when Henry and Hugh, Nial's father, were at loggerheads, but he failed to reach Clannaboy, for,as noted, at the Moyrie pass he was set upon by the M'Artans, who had retired before him, and narrowly escaped annihilation.

In Brian's reign, in 1361, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III., who had married De Burgh's daughter and heiress, landed with a well-equipped army of 1,500 men, and marched into Ulidia, accompanied by the Earl of Ormond and his forces,

Lord Stafford, Sir William De Windsor and others, but he found the Clannaboy ready to receive him, and only succeeded in capturing a few places along the coast.[1]

After this it was that he summoned a "Parliament" at Kilkenny, and enacted that famous statute about which so much has been written and which has been aptly described as "no more than a peevish and revengeful expression of the resentment which he felt for the opposition he had met with, and the loss of those lands he had come over to claim."[2]

In 1380, his son-in-law, Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, came over as Viceroy with the intention of making another attempt.

Nial More the "Roydamna of Ireland," was evidently unaware of this, when, with some of his chiefs—O'Hanlon, Magennis, O'Reilly and others—he repaired to pay his respects to him. Mortimer, however, was altogether concerned with the conquest of Ulidia, and in his house the Ulidian Chief, Art Magennis, was treacherously seized and detained as a hostage. After this, the Four Masters say "the Irish and many of the English" stood "very much in awe of him," and resolved not "to cultivate any further familiarity with him."

This Art Magennis, surnamed na Madhman, was father of Caffor from whom the M'Rorys of Kilwarlin in Iveagh traced their descent. In 1575 Ever

[1] Gilbert's *Viceroys.* [2] Hardiman's *Statute of Kilkenny.*

M'Rory made a surrender of this tract to Elizabeth, and took out a patent for the same, which original document, Dr. Reeves (*Eccl. Antiq.*) states, is in possession of Geo. Stephenson, Esq., of Lisburn, whose maternal ancestors were of this race. In 1608 Brian Oge M'Rory Magennis was decreed Kilwarlin with other townlands, amounting in all to fifty-five.—Knox's *Hist. Down.*

From Hugh, the eldest son of Art, sprang the subsequent, or most of the subsequent, Chiefs of Iveagh, as well as the Viscounts. Sir Arthur of Rathfriland was created Visct. Iveagh in 1623, a title which became extinct 70 years later. In 1608 Sir Arthur was decreed 132 townlands in Iveagh; Glasny M'Acholy, his kinsman, at the same time was assigned the Lordship of Clan Connell and Ballykail with 14 towns; and Ever M'Felimy the castle, town and lands of Castlewilliam; Art Oge M'Brian Oge M'Brian M'Edmund received the castle and town of Loughbrickland, with nine other towns.—*See* Knox.

Aengusa, *a quo* Mac Aengusa, or Magennis, son of Aidith, was the sixteenth in descent from Eachach Cobha, *a quo* Uibh Eachach Cobha, or Iveagh. From Hugh, the seventh in descent from Eochy, the Sept took their ancient tribe-name of Clan Hugh, which was changed in this century, as we find Acholy Magennis, who was the great-great-grandson of Hugh, who signed the Charter of Newry, addressed

in two letters of Edward II., 1314 and 15, as "Admely Mac Anegus Dux Hibernicorum de Onehagh," or Ovehagh.—Rymer, Vol. II., pp. 245 and 65; Reeves' *Ecclesiastical Antiquities.*

To return to Mortimer. Happily for him, the Ultonians were by no means united at this time. O'Donnell, joined by Nial's brother, Henry, was engaged suppressing a rising of the O'Dohertys and M'Sweenys, and Nial himself was troubled by the men of Oriel, who rebelled in the following year, when Donogh, son of Manus M'Mahon, one of their leaders, was slain. O'Hanlon was at war with Magennis, who had given him "a very great defeat" shortly before.

The Prince of Clannaboy, Murkertac, alone appears to have been prepared for Mortimer's reception; and that he had his passes well defended is clear from the fact that Mortimer invaded Ulster by the ford of Assaroe in Tyrconnell, through which he marched, destroying many churches and fortresses on his way, as Urney, or Earnaidhe, near Lifford, and Donaghmore, near Castlefinn. He then turned south into Tyrone, destroying Errigal in Cinel Farry, Clogher, and other places along the border, till he arrived in O'Hanlon's territory, where he rested; for O'Hanlon, with that breadth of view characteristic of the Irish chiefs, had joined his standard, probably in the hope of revenging himself on the men of Iveagh. He finally succeeded in reaching

Coleraine, where, with timber brought by sea from his Welsh estates, he erected a bridge across the Bann leading into Ulidia.

This was a very solid affair; being defended at each end by a fortress, and by a castle in the centre.[1] It was evidently intended for invasions by sea, and to intimidate the "English rebels" north of Clannaboy; but it was soon abandoned, Mortimer's reception in Ulidia not being such as to encourage him to persevere in his efforts.

There is no record of the opposition which he met with from Nial and the Ulster chiefs on this occasion, all we know is that, like his predecessors he failed completely to make any impression on them. But the settlers were encouraged to resist, and henceforth we shall find them unusually active, especially those settled along the coast, where they could reckon on supplies by sea. Mortimer died in 1381.

In 1383 the settlers of Trian Conghail, or Clannaboy, headed by the Savages, rebelled against Prince Murkertac, who, assisted by his kinsman Nial, completely overthrew them.

"Hugh O'Neill," the *Annals of Ulster* say "and Raibilin Savage, met each other in a charge of cavalry, and made two powerful thrusts of their spears into each other's bodies. Raibilin returned severely wounded to his house, where Mac Eoin

[1] Gilbert's *Viceroys*.

Bisset killed him, and Hugh O'Neill died the third day afterwards from the effects of his wounds, Mac Eoin Bisset was killed by Raibilin's people, the third day after killing Raibilin himself."

The above Hugh Oge O'Neill, as he is also called, was evidently Murkertac's cousin—son of his uncle Hugh—and brother-in-law of the Lord of the Glens, whose territory adjoined Clannaboy. In 1387, in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, the death is recorded of "Sawe (Sadbh), daughter of Hugh O'Neale, and wife to Eayne M'Bisset, a ladye that far surpassed all the ladyes of Clanna Neales in all good parts requisite in a noble matron." By this lady, Bisset according to M'Firbis and Hill (*M'Donnells of Antrim*), had an only daughter, Margery, married to John More M'Donnell, son of John, Lord of the Isles, whose descendants thus got possession of the territory of the Glens.

Trian Conghail—Conghail's third—is the name usually applied to Clannaboy in the *Annals*. In former times it applied to the eastern part of Dal Araidhe, now the south east of the present Co. Antrim, and north east of Down.[1] The name is anglicised Trene Conal, and the *State Papers*, in enumerating the principal Chiefs of Ulster, in the Report on the State of Ireland, early in the Sixteenth century, places O'Neyll of Treneconyll after O'Donnell.

After routing the English rebels of Clannaboy,

[1] O'Donovan; *Four Masters.*

the victors marched to Carrickfergus, which they stormed and burned on the Vigil of Easter. O'Neill, the Annalists add, "thereupon acquired great power over the foreigners," who were deprived of their chief support in this quarter.

The Clannaboy Prince now took possession of the town and citadel, which he held until his death.

From the citizens he and his successors received a yearly tribute, which, in the 16th century, amounted to five tuns of wine and £10.—*Carew MSS.*

Having his subjects well in hand, O'Neill (Nial) turned his attention to spiritual matters,and enriched the churches of Derry and Armagh, in the neighbourhood of which he built a home for students resorting to the city, or, according to the Annalists "for the entertainment of the learned men of Ireland." It was erected on the site of Eamhain or Emania—now the Navan fort, two miles west of Armagh—the palace of the Irian Kings of Ulster.

Adjoining it was Craebh Ruadh, or Creeveroe, *i.e.*,the Red Branch, the fortress of the champions of that name : [1]

"To the halls of the Red Branch when conquest was o'er
The champions their rich spoil of victory bore,
And the sword of the Briton, the shield of the Dane
Flashed bright as the sun on the walls of Eamhain—
There Dathi and Nial bore trophies of war,
From the peaks of the Alps and the waves of the Loire."

[1] See Joyce's *Social History.*

It was destroyed by the Collas, progenitors of the Arghiallans, in the fourth century, as recorded in Volume I. The remains of the fort are still visible, but not a vestige of Nial's house, which must have been a substantial building.

In 1389 his son and Tanist, Nial Oge, with many of his kinsmen and cousins, was surprised and captured by some of the English of the Pale, under one Edward De Loundres, Warden of Carlingford, by whom he was brought to Dublin, where he was detained as a hostage by the Viceroy, who rewarded De Loundres with a large grant of land.

O'Neill was now completely at the mercy of the English, in whose power he remained for many years. In securing his nearest and dearest as hostages, they well knew they had accomplished more than if they had beaten him to his knees in the field, so it only remained for them to make their own terms, which were exacting enough to delay matters for some years, though all the time Nial was not sparing in his threats.

In 1392 it is recorded[1] that "inasmuch as the O'Neill has assembled a very great host of people, without number, to make war upon and destroy the whole country, unless he has delivered to him his son and his cousins and other hostages that are in the Castle of Dublin," it was ordered that "some remedy should be ordained."

[1] *The King's Council in Ireland*, edited by Graves.

Nial, meanwhile, had advanced on Louth and Dundalk and reduced the settlers there after a skirmish, in which he slew one Sefflin White, in single combat.

The Lord Justice at once agreed to confer with Nial personally, but Nial Oge's lady appears to have decided on arranging matters herself, and set out from Drogheda in 1393 with twelve attendants, "men and women," to treat with the Lord Justice and Council in Dublin. They brought the subject before an assembly of the Pale, when it was settled that Nial Oge, his cousins and kinsmen, should be surrendered on condition of his fulfilling certain promises and giving hostages—his son Brian and seven others—who were, at Dundalk, with their attendants, taken into the custody of the constable of the Castle of Dublin, John Clifford, who, under the protection of a band of soldiers, conducted them to that city.[1]

Thus O'Neill's hands were still tied, and when the English monarch landed in 1394, chiefly to reduce "Mac Mourgh" of Leinster, or M'Murrough, and "le grand O'Nel" whose forts were to be demolished, he had no difficulty in bringing him or his son to terms.

[1] *Idem.*; Gilbert's *Viceroys*; Dalton's *History of Dundalk.*

CHAPTER XIII.

NIAL OGE, SON OF NIAL MORE, SUBMITS TO RICHARD II. —DEATH OF MURKERTAC OF CLANNABOY, AND NIAL MORE.—REIGN OF NIAL OGE.—A.D. 1394 TO 1403.

RICHARD landed at Waterford in 1394, and with 34,000 horse and foot, the largest army yet brought into Ireland, marched to Dublin, accompanied by the Duke of Gloster, the Earls of March, Nottingham and Rutland; Thomas, Lord Piercy, and other distinguished personages.

On his arrival he appears to have sent letters by the Primate to Nial Oge, who, on the occasion of his being released, had sworn fealty to him, as his Lord Superior, and had promised much more than ever he had expected to perform.

To benefit fully by this, Richard acknowledged the "Lord Juvenis O'Neyll" as "Captain of his Nation" which he was not, as he well knew, but it suited his purpose to treat him as such, and The O'Neill having no objection, Nial played the part from beginning to end; for, as Moore (*History of Ireland*), remarks, a merely outward show of

submission was all that Richard's superficial ambition aimed at.

Richard in his letter to Nial Oge complains of some injuries done to his subjects, which he takes as a denial of his over-Lordship, and reminds him of his promise to treat with his cousin Roger Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulidia, grandson of the Duke of Clarence, about whose claims he was greatly concerned.

This much we learn from Nial Oge's reply.[1] Nial, who styles himself "Prince of the Irishmen of Ulster," says that when he heard of Richard's joyful advent, he rejoiced greatly and rejoices now, hoping to obtain justice for the many injuries done to him and his people by the Englishmen of the Marches. If he has excessively injured his subjects, he has not done so, he says, to deny his Lordship, but to have satisfaction for injuries done to him, as he could not obtain justice from his ministers.

He hopes when he comes to treat with Richard's baron, whom he styles Earl of Ulster, that he will be to him "a helmet and shield of protection," in case he should exact "more than he ought of right."

O'Neill evidently expected that Richard, on his arrival, would at once proceed against him, for he assembled his forces and led them to the borders of Ulster to bar his way.

Nial, being informed by the Primate that Richard

[1] *Book of Howth.*

was offended at this "coming too near the King's marches of Dundalk," replies that it was done merely "out of reverence and respect to the crown." [1]

All this was highly gratifying to Richard, who had expected some hard campaigning before making such progress, which, if we did not know the circumstances, we should find it difficult to explain. It puzzled Froissart, who, when he asked one of Richard's followers how "le grand O'Neal" and other princes came so soon to the King of England's obeisance, when his predecessors "could never subdue them nor put them under," got the unsatisfactory reply that it was done "by treaty and the grace of God."

Richard marched to Drogheda to receive Nial, but he was indisposed, and deputed his father, The O'Neill, to appear for him, which he did in the hall of the Dominican Friary, with his chiefs, O'Donnell, O'Cahan, M'Mahon, O'Hanlon, M'Guire, O'Reilly, and others.

Nial Oge, by letters patent, dated at Moydoyn, 6th Jany., appointed his father, Nial Senior, as his procurator to appear before Richard and the Earl of Ulidia to treat for the peace of them and each of them, for himself, his nation and subjects; also he was empowered to treat as to those lands he had seized, together with liberties, services, and customs and the bonaght of the Irish of Ulidia.[2] These were the M'Gees, O'Gilmores, M'Dunlevys

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Id.*

and others who formerly lived among the English of Ulidia, like the Irish of the Pale.

They, it would appear, were recognized as subjects of the King of Ulster by the Earls of Ulidia, who, however, received something in return called the "bonaght" and "other services." The bonaght was the right of a chief to exact money, food, and entertainment for his soldiers.

O'Neill, by Nial's letters patent, was likewise empowered "to seal or sign indentures and other writing with his seal," and to take the oath of allegiance, and do homage.

In accordance with this, a fortnight later "Nellan O'Nell Senior, procurator of Nellan O'Nell, Junior in the King's parliament chamber within the cloisters of the convent, did liege homage in the usual manner to Richard, repeating the words: "Ego Nelanus O'Nial Senior, tam pro meipso, quam pro filiis meis, et tota natione mea, et parentetis meis, et pro ominibus subditis meis, devenio ligius homo vester," etc.

This was the usual preamble to the oath of fealty, as it is recorded that when the King of Scots, Alexander, came to proffer his homage at Westminster in 1278, he used the words:—"Ego Alexander Rex Scotorum devenio ligius homo domini Edwardi, Regis Anglorum, contra omnes gentes." [1]

[1] Burton, *History of Scotland.*

In the same words the English monarchs did liege homage to the French Kings—on bended knees, with belt ungirt, and swords and spurs removed—and in the manner following: — "The King of England, Duke of Aquitane, holdeth his hands between the hands of the King of France and he that shall address the words to the King of England, Duke of Aquitane, shall speak for the King of France in this manner:—'Ye shall become liege man to the king my lord here present, as Duke of Guyenne and Peer of France, and to his promise to bear faith and troth say yea,' and the King of England, Duke of Aquitane, saith yea," etc.[1] This was the ceremony Edward II. acknowledged in 1329, by letters patent, and in this way Nial's deputy did homage to the English monarch, whom he acknowledged as his Lord Superior. He, too, made an agreement with Mortimer "concerning the lands wrongfully detained of long time," and then took an oath to perform the same on the Gospels, on the Missal, and on the Cross of the Archbishop of Armagh. Then King Richard and Nellan requested the notary to make them public instruments. Witnesses, John, Archbishop of Armagh, Richard, Bishop of Chichester, Tydeman, Bishop of Landaff, and Robert, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.[2] This with the other documents of the

[1] *See* Froissart's *Chronicles*, edited by Macaulay.
[2] *Book of Howth.*

same nature were then handed by the king to the Bishop of Salisbury, then Lord Treasurer of England, and they remain on record in the English Exchequer.

Nial bound himself to restore to Mortimer all the services and bonaghts of the Irish of Ulidia, which appears to have been formerly paid by M'Dunlevy, but disputed his claim "as to the immediate subjection" of the said Irish. Richard, it is recorded "took the arbitration of it into his own hands (to be determined) before the feast of St. John the Baptist, giving fifteen days notice to both parties." Provided, however, that the said Irish who had failed to appear should come in person to his presence "and take the oath of allegiance and fealty," and that Nial himself would appear "before the second Sunday in Lent next at Drogheda, or Dublin, to make oaths and recognizances of allegiance," etc. Otherwise, it is added, the said Nial, or the Irish of Ulidia, shall not be sure of the king's peace.

How Nial could have made good Mortimer's claim in Ulidia, if he were so disposed, is a mystery, seeing that the best part of the lands in question were in possession of Murkertac of Clannaboy, who had refused to appear before Richard, and over whom he had little or no control.

The persistent attempts to deprive him of his territory rendered the Clannaboy Prince the greatest opponent of the English in Ulster, and Lord Deputy

Surrey writing to Henry VIII., in 1521, of the Prince of that day (Hugh M'Nial More), says that "no man in Ireland would be more sorry to see you recover your inheritance than he" and O'Donnell, who held some lands in the Route. Together, he says, "they have more ground of your Grace's said inheritance than six the greatest men of land in England have within your realm." "They keep O'Nele from coming to me," he adds, "with so great power that if he had come all such Irishmen as be at war with me would put their hostages in my hand."

Thus the chief party concerned about the above lands was Murkertac, the Prince of Clannaboy, but Richard failing to get him into his power, and feeling that he should do something in the matter, chose to acknowledge Nial Oge as the Lord of the said lands—just as he recognized him as "captain of his nation"—and apparently agreed that he should hold them as a tenant of Mortimer.

Two months later (16 March) it is noted that "in Drogheda, in the presence of the King, the Lord Nellan Juvenis O'Nel, Captain of his nation, took oath in Irish which was interpreted by Thomas O'Locheran, to the same as before, binding himself to pay 20,000 marks sterling to the Apostolic Chamber, should he break his oath." Witnesses: the Primate, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of London, Chichester, and Landaff.

Nial accompanied Richard back to Dublin, where

he was lodged "in a fair house" with O'Conor of Connaught, O'Brian (Brian) of Thomond, and Art M'Murrough of Leinster. Meath was not represented; for O'Melaghlin was no longer a power, as he was in the last century, when with O'Neill, O'Conor, O'Brian, and M'Murrough, he was given the benefit of the English laws as a representative of the ancient Kings of Ireland.

Froissart in his *Chronicles* gives a curious account of the reception which Nial and his companions met with in Dublin, where they appear to have remained for some weeks.

Froissart tells the story as he heard it from Henry Christead, an English squire, who had been taken prisoner by some of the Leinstermen while in the service of the Earl of Ormond. He was kept seven years in captivity in Leinster, where he was well treated by his captor, "Brian Costerec," whose daughter he married. The Chronicler met him at Eltham, in England, where Richard then was. He appears, from his remarks, to have been a presumptuous varlet—a typical Sassenach and second Giraldus—full of venom, conceit, and affectation. "He companied with me," Froissart says, "because he saw the King and other lords make me good cheer, and also he had seen the book that I gave to the King; also Sir Richard Stury had showed him how I was a maker of histories. Then he said to me as hereafter followeth:

"'Sir John,' quoth he, 'have ye not found in the King's Court sith ye came hither any man that hath told you of the voyage the King made but of late, and in what manner the four Kings of Ireland are come into the obeisance of the King of England?' And I answered 'No.' 'Then shall I show you' quoth the squire, 'to the intent that ye may put it in perpetual memory, when ye return into your own country and have leisure thereto. I was rejoiced of his words and thanked him. Then he began and said thus:

"'Sir John, it is not in memory that either any King of England made such apparel and provision for any journey to make war against the Irishmen, nor such a number of men of arms or archers.

"'The King was nine months in the marches of Ireland, to his great cost and charge to the realm, for they bare all his expenses, and the merchants, cities and good towns of the realm thought it well bestowed when they saw the King return home again with honour. The number that he had thither, gentlemen and archers, were four thousand knights and thirty thousand archers, well paid weekly, that every man was well pleased.

"'But I shew you, because you should know the truth, Ireland is one of the evil countries of the world to make war upon, or to bring under subjection; for it is closed strongly and widely with high forests, and great waters and marshes, and

places inhabitable. It is hard to enter to do them of the country any damage, nor ye shall find no town, or person to speak withal, . . . and when they know that any person maketh war against them and is entered into their countries, then they draw together to the straits and passages and defend it, so that no man can enter into them, and when they see their time, they will soon take their advantage on their enemies, for they know the country and are light (active) people ; for a man of arms being never so well horsed and run as fast as he can the Irishmen will run afoot as fast as he can and overtake him, yea, and leap up upon his horse behind him, and draw him from his horse ; for they are strong men in the arms, and have sharp weapons with large blades with two edges after the manner of dart heads, wherewith they will slay their enemy. They take no man to ransom, and when they see at any encounter they be overmatched, then they will depart asunder and go and hide themselves in bushes, woods, and hedges, so that no man shall find them. Also Sir William of Windsor, who hath most used the wars in these parts of any other Englishman, could never learn the manner of the country nor know their conditions. They be hard people and of rude eugine (genius) and wit and of divers frequentations (habits) and usage. They set nothing by jollity, nor apparel, nor by nobleness. (*a*)

"'Truth it is that four of the principal kings and most puissant after the manner of the country are come to the obeisance of the King of England, by love and fairness, and not by battle nor constraint.

"'The Earl of Ormond, who marcheth (bordereth?) upon them, hath taken great pains and hath so treated with them that they came to Dublin to the King and submitted them to him, to be under the obeisance of the crown of England; wherefore the King and all the realm reputeth this for a great and honourable deed and thinketh this voyage well bestowed, for King Edward of good memory, did never so much upon them as King Richard did in this voyage. The honour is great, but the profit is little.

"'And because the language of Irish is as ready to me as the English tongue, for I have always continued with my wife and taught my children the same tongue, therefore, the King, my sovereign lord and his council commanded me to give attendance on these four kings and to govern and bring them to reason and to the usage and customs of England, seeing they had yielded them to be under his obeisance, and of the Crown of England, and they were sworn to hold it for ever. . . . . The king, my sovereign lord's intent was that in manner, countenance and apparel of clothing they should use according to the manner of England, for the king thought to make them all four knights.

"'They had a fair house to lodge in, in Dublin, and I was charged to abide still with them and not to depart, and so two or three days I suffered them to do as they list and said nothing to them, but followed their own appetites.'" After which he set about Anglicising them. That he accomplished this to his own satisfaction, without getting kicked for his pains and presumption, speaks well for the forbearance and good nature of Nial and his companions.

The squire was greatly concerned as to their costumes, for they were attired, it appears, in the picturesque and well-known breechless garb of the present day, which is so often worn by his Majesty King Edward VII. in his Highland home.

The Highlanders of those days, however, or their Irish kinsmen, were not so favoured in England, with the inevitable result that their garments shared the fate of themselves, and were characterized as utterly barbarous. Anything savouring of Ireland or the Irish was then to be condemned. Even their whiskers were not to be tolerated, as Giraldus observes: The Irish, he says, are "a race of utter savages," because they "let their hair and beards grow to an outrageous length, *like the new fangled fashion which has lately come in with us.*"

In this spirit nearly all English writers and their sympathisers treat of the manners and customs of the Irish from the 12th century, and all with the

one object, of representing them to foreign princes —to whom from time to time they appealed for aid—as a race of savages of the lowest type—houseless, naked, and godless.

To represent them otherwise was no small offence, as Sir John Harrington intimates in his *Nugae Antiquae*, written in 1599. "I was often well entertained by the Irish," he observes, "and in some sort got ill-will for speaking in praise of their civil usage among our own commanders, whom I often told, that though I was sent out to fight with some, there did appear no reason for my not eating with others. I was well used, and am therefore in duty bound to speak well of the Irishrie."

He was more generous than Christead, who though of an inquiring turn of mind, and though he spent a great part of his life in Ireland and among the Irish, had married an Irish wife, and could speak the language, could never make sure if they had any religion, as he insinuates to "the maker of histories," so he proceeds to inquire further of his charges, "and on a time," he says ,"I demanded them of their belief, wherewith they were not content (pleased), and said how they believed on God, and on the Trinity, as well as we. Then I demanded on what Pope was their affection. They answered on him of Rome. (*b*) Then I demanded if they would not gladly receive the order of knighthood, and that the King of England should

make them knights, according to the usage of France and England and other countries. They answered how they were knights already and that sufficed them. (*c*) I asked where they were made knights and how and when. They answered that in the age of seven years they were made knights in Ireland, and that a king maketh his son a knight, and if the son has no father alive then the next of his blood may make him knight, and then this young knight shall begin to joust with small spears, such as they may bear with their case, and run against a shield set on a stake in the field, and the more spears he breaketh, the more he shall be honoured. I knew their manner well enough though I did demand it.

"But then I said that the knighthood they had taken in their youth sufficed not to the King of England, but I said he should give them after another manner. They demanded how. I answered that it should be in the Holy Church, which was the worthiest place. Then they inclined somewhat to my words.

"Within two days after the Earl of Ormond came to them, who could right well speak the language, for some of his lands lay in those parts (Munster and Leinster); he was sent to them by the King and his Council. They all honoured him, and he them: then he fell in sweet communication with them, and he demanded of them how they liked me.

They answered and said: 'Well; for he hath well shewed us the usage of this country, wherefore we ought to thank him, and so we do.' This answer pleased well the Earl of Ormond.

"Then he entered little and little to speak of the order of chivalry, which the King would they should receive; he shewed it them from point to point, how they should behave themselves, and what pertained to knighthood. The Earl's words pleased much these four Kings, whose names were these: first, the great O'Neal, King of Meath; (*d*) the second, Brian of Thomond, King of Thomond; the third, Arthur of Mackemur, King of Leinster; the fourth, Conor, King of Conor and Erpe: they were made knights by King Richard of England, in the Cathedral Church of Dublin, dedicate of Saint John Baptist; it was done on our Lady Day in March, as then it fell on a Thursday. These four Kings watched all the night before in the Church, and the next day at High Mass time, with great solemnity, they were made knights, and with them Sir Thomas Ourghem, Sir Johnathan Pado, and Sir John Pado, his cousin. These Kings sate that day at the table with King Richard; they were regarded of many folks, because their behaving was strange to the manner of England, and other Countries; and ever naturally men desire to see novelties."

Froissart, as remarked, was curious to know how Richard succeeded so easily in reducing these princes

who, it was well known on the Continent, had hitherto defied him and his predecessors; for when Richard, who had married a princess of Bohemia, had endeavoured to get himself elected Emperor of Germany, shortly before, he was rejected by the electors, who said, the honour was not for him, who could not restrain the insolence of his English subjects, or subdue the Irish.[1] To recover his reputation it is believed he came to Ireland chiefly against "M'Mourgh," and "le grand O'Nel," whose forts were to be demolished.

Nial appears to have accompanied Richard to Castledermot in Kildare, on the borders of M'Murrough's territory, whence he took his departure, promising, in obedience to Richard's "commands," to appear after Easter.

Richard was highly flattered at the success of his proceedings in Ireland; and the Privy Council of England, in answer to his letter on the subject, declare that all his loyal subjects were filled with delight and admiration of the high courage, and sage discretion, which he displayed in bringing to his obedience his rebels MacMurrough, "le grand O'Nel," and others of the strongest Captains, "by which," they wrote, "in truth you have conquered the greater part of your land of Ireland."[2]

They were disappointed at his not exacting fines which would have defrayed the cost of his expedition,

[1] *Davis's Discoverie.* [2] Gilbert's *Viceroys.*

and the maintenance of the Government in Ireland, without burdening his English subjects. They remarked, in effect, like Christead, that the honour was great, but the profit was little.

Nial's agreements with Richard were conditional, on he being "secure of the peace of the King," and on his officers and subjects—the Palesmen—recognizing the rights and privileges conferred on him, under the treaties, which they appear to have taken as a licence to plunder and kill at sight.

Seeing this, Nial refused to appear before Richard a second time, because, as he says, in a letter to him [1] his grant is not observed, that he should have buying and selling in his markets in the Pale.

He sent his men, he tells him, to Ballymorire, to buy divers necessaries for the feast of Easter; (*e*) but the townsmen rose up against his men, despoiled them, and detained them; and the men of Kinnsley invaded his territory, "and made preys of thirty head of mares of his stables;" and also carried off his son—Brian, or Owen—as a hostage.

This is the last record we have of Nial's dealings with Richard, who left Ireland some months later, Mortimer remaining as Viceroy.

In this year (1395), Murkertac "O'Neill Buidhe," Prince of Clannaboy, and Roydamna of Ulster, son of Henry, King of Ulster, grandson of Brian, and

[1] *Book of Howth.*

greatson of Hugh Boy, died, and was interred in the Franciscan Convent of Armagh.

This Convent, according to Father Mooney's account, written in 1617, and given in Meehan's *Franciscan Monasteries in Ireland*, was founded by Hugh Boy's Constable—M'Donnell—in 1266.

Mooney says "the O'Neills ever esteemed the Franciscans more than any other religious order; and had their place of burial within the convent church of Armagh. There Gormlaith, wife of Donald (Hugh?) O'Neill, King of Ulster, was buried in 1353. But notwithstanding the patronage and protection of the O'Neills, the poor friars were placed under many restraints, and deprived of some of their privileges, by Richard FitzRalph, a native of Dundalk, who was advanced to the primacy of all Ireland in 1347. The friars represented their grievances to Innocent VI., who cited the Archbishop to his presence at Avignon, where, after committing the controversy to the arbitrament of four Cardinals, he decided against FitzRalph, and restored the friars to all their rights and exemptions."

In 1566 the Convent was burned to the ground. "Even in its dismantled condition," Mooney says, "the Convent of Armagh proved of value to the most illustrious of all the O'Neills; for in 1596, Hugh the Great placed his son, Conn, in ambuscade among the ruins, from which he sallied out with his forces, surprised, and cut to pieces a large detachment

of English conveying provisions to the city, whose governor Stafford, was obliged to surrender it to the prince, who now sleeps far away in our Convent Church on the Janiculum."

In 1620, according to Dr. Reeves (*Ancient Churches of Armagh*), the site and precinct of the monastery being granted to the See of Armagh, the premises became incorporated with the demesne lands, where a considerable portion of the venerable ruin still exists

Towards the close of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century, four Franciscan Convents were founded in Tyrone and Clannaboy, at Ballinesagart, and Dungannon in Tyrone; and in Clannaboy at Massareene and Carrickfergus, where the founder, Nial More—Murkertac's great-great-grandson—Prince of Clannaboy, was interred in 1513. Other Convents were founded in the same century by the O'Donnells, M'Mahons, Maguires, and other Ulster Chiefs.

Murkertac, surnamed Ceanfada, *i.e.* the Long Headed, or Strong-minded, who could boast that he had never been brought "to the King of England's obeisance," maintained, like his descendants, his right to the sovereignty of Ulster to the end, though he was strong-minded enough not to push his claims too far, but to reserve his strength for the foreign enemy, who in this century made such determined attempts to deprive him of his principality.

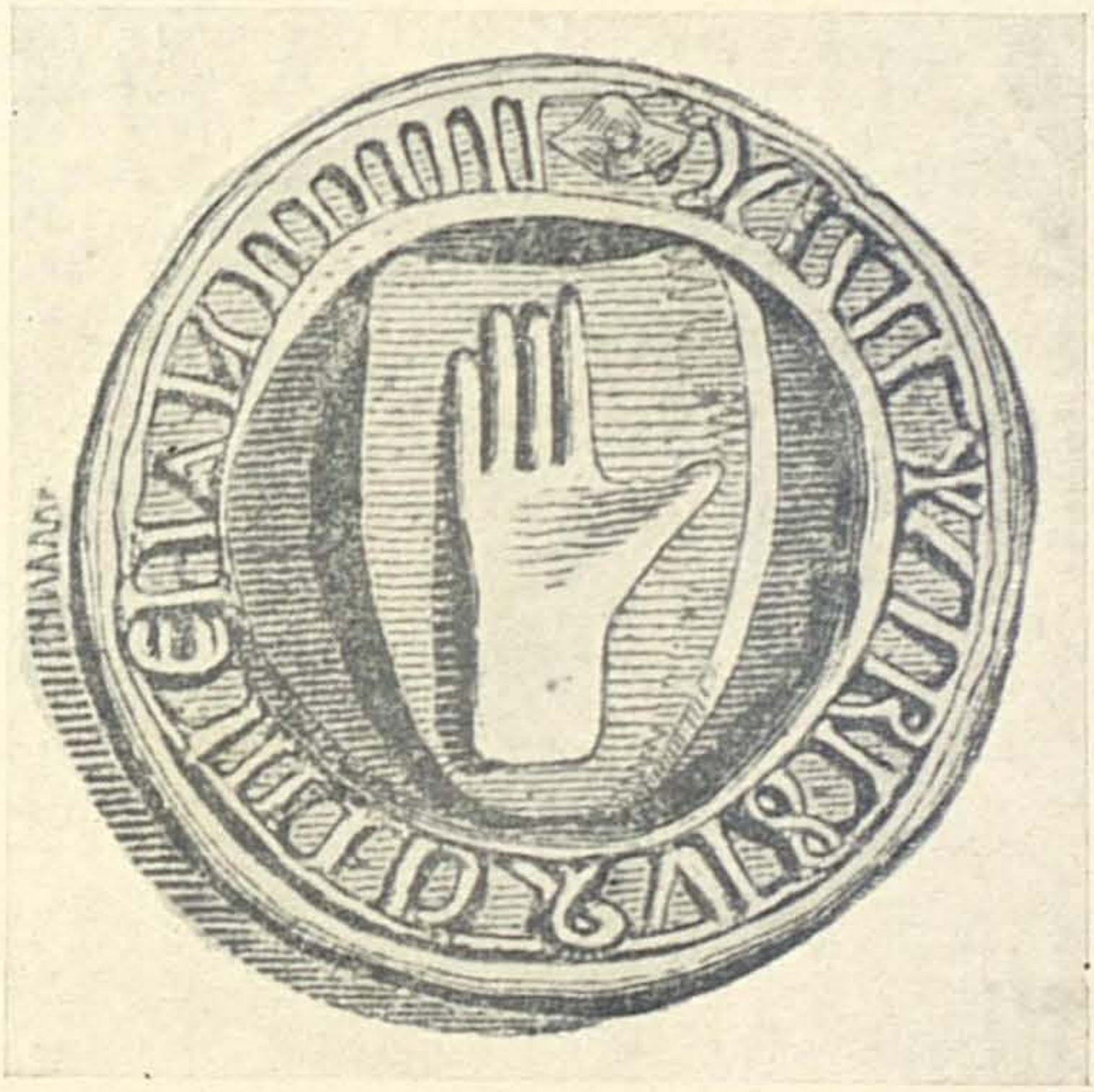
Like Froissart's patron, Duke Albert of Bavier, "who writeth himself Lord of Frise," which the said Duke "claimeth by right of succession;" and like the English monarchs who wrote themselves Kings of France, though they never could make good their claims, Murkertac wrote himself King of Ulster, and his seal with that title—"Murkertac O'Neill, King of Ulster"—is still preserved.

Rev. Mr. Saul, writing in the sixth volume of the *Journal of the Royal Archæological Society*, says he saw it years ago in Ulster, and got an impression from it, which he subsequently gave away.

The matrix of the seal was originally fitted with a screw which, when required, served to detach the central portion of the seal, bearing the Red Hand of O'Neill, from the outer rim, thus allowing it to be used separately, apparently for a counter seal. The outer rim, he says, bore the name of Murkertac, or Murtagh O'Neill, King of Ulster.

Mr. Saul was informed at the time that the seal had been purchased by the late Dowager Marchioness of Ormond, and he asks if it be still in possession of the family? He appears to have got no reply; but we are given to understand that it is not at present in Kilkenny Castle.

Murkertac, his grandson Murkertac Roe, and his descendant Murkertac Dulenagh, were the only O'Neill sovereign princes from the 12th century, bearing the name of Murkertac or Murtagh.



SEAL OF MURCERTAC O'NEILL, OR "MAURISIUS UA NEILL," OF CLANNABOY, 14TH CENTURY.

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Murkertac married, about the year 1340, Agnes, daughter of O'Cahan, the Lord of Firnacreeve and Keenaght; and widow of Angus Oge M'Donnell of Cantyre (*ob.* 1330), by whom he was father of Brian Ballagh, or the Freckled, his successor.

Agnes by her first husband, (*f*) whom she must have married about the year 1320, was mother of John, Lord of the Isles, who, by the Princess Margaret Stuart, daughter of Robert II. of Scotland, was father of Donal, Earl of Ross, and Lord of the Isles; and John More, who married Margery Bisset, heiress of the Lord of the Glens, by his wife, daughter of Hugh O'Neill, referred to in the last chapter. By this Margery, John left a son and heir, Sir Donal Ballagh, or the Freckled, referred to further on. His daughter Mary was married to Murkertac's greatson, Conn.

In 1397, O'Neill (Nial More) was obliged to march against his son-in-law, O'Donnell, and his rebellious nephews, sons of Henry Avrey, who for years now kept Ulster in a state of turmoil.

Nial, hoping to awe the rebels into submission, remained drawn up before them for some time. At length, his men growing weary, and night coming on, he drew off and set out for home. Perceiving this, the rebels sent some skirmishing squadrons in pursuit, when "some of O'Neill's men were killed."

Nial, like his brother Henry, appears to have been

a man of peace; and only appealed to arms as a last resort.

Five years before he had again occasion to march against O'Donnell, who had "committed great depredations" on the Clan Henry; and had taken their Chief, Donal, his nephew, prisoner. He proceeded through Tir Conal to Fearsat More, where "they made peace with each other."

Perhaps he thought O'Donnell was not altogether to blame; for in 1395 we read of Donal quarrelling with his own son, or grandson, Brian, whom he took prisoner, with his aunt, "O'Neill's wife," and others, after invading "the town of O'Neill,"—probably Dungannon. After this, it was, he fled for protection to O'Donnell, when Nial marched against him as stated above.

Nial soon after was taken ill and died in the 28th year of his reign, according to the *Annals of Ulster*: "A.D. 1397, Niall (Niall Mor O'Neill), son of Aedh Mor O'Neill, Arch-king of Ulster, and contender for the kingship of Ireland, died this year, after victory of unction and penance; and his son, Nial O'Neill, Junior, was made King in his stead." The Four Masters call him "the pillar of the dignity, and pre-eminence of his principality, pillar of resistance to every attack, destroyer of the English, uniter of the Irish, and exalter of the Churches and sciences of Ireland."

Nial would appear to have made some attempt

to reduce the island; but there is no record of his deeds in this respect, probably he sought the aid of some foreign princes.

Nial Oge on his accession received the submission and hostages of all the English and Irish of Ulster, except O'Donnell, whom his father had not succeeded in reducing. O'Donnell, however, was abandoned by his chiefs, "so that he was reduced to great straits." Still he held out with a small force till 1401, when at a conference at Cael Uisce, or Narrow Water, near Beleek, he made his submission, and gave hostages. This Prince, styled, Turlough of the Wine (Anfhiona) son of Hugh, son of Donal Oge, was married to his sister, Grainne, who died in 1429.

In the second year of Nial's reign, Richard II. paid another visit to Ireland, mainly to revenge the death of his cousin, and presumptive heir, Mortimer, who in consequence of some dispute with M'Murrough, engaged the Leinstermen at Kellistown, Co. Carlow, where he was routed in 1397. In attempting to escape after the battle he was taken and slain, disguised as a hobbler, or English light horseman.

In this skirmish the destinies of the British Empire, as Dean Butler, the editor of Dowling's *Annals*, remarks, were involved; for Richard's departure from England left the field open to Bolingbroke, to whose towering ambition the superior claims of Mortimer's orphan children offered a feeble obstacle: hence,

the disputed succession; the thinning of the old nobles of England; the rise of the landed gentry, and all the thousand ever-spreading consequences of the wars of York and Lancaster. Dowling says his mother gave two chalices to the churches of Myshall and Garryhill in Carlow, to have him alive or dead to bring into England.

From this second visit, Richard received neither honour nor profit; for the Irish Princes finding, like Nial, that his patents and promises were utterly worthless, no longer felt themselves bound by their agreements, and refused to recognize him.

Richard seems to have sent a force against Nial, who gave them battle, "so that the greater number of them were plundered and expelled by him."[1] He marched himself against M'Murrough; but his army becoming entangled in the defiles of Wicklow, suffered severely from hunger. An attempt to arrange a peace did not succeed; for Art should have his own terms, "other compositions he would not make during life. The King at this retort was much enraged, swearing by St. Edward that he would not depart out of Ireland until he had M'Murrough in his hands living or dead."[2] He only escaped from Ireland to find Henry of Bolingbroke in possession of the crown.

[1] *Four Masters.*

[2] *History of Richard II.*, translated by the Earl of Totnes.—*See* M'Gee's *Life of Art M'Murrough.*

In this year (1399) Nial's brother Culadh Roe died of the plague. In the following year, Rory, son of Art Magennis, Lord of Iveagh, was slain in a skirmish with the sons of this Culadh, aided by Rory's brother, Caffar.

In 1401 Nial's cousin, Donal, Chief of the Clan Henry, was ransomed from the English, who had taken him prisoner at Dundalk, where he was worsted with some of his followers in 1399. In the succeeding year, he was sent to the Tower of London, from which he was now brought.

This Donal was a candidate for the Tanistship of Ulster in opposition to Nial's son, Brian; and between the contending parties "the country was destroyed in every direction."

Brian was taken ill with the Galar Breac, or "speckled disease"—small pox—which was then prevalent, and died shortly before his father, who departed in 1403: "A.D. 1403, Nial O'Neill, Junior, Arch-king of Ulster, and a courageous, and powerful man; and a man who the learned companies, and pilgrims of Ireland thought would take the kingship of Ireland, on account of the prowess of his hands, and the nobility of his blood—to wit, the blood of Nial of the Nine Hostages, and of the daughter of the King of the Saxons." That is, Nial of the Hostage's mother, Carinn of the Black Locks. A poem on Nial's inauguration of 188 verses, by his bard Owen an torthoir Magrath, a Munsterman, is

still preserved. It commences : "Two equal shares on mighty Nial's land." O'Reilly (*Irish Writers*) mentions another poem on his death by John M'Namee. Nial's son Brian "who was to be King of the fifth of Ulster" died, as stated, in this same year, when his cousin, Donal, son of Henry, succeeded.

Brian was succeeded as Chief of his Sept by his brother Eoghan, whose mother Una, or Agnes, was a daughter of Donal O'Neill. She died in 1417; but what family or sept she was of we are not informed.

NOTES.

(*a*) That is in the English sense. There were no manufactured nobles in ancient Ireland as in England; and there was apparently little in the way of fashion. In England the gallants or fops at this time wore shoes of such a length, that they were twisted like the horns of a ram, and fastened at the knee with a chain. The Irish dress varied little in a century. Barnaby Rich, an old English writer, declared that he "was not such an enemy to the prosperity of Irishmen, as to advise them to conform to all English fashions. Hardly can you find a single carrier going from Chester to Dublin, who does not import different fashions of dress, both for men and for women, from England, The Irish are proud and enthusiastic; but they are not fickle enough to accommodate themselves rashly to every whim of fashion."—*See Cambrensis Eversus.*

(*b*) Boniface IX. The anti-pope Benedict XIII. resided at Avignon at this time.

(*c*) O'Halloran says that "with us chivalry flourished from the remotest antiquity. There were five orders of it—four for the provinces and one confined to the blood royal. So highly was this profession respected among us, that a prince could not become a candidate for the monarchy who had not the order of Knighthood conferred on him.—See also Joyce: *Social History.* It is recorded of Hugh, the last Prince of Ulster, that he was so pleased with the services of M'Caghwell, his son's tutor, that he conferred the order of Knighthood upon him, made him his councillor, and offered him a command in his army. Meehan: *Franciscan Monasteries.*

(*d*) This appears to have been originally Uladh. The above version, which has been modernised by the editor, was translated by Lord Berner in the reign of Henry VIII.

(*e*) William of Newburgh, an English writer, in his *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, says the Ultonians are strange "beyond all the Irish in the matter of the celebration of Easter." For during the Paschal solemnities they provide "most extravagant banquets," and "there used to be great rivalry lest haply any one should be surpassed by his fellows in the lavish preparation of viands and dishes."

(*f*) The M'Donnell historians in recording the marriage of the above Angus Oge, make his wife Agnes, Murkertac's widow, but that is obviously a mistake.—See Hill's *M'Donnells of Antrim.*

CHAPTER XIV.

DONAL, GRANDSON OF NIAL MORE, KING OF ULSTER. —BRIAN BALLAGH, SON OF MURKERTAC, PRINCE OF CLANNABOY.—A.D. 1403 TO 1432.

DONAL, son of Henry Avrey, and great-son of Hugh the Stout, who "took the kingship" after Nial, was all along disturbed by the pretensions of his cousin Owen, son of Nial Oge, who, aided by most of the Chiefs of the Province, and many of his own tribesmen, left him but a king in name.

In the first year of his reign died Primate Colton, whose *Acts*, in his visitation of the diocese of Cinel Owen, edited by Dr. Reeves, have been published by the Irish Archæological Society. This prelate had been ambassador of Richard II. to the Court of Rome, and he it was who announced Richard's arrival to O'Neill in 1394.

Consequent on the vacancy created by the translation of Bishop Dongan to Down in 1395, he determined to visit the diocese in virtue of his right as Metropolitan. On Oct. 8th, 1397, he set out on

his journey ; he entered the diocese, and proceeded to assert his rights, as guardian of the spiritualities during the vacancy of the See, at a village called Kappagh, or Cappagh. This place not being large enough to hold him and his numerous retinue, he went on to Ardstraw. Here he summoned the Archdeacon and clergy of the diocese to attend him, but not one of them appeared. On the 14th of October, he advanced to "Clone," and absolved, and purified its cemetery, which had been profaned by the shedding of blood. At length, on October 15th, the Archdeacon and clergy made their appearance at O'Cahan's town—"villa Dermitii O'Cathan"—and the visitation takes place. The Archbishop afterwards goes to Bangor in Clannaboy, and on the 17th sets out on his return to Armagh.

John, Abbot of the Cistercian Monastery of Moycosquin in Cinel Owen, in the now Co. Derry, was promoted by the Pope Bishop of Cinel Owen, in succession to the above Dongan.

In 1316 Hugh O'Neill was elected Bishop of this See, in succession to one of the M'Loughlins—Geoffrey—Hugh died three years later, when another M'Loughlin succeeded. The next Bishop was a Friar Simon, and after him the aforesaid John Dongan.

In the Ordnance Survey of Londonderry there is a good engraving of the seal of Rory O'Donnell, who sat from 1529 to 1551. It bears the effigy of a

prelate, probably Columbcille, with the inscription : *Sigillu Domni Ru . . . . copi Derensis.*

The cathedral, built by Murkertac, the High-King, and Bishop O'Brolchan was garrisoned by the English in the reign of Prince Shane, when, in 1567, it was partially destroyed by an explosion of gunpowder ; the remains were pulled down by Dowcra, then Governor of Derry, in 1600.

To proceed with Donal. In 1410, he, "who had the title of king," was taken prisoner, at the instigation of Owen, by Brian M'Mahon, "as was not becoming" (*a*) M'Mahon delivered him to Owen, who sent him to Maguire to be kept in custody.

Two years later, Donal's brother Hugh, his son, and others who had been given as hostages to the English as part of the ransom which they demanded for his release in 1402, escaped from Dublin Castle, when "the entire province of Ulster was thrown into disturbance in demanding O'Neill from Owen. O'Neill, O'Donnell, Maguire and the Oriellan's or M'Mahons.

Donal nevertheless, remained in Owen's custody two years longer, when, having been taken in a skirmish with his (Donal's) brothers, he was set at liberty "and reassumed his Lordship."

In 1411, his kinsman, Murtagh O'Neill, son of Cooley (Cunladh) Roe, or the Red, "one who was to be King of Ulster," died.

In 1416 Gormly, daughter of Nial More O'Neill,

and wife of John O'Donnell, died. This might be the Prince who died in 1356.

In 1418 the English invaded Ulidia, but on their way back after plundering the country, they were overtaken by the Prince of Clannaboy, Brian Ballagh, or the Freckled, who, with Magennis of Iveagh, gave them an overthrow, and took many prisoners. In 1403, according to M'Geoghegan, they suffered another defeat, when Sir Walter Betterly, the seneschal of Ulidia, with thirty other English Chiefs were slain.

On this, as on most other occasions, the invaders were aided by their kinsmen—"the English of Ulidia and the Route"—between whom and Brian Ballagh "a great war" now broke out, and in the following year when O'Neill, by "Council of the Ulstermen, under Eoghan O'Neill," was "driven to the foreigners of Ulster with great dishonour," he met with a poor reception from Brian, who, in consequence of his alliance with the said foreigners, with whom he was warring, committed great depredations upon him in the Glyns, the Chief of which appears to have been an ally of the Clannaboy, who were also aided by the Lord of the Isles, Brian Ballagh's half-brother.

Brian, as the "Chief and Senior of the race of Eoghan, the son of Nial of the Nine Hostages, and of the greater portion of the Gael of Ireland," had little sympathy with Donal, or his rival, who and

whose Septs, having combined to deprive him of his rights to the succession, he regarded as little better than usurpers, so that when Owen fell into his hands soon after, he was only released by his wife and sons paying a large ransom.

Drawn together by their common misfortunes and mutual hatred of the Clannaboy, the rivals, having concluded a "charitable and amicable peace," marched against Brian and plundered "Mac Eoin Bisset" and the Glyns. Then they invaded Clannaboy, and carried off the spoils of Moylinny to Carrickfergus, after which they penetrated through Brian's "woods and fastnesses," until they "obtained the mastery of him, so that he gave hostages to O'Neill, and he was spoiled of all the equivalents which he had obtained for the ransom of Owen O'Neill,"

Owen was on his way to treat with the Earl of Ormond, the Viceroy, who, in 1420, "waged war with the Ultonians to obtain dominion for O'Neill," Owen being again in arms. Ormond only succeeded in reducing Magennis and a few others, when "O'Neill was banished from the province of Ulster by Owen O'Neill, Mac O'Neill Boy (Brian Ballagh), Nial Garv O'Donnell," and the other Chiefs of the province.

This time he went to the house of Brian, son of Donal MacMurrough, O'Conor Sligo, the Lord of Lower Connaught, against whom, according to the

Annals of Ulster, "a large host was led by Eoghan son of Nial O'Neill Junior, by O'Donnell, by Mac O'Neill Boy, and by the nobles of the rest of the province." Peace was again proclaimed after the army had traversed Connaught, and burned Carbery and other places.

Carbery in the north of the present Co. Sligo, was formerly part of Ulster, being inhabited by the Hy Carbery—descendants of Carbery, son of Nial of the Nine Hostages—whose Chiefs Maelcluithi, now Stone, and O'Scannal, were vassals of the Princes of Aileach, from whom they received, as the *Book of Rights* informs us, a taurcrec or stipend of five shields, five swords, five drinking horns, five steeds, five bondmen, and five bondwomen :—

> "Five shields, five swords, five drinking horns,
> Five steeds, five women, great their hilarity,
> To the King of Cairbre Droma Cliabh
> From the King of Aileach of grand bridles."

In the sixteenth century the territory with the castle and town of Sligo was held from O'Donnell by O'Conor Sligo, who, according to a vellum MS. still preserved and dated 1539, was bound to be a trusty and faithful officer to O'Donnell on all occasions, and to deliver up the town and castle every time he should demand it. If O'Donnell were under apprehension that the English would take the town, he should demolish the castle and go with

O'Donnell's officers and marshals to every part of North Connaught over which he claimed sway to aid in enforcing his authority. He was likewise bound to give bonaght for his soldiers in North Connaught and not to retain any himself save those which O'Donnell allowed him. This indenture was witnessed by the Abbot and community of Donegal, the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishop of Cinel Conal, and the Abbot and Dean of Derry. Half a century later O'Conor held the town and country from Elizabeth at a rent of £100.

In the middle of the 14th century, the O'Conors made strenuous exertions to conquer Tyrconnell, and in the Dublin copy of the *Annals of Ulster*, it is stated that Cathal Oge O'Conor became Lord of Tyrconnell. In 1470, however, the O'Conors were dealth a crushing blow by O'Donnell, who captured Sligo, and obliged them to acknowledge his sway. On this occasion O'Donnell recovered the "chairs" of Donal Oge O'Donnell, and the MSS. of the Leabhar Gearr, or Short Book, now lost, and the Leabhar na hUidhre, a valuable work on Irish History and Topography, now in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy.

These O'Conors, as observed, derived from Brian, brother of Cathal Red Hand, ancestor of O'Conor Don.—*See* O'Hart's *Pedigrees*; and Wood Martin's *History of Sligo*, Vol. I., p. 279.

In 1423 O'Neill (Donal) led his forces against the

English, who were on their way from the capital, under the Mayor of Dublin and Sir Thos. Stynt, the "King's Captain," whom he defeated and slew, with many of his men. After this he "made peace with the foreigners," and left Dundalk, "and all the foreigners under tribute and under covenant."

The English power was reduced to so low a point at this time, that, according to a letter presented by the Palesmen to Henry VI., in 1435, the authority of their monarchs hardly extended beyond the County Dublin. "There is not left of the counties of Dublin, Meath, Louth, and Kildare," they say, "scarce thirty miles in length and twenty in breadth as a man may surely ride over to answer the King's writs." This was known as the Pale, "whereout," says Campion, "the English durst not peep." "Within the Pale," he adds, "uncivil Irish and some rebels do dwell, and without it countries and cities English (and Irish) are well governed."

In the *State Papers* for 1515, the Pale is described as stretching "from the town of Dundalk, to the town of Darver, to the town of Ardee, always on the left side, leaving the marche on the right side, and so to the town of Sydan, to the town of Kells, to the town of Dangan, to Kilcock (in Kildare), to the town of Clane, to the town of Naas, to the bridge of Kilcullen, to the town of Ballymore, and so backward to the town of Rathmore, to the town of Rathcoole, to the town of Tallaght, and to the town of Dalkey,

leaving always the marche on the right hand, from the said Dundalk, following the same course to the said town of Dalkey."

To secure this from the encroachments of the Irish, various devices were resorted to. At a Parliament held at Drogheda, it was enacted that every inhabitant of the marches or inland borders of the Pale, should, under a penalty of 40s., make and maintain a double ditch, six feet above ground, at the side which "meareth next unto Irishmen."[1]

This earthen ditch or rampart of the Pale may still be traced for the length of about a mile, between Clane and ClongowesWood College, in Kildare, and again in the parish of Kilcock.

Dundalk, the frontier town on the northern marches, was protected by strong walls and other defence works. Before Bruce's time it was the stronghold of the English power, and the headquarters of the army for the defence of the Pale.[2]

The county (Louth) suffered most from the incursions of the Ultonians, to whom it belonged, down to the 12th century, and here in the present barony of Ardee, the O'Carrol Princes of Arghialla resided. The other Septs were the O'Scanlons and O'Colemans who held the Baronies of Dundalk; the Keenagh of Bregia who held Ferrard; the O'Condellans, O'Kellys, etc.

[1] Bagwell: *Ireland under the Tudors.*
[2] *History of Dundalk.*

At a "Parliament" held in Dublin in 1429, it was declared that "for as much as the County of Louth and the subjects of our lord the king dwelling therein for the greater part are destroyed and desolated by the Irish enemies and English rebels of our lord the king, by default of the castles and towers in said county in resistance of the same rebels and enemies, to the great decay of the said county. It is agreed and assented that every subject of our lord the king, who, within the said county, buildeth anew a castle or tower upon the border thereof in five years, that is to say, in length of twenty feet; and in breadth, sixteen feet; and in height forty feet; that the Commons of the said county shall pay . . the said person who will build such castle or tower, ten pounds in aid of the building to be assessed off the county."[1]

The castle and ditches which were designed to prevent stock being driven off, were poor defences against the "Irish enemies," who were more effectually kept at bay by intriguing and stirring up strife.

In 1424, the Annalists tell us "war and great disturbances were kindled in Ulster by the English," who gained the support of O'Neill of Clannaboy, who, with O'Hanlon and Manus M'Mahon, banished Magennis from his territory.

Shortly after this Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, son of the late Earl, came to Ireland as

[1] *Idem.*

Viceroy and lodged at Trim, where he was visited by the magnates of Ulster, headed by their king, O'Neill. They included Owen, O'Neill of Clannaboy, Naghten, son of O'Donnell, and M'Quillan, who, we are told, "went there apart from the rest, on the completion of their compact with the Earl," who died suddenly of the plague.

Sir John Talbot—afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury and Viceroy—who had command of the English forces, and had intimation of this visit, set out from Dublin to entrap Donal and his Chiefs, which he did, according to the *Four Masters*, before they had left Mortimer's house.

This Talbot was a treacherous and wicked man, and the *Annals of Ulster* say of him that "he was a son of curses for his venom, and a devil for his evils . . . and there came not from the time of Herod any one so wicked in evil deeds."

Donal, O'Neill of Clannaboy; Brian Ballagh, and M'Quillan who had been brought to Dublin, prisoners, were released on "submitting to the award of the foreigners," with M'Donnell of the Gallowglasses, and O'Mellan, keeper of St. Patrick's Bell. Many machinations and many evils were charged against Owen and the son of O'Donnell, "and they were kept in custody through that."

These captures, the *Annals of Ulster* say, were a source of great war in the whole province. Some of the English of Clannaboy, backed by the

M'Quillans, rebelled against their prince, Brian Ballagh, who was treacherously slain by the townsmen of Carrickfergus soon after : " A.D. 1425, Brian (namely Brian the Freckled), Mac O'Neill Boy, namely the one son of a king that was best in hospitality and in knowledge of every science, was slain this year in treachery by ignoble servitors of the Rock itself, and John, son of Henry O'Neill, was slain on the same spot along with Mac O'Neill." John was probably Donal's brother, though in the following year a " Henry Mac O'Neill Boy " is mentioned. This Henry was Brian's brother, and from having been blinded by his nephews, Hugh Boy II. and Murkertac Roe, in 1426, was surnamed Henry Caech, or the Blind. His descendants were known as the Slut Henry Caech. His son or grandson, Jenkin, was father of Brian, whose great-great-grandson, Sir Brian (son of Owen, son of Brian, son of Cormac), was created a baronet by Charles I., in 1643, for his bravery at Edgehill. He died in 1670 and left Sir Brian, and Hugh a Judge of the King's Bench, who married a daughter of Lord Howth. Sir Brian II. was a Baron of the Exchequer. He married a daughter of Lord Dunsany, and left a son Sir Henry, father of Sir Francis, whose sad story is told by Sir Bernard Burke in his *Vicissitudes of Families*.

In Brian Ballagh's reign the O'Gilmores, Lords of Lecale, who were dispossessed by the Savages settled

in Clannaboy, where they received the lands of Ardmacroisq. At the same time, according to Stuart (*History of Armagh*), the O'Kellys received "Kelly's Wood;" and the Mulcreeves or Rices, "Dortaghiollaghruama" and adjacent lands in Castlereagh. In 1442 a dispute having arisen between "Nellanus M'Malawg" and Thomas Omeag, respecting the rights to the rectory of Breadac in Castlereagh, the Primate decided in favour of the former, and directed "Patricius Pallidus O'Gallmyre," a principal parishioner to set him in possession, and to call in the assistance of Odo Flavus O'Neill (II.) in case the secular arm should be required.—Archbishop Prene's *Register*, p. 41.

Brian Ballagh who had a daughter, or granddaughter, Catherine (*b*), married to George Russell, styled Baron of Killough in Lecale, was succeeded by his son, the aforesaid Hugh Boy II., who, aided by O'Donnell, chastised the English and M'Quillan, a great number of whose people were killed "and O'Donnell, and the son of O'Neill Boy became possessed of great spoils and booty on that day."

Owen did not remain long in custody of the Viceroy, who set him at liberty on his paying ransom, and signing like his father Nial Oge, an indenture which made him the leige man of the King of England, and a tenant for the lands in Ulidia, of the Duke of York, Mortimer's heir. Neither he nor his people, it said, were to molest the English settlers,

he was to aid King Henry and the Duke of York in their wars in Ulster, and to relinquish the tribute or Black rent which he received from the settlers.

This elaborate indenture in the Latin language was signed by Owen, who, we are informed, "was not induced thereto by fear or force, but by his own free will."[1]

How the Irish could have been expected to be bound by documents like this is a mystery, since the English themselves, from the date of their arrival, had shown them to be utterly worthless.

For instance, in 1175, Rory O'Conor, by the Treaty of Windsor, which was witnessed by St. Laurence O'Toole and other Prelates, was recognized by Henry II. as sovereign and ruler of all Ireland, except Dublin and Meath, and the towns of Wexford, Waterford and Dungarvan.

Henry bound himself to assist Rory in all his wars on his acknowledging him as over lord which he did. Yet, in the following year his own patrimony in Connaught—of which he was at length deprived—was invaded by the English under De Cogan, while at the same time Ulster was invaded by De Courcy.

Again in 1206, Cathal Red Hand, who had made his submission to King John in 1210, signed a treaty by which he agreed to hold part of his lands from that monarch, who had recognized his sovereignty, and who not long after granted the whole of his

[1] Gilbert's *Viceroys*.

Kingdom to William De Burgh, whose only claim was that he was a kinsman of one of his favourites.

We have seen how Nial Oge, notwithstanding his treaty with Richard, was invaded and plundered by his subjects who, not very long after, had the audacity to not only complain of his breach of agreement, but to suggest that the Pope should declare a crusade in their favour.

In their statement of grievances to Henry V., in 1421, they say : "That whereas, at the first coming of your most noble predecessor, King Richard II., to the said land, most of the great Chieftains of the Irish nation, that is to say, MacMurragh, O'Neill, O'Brien of Thomond, O'Conor of Connaught and divers others Irish, most humbly of their free will submitted, and for greater security, bound themselves, of their own free will by divers instruments, as appear in various forms, to the Most Holy Father, the Pope and his successors, for the firmly keeping their allegiance, but since that time the said persons openly became outlaws and rebels and wasted and destroyed your said lieges against the form aforesaid promised. Your said lieges, therefore pray if it shall please your most noble and gracious lordship, that you will write to and inform our Most Holy Father, the Pope, the matter and things aforesaid, with the circumstances, that a crusade be made against the said Irish enemies, for the relief and salvation of the said land and of

your lieges in this behalf and in perpetual destruction of the said enemies, by the aid of God." [1]

They were the chosen people, but Henry, whose father had usurped Richard's throne, probably felt that the less said about his "most noble predecessor" the better.

In 1429, Donal led the men of Fermanagh and Oriel, with his creaghts, to the assistance of O'Reilly of Breffny who was at war with O'Rorke whom he routed at Achadh Kilmore with the loss of the Baron of Delvin, M'Cabe, Chief of the Gallowglasses, Dermot O'Rorke and many others, taken prisoners, or slain.

The creaghts mentioned above were the herds and drovers who took care of cattle and sheep in time of peace, and drove off the herds when spoiling a country in time of war. They were very numerous and were organized and officered like the kerns and gallow-glasses. They were armed with a club and short sword or knife, and led a free and wandering life. They knew the haunts and habits of cattle and were intimately acquainted with all the secret passes, or toghers of the mountains, bogs, and morasses. They secured their herds in large forts and from these the two townlands of Lisnacreaght—fort of the creaghts—in the present Co. Tyrone were named.[2]

In 1573 it was calculated (State Papers) that the

[1] *Collections—Dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin*, Vol. III.
[2] Joyce's *Irish Names*.

Baron of Dungannon alone was possessed of 50,000 kine.

In 1430 Owen signalized his election as Tanist by marching against the English, stripping the plain of Louth and burning Dundalk.

Soon after, with O'Donnell, O'Neill of Clannaboy and the forces of Ulster, he journeyed to receive the submission of the Irish of Meath. On arriving at Sean Longphort, now the town of Longford, the capital of O'Ferral of Annaly he received the submission of that Chief and his subordinates—O'Quin, O'Fay, O'Higgin, M'Conway, O'Sheridan, etc. After resting at Kilsallagh he went to Frewen, in Meath, where O'Melaghlin, and M'Geoghegan of Kinel Fiacha; O'Conor Faly, O'Molloy of Fircall, and O'Madden, of Silamchady, whose territories bordered on Meath, made their obeisance, and accepted stipends. With these he overran the English settlements, till the Baron of Delvin, the Plunketts, Herberts and others "paid him his demands for sparing their country." He then returned to Dungannon with the son of O'Ferral as a hostage.

O'Ferral, who was of the race of Ir, and whose territory of Annally, now included in Longford, formed part of Meath, on this occasion became tributary to O'Neill, like M'Mahon and Maguire.

In 1430, Donal's brother, Nial Roe, died.

In the following year, Owen with the men of Oriel and Fermanagh and Breffny, reduced M'Quillan,

after remaining encamped in his territory for some weeks.

In 1432 he succeeded Donal, who fell in a skirmish with the O'Cahans, under Donal and Aibne, sons of Dermod.

Donal it would appear, had a fortress or "house" in Keenaght which was seized by the O'Cahans; and in attempting to recover this he was slain with many of his followers. In Keenaght the O'Cahans held the Castles of Dungiven and Limavady, on the banks of the Roe. In the *Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell*, the latter is described as strong and impregnable "for there was a steep cliff by the side of it, and there were numerous walls, and a great trench and a strong rampart on the other side." Donal who was the last slut Henry Avrey Prince of Ulster, was succeeded as chief of his Sept by his nephew Brian Oge, son of Brian More (ob. 1401), who was almost as luckless as himself.

NOTES.

(*a*) *Four Masters.* "Domhnall O'Neill, King of the province of Ulster, was taken prisoner in an unbecoming manner by Brian M'Mahon and others."—*Annals of Loch Cé.*

(*b*) According to Burke (*Landed Gentry*), Jacob Russell Baron of Killough, married Maria, daughter of Magennis, and had a son Richard created "grand Justiciary of Ulster," by letters patent in 1385, and "Chancellor" in 1388. His brother Jacob, the third Baron, married Rohesia, daughter of M'Artan, and was succeeded by his son George, who married "Catherine, daughter of Hugh Boy O'Neill of Claneboy, of the royal house of O'Neill, which circumstance did not prevent the baron of Killough from signing with the Bishop of Down and Connor, the Abbot of Bangor, and other ecclesiastical barons of Ulster, a very curious petition to Henry IV., claiming aid and assistance against the Scots of the outer isles . . . and the O'Neill's, Magennis's, etc." George was succeeded by his son, William, who married a daughter of Alexander More M'Donnell of the family of the Earls of Antrim, and was ancestor of the Russels of Killough in Down.

CHAPTER XV.

OWEN, SON OF NIAL OGE, KING OF ULSTER—HUGH BOY II., SON OF BRIAN BALLAGH, PRINCE OF CLANNABOY—THE RED HAND OF ULSTER.

AFTER Donal's death, Owen "went to Tullahoge, and was crowned king on the flagstone of the kings there, by the will of God and men, bishops and ollamhs."

Owen, as The O'Neill, had no little difficulty in establishing his authority in Ulster; so well had he succeeded in weakening the power and influence of his predecessor.

Nial Garbh, or the Rough, O'Donnell, who had lately succeeded his father, Turlough of the Wine, was the first to refuse submission; and to weaken an alliance which he had formed with O'Rorke of West Breffny, now Co. Leitrim, he despatched his son Henry to Connaught to secure the aid of O'Conor Sligo. On hearing this, O'Donnell sent a force to Narrow Water, near Beleek, to intercept him on his return.

Henry, with Owen and Turlough Carragh, sons of O'Conor Sligo (Donal Mac Murtagh) and the Hy Carbery, on arriving at the river Erne, near

Ballyshannon, was met by Maguire (Thomas Oge), whose men on landing from their fleet on the opposite side, were put to flight by a shower of arrows from the Cinel Conal. O'Neill, however, arrived with his escort of 80 horsemen and there came to an agreement with the O'Conors, after which "they shook hands in confirmation of their agreement." On the same day O'Donnell's sons came in and did homage.

Some weeks later with the Prince of Clannaboy, Hugh Boy, son of Brian Ballagh—and Maguire, he invaded Cinel Main, and took up a position "in the neighbourhood of O'Donnell where both parties remained encamped opposite each other from the festival of the Cross until Lammas."

Owen, failing to make an impression ; and hearing of the revolt of M'Mahon (Brian, son of Ardgal) whose Clansmen refused to follow in his steps, withdrew after burning "the town of O'Donnell and the town of Naghten O'Donnell." This was evidently Castlefinn, S. W. of Lifford.

In 1433, O'Donnell (Niall) proceeded to Dufferin to join Savage and MacQuillan, who had been expelled from his territory by Hugh of Clannaboy, who drove him to seek refuge with Savage in the Ardes.

Owen, with Hugh Boy and his forces marched against them ; and at the same time M'Donnell of Scotland came to his aid with a fleet. His men

meeting the preying parties of MacQuillan and Savage, overcame them and "comitted great slaughter on the people of Savage and MacQuillan" who with O'Donnell fled southward pursued by Owen, who burned the town of Ardglass in Lecale.

This town, held by the English, ranked next to Carrickfergus. In the reign of Henry IV. of England, according to Lewis (Topog. Dict.) a trading company settled here ; and in the reign of Henry VI it had an extensive foreign trade. It was then governed by a mayor and had a port admiral. Henry VIII, in 1514 granted the Customs of the port to Gerald, Earl of Kildare.

In that year the Dowager Countess, complains that Earl Gerald, then Deputy, has granted a tribute out of her lands of "Coyle" (? Lecale) to " the King's Irish enemy called the Great O'Neill."

Lecale passed from the FitzGeralds after the rebellion of Silken Thomas ; and for some time it was held by Prince Shane, who fortified Ardglass and Dundrum in the cellars of which Castle he stored his Spanish Wine.[1]

To Lough Foyle and Donegal Bay, chiefly, the Spanish galleons and other foreign ships brought their wine and wares for the Ulster Princes ; and there they took in their cargoes of fish, cattle, red

[1] *Calendar of State Papers ; Dublin Penny Journal.*

deer, sheep, rabbits, squirrels and martens, as well as hemp, flax, wool, linen cloth and folding which they sent annually to Brabant, then the great emporium for the north of Europe.

Timber was also exported; and the vast forests in the north of Cinel Owen, Sir J. Davies says, "yielded the goodliest and largest timbers that might compare with any in the British Dominions." In the great wood of Killitragh in Clannaboy where there are few trees now, the Irish Society in 1609, cut down nearly £60,000 worth of timber to build Londonderry.

Along the coast, fish abounded; and in the 16th century, Philip II of Spain made a treaty with O'Cahan for the fishing on his coast. In the *Description of Ireland*, edited by Fr. Hogan, it is stated that O'Cahan "the Chiefest of O'Neills vassals who createth him O'Neill by casting a shoe over his head" hath "two strong castles, Annagh, and Limavady upon Lough Foyle; and upon the Bann near the salmon fishing, two other castles, Coleraine and Castle Roe wherein O'Neill was wont to keep a ward to receive his share of the fishing."

Sir Geo. Carew, President of Munster in the 16th century observes of O'Donnell that "he is the best lord of fishe in Ireland and exchanging fish always with foreign merchants for wine, by which he is called in other Countries the king of fish."

Pearls were plentiful in the Bann but they are now

scarce and of diminutive size. Knox in his *Hist. of Down* states that he was in possession of some from the rivers of Tyrone.

In a letter quoted in the Life of the Marchioness of Mantua, Isabella D'Este, by Julia Cartwright, the Papal Nuncio writes in Aug., 1517, that "in Tyrone a country full of forests, lakes, and swamps, where the Dominion of England ceases, and a native Count reigns, there are many rivers where in May and June pearls are found hidden in the Oysters on the rocks. During those two months clouds of black fog settle on the rivers in the early morning; and when the sun rises they melt into dew, and if by accident a drop falls into an open oyster it congeals into a hard white substance. These are those pearls and the people find so many of them that they drive a thriving trade." [1]

Then as now the linen trade flourished in Ulster; and Macpherson in his Annals of Commerce states that the principal depots in the thirteenth century were in Armagh, Bangor and Newtown Ards in Clannaboy, Trade in wool and woollen cloths existed from a very remote period in Ireland and as early as the time of Edward I. great quantities of wool were exported to the Continent. A Florentine nobleman writing in 1367 states that "Ireland is worthy of renown for the excellence of the serges she sends us."

[1] *See* Hall's *Ireland.*

The customs of Lough Foyle in those days were considerable and some years after this were the source of contention between O'Neill and O'Donnell who claimed them as pertaining to Inishowen.

English writers like Giraldus as a proof of the backwardness or rusticity of the Irish, assert that they had no industries and never engaged in trade. But this is altogether wrong for even in very early times the Irish ports were familiar to foreign merchants as Tacitus testifies: "The Irish estuaries and ports were more familiar to merchants and traders than those of Britain."

In the 5th century, Brecan, son of Maine and grandson of Nial of the Hostages, a celebrated merchant prince, was drowned with his fleet near Rathlin on his way to Scotland hence the sound in after times was known as Coire Brecan. Remarking on this, Cormac in his Glossary says: "Brecain a certain merchant, the son of Maine, son of Nial of the nine hostages had fifty curraghs trading between Eire and Alba until they all fell together into the Cauldron (Coire), and were swallowed up so that not one survived to bear the tidings of their fate; and their fate was unknown until Lughaidh Dall (the Blind) the poet came to Beanchoir (Bangor) when his people were going to the strand of Inver Becc. (Bangor Bay)" found part of the wreck "and having brought it to Lughaidh *et interrogaverunt cum cujus esset et ille eis dixit*; place ye the head

of the poets wand upon it. They did so, *et dixit* Lughaidh Eigeas :—

"The waters of the great sea,
The waters of the vortex,
Drowned Brecan,
This is the head of Brecan's dog
And little here remains of greatness
For Brecan and all his people,
Were in that vortex."

Adamnan in his *Life of Columba* occasionally mentions it as *the Charybdis Brecani.*

To return to Owen whom we left at Ardglass. From this place his ally M'Donnell embarked for Inishowen, there with his fleet to ravage Tyrconnell. Owen on his way to join him was met in the territory by O'Donnells lady, daughter of O'Conor Faly, his brother Naghten and the sons of the Tirconnellan Chiefs who sued for peace. Meanwhile O'Donnell had reached Meath where he was welcomed by the English and the Deputy, the Earl of Ormond, with whom he formed an alliance.

Together they proceeded to Armagh where "the English ravaged the Monastery," but they returned to Meath "without gaining a Conquest."

Seeing he had nothing to gain from Ormond with whom he appears to have quarrelled, he turned to Connaught, leaving M'Quillan under the protection of the English of the plain of Oriel. From Athlone he proceeded to O'Kelly of Hy Many, and thence to

M'Dermot of Moylurg, who like O'Kelly, refused him assistance. Seeing the folly of further resistance he sent messengers to O'Neill who met him at Narrow Water where he did homage.

In this year (1433) Cathal Mor Maguire, a subchief of Maguire died, and his son Cathal Oge was chosen in his place "by O'Neill and Maguire."

In 1434 died Maelissa Mac Conway, Chief poet of O'Neill. The Ollaveship of O'Neill was a much coveted post, a vacancy in which gave rise to an unseemly squabble in 1394 when "Tiege O'hEachaidhen (or O'Haughian) a learned poet was slain by the sons of Cuconnaught O'Daly." From this we can gather that the poets, as O'Donovan remarks, fought with more deadly weapons than Satires.

Ollamh, or Ollave was the title of the highest degree in any art or profession. Thus we read of Ollave poets, Ollave builders, Ollave goldsmiths, etc. These were attached to the household of the Chiefs and Princes who conferred the degree.

When a poet had worked his way up after at least twelve years study through all the lower grades; and had at last attained the rank of Ollave he knew in addition to all his other knowledge, over 350 different kinds of versification, and was able to recite 250 prime stories, and 100 secondary ones.

In the bardic colleges where they graduated the judges and lawyers were also educated.

The session began about Michaelmas; and when

all the students arrived "a general examination of them" Dr. Hyde tells us,[1] "was held by the professors and Ollamhs, and all who could not read and write Irish well or who appeared to have an indifferent memory were usually sent away. The others were divided into classes and the mode of procedure was as follows: The students were called together into the great hall, or sitting room which was amply illuminated by candles and bog torches. We may imagine the head Ollamh, perhaps the venerable and patriotic O'Gnive himself (bard of the Clannaboy Prince) addressing them on their chosen profession, and finally proposing some burning topic, such as O'Neill's abrogation of the title of O'Neill, for the higher class to compose a poem on," while for the second class he sets one more commonplace. Then if a student failed to reach a certain standard he was turned over to an inferior professor. Some of the verses of the bards throw a great deal of light upon the manners, customs, and politics of the age. A curious poem by Teige Dall O'Higgin, brother to the Archbishop of Tuam, gives a graphic account of a night he spent at the house of Malmorey Mac Sweeney where he met Brian, son of Angus, Mac Namee, Chief bard to O'Neill (Turlough Leynagh), Brian, son of Owen, O'Donnellan, bard to M'William of Clanrickard and Conor O'Higgin, bard to MacWilliam Burke.

[1] *Literary History.*

Not only did the Chieftain himself, M'Sweeny, pay him homage, but he received presents—acknowledgments of his admitted genius—from the poets as well.

M'Sweeny gave him a dappled horse, one of the best steeds in Ireland, M'Namee gave him a wolf dog that might be matched against any ; while from O'Donnellan he received a book—" full well of the true stream of knowledge "—in which were writ "the cattle spoils, courtships and sieges of the world, an explanation of their battles and progress, it was the flower of the king-books of Erin."

It was to lament the death of this poet, who died before 1617, that O'Gnive, the bard of O'Neill of Clannaboy and author of the well known poem on the Downfall of the Gael, quoted further on, wrote :—

" Fallen the land of learned men
The bardic band is falling ;
None now learn true song to sing
How long our fern is fading !

" Fearful your fates, O'Higgin
And young Yohy Mac Melaulghlin
Dark was the day through feud fell
The good, the gay, the gentle.

" Ye were masters made to please,
O'Higgins's, O'Daly's ;
Gloomy rocks have wrought your fates
Ye plumy flocks of poets." [1]

[1] *Idem.*

The poets, or bards, were quite distinct from the harpers, and the popular conception of the bard with the long white beard and the big harp is grotesquely wrong. The bards were verse maker's pure and simple and they were no more musicians than the poet laureate of England. When as sometimes happened, they wrote an eulogy, or panegyric on a patron they brought it to him, accompanied by an Erfidya (Oirfideadh) or harper, to whom they had taught the poem, and who solemnly recited or sung it to the music of the harp, the only instrument allowed on such occasions.[1]

Mention of this reminds us of the celebrated O'Neill harp, preserved in Trinity College, which was probably in use at this time in Cinel Owen, or Clannaboy.

Petrie in his essay in Bunting's *Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland*, informs us that it is not only the most ancient instrument of the kind known to exist in Ireland, but is in all probability the oldest remaining in Europe.

On the front arm of the harp are chased in silver the arms of the O'Neill's, the Red Hand supported by lions. It is 32 inches high and of exquisite workmanship. The upright pillar is of oak and the extremity of the forearm, or harmonic curved bar is capped in part with silver, extremely well wrought and chiselled. It also contains a large

[1] *Idem.*

crystal set in silver, under which was another stone now lost. The buttons or ornamental knobs at the sides of the curved bar are of silver. The string-holes of the sound board are neatly ornamented with escutcheons of brass carved and gilt. The four sounding-holes have also had ornaments, probably of silver, as they have been the object of theft. The bottom which it rests upon is a little broken and the wood very much decayed. The whole bears evidence of a very expert artist.

Of its age it is said that it might be determined by the skilful antiquary with sufficient accuracy from the style of workmanship of the armorial bearings, which evidently belong to the close of the 14th or 15th century, and the general character of the interlaced ornaments on the harp which, though derived from an earlier age still point to the same period. But though hitherto unnoticed there is one feature observable among those ornaments which decides the question with greater certainty namely the letters I.H.S. carved in relievo in the Gothic or block letter character, in general use at that period and which is not found on work of an earlier age.

From the history supplied by the Chevalier O'Gorman, it would appear that it belonged to King Brian Boru, but Petrie showed this to be erroneous, and proved conclusively that it neither belonged to the O'Briens nor to the 11th century.

O'Curry, like a true Momonian, would still believe otherwise , and in his efforts to prove that it belonged to the O'Briens he devotes a great part of the third volume of his *Manners and Customs.*

His arguments, however, are not at all convincing and some of his remarks are altogether irrelevant as when he writes of the Red Hand of O'Neill.

About the year 1680, it appears a controversy sprang up among some of the Ulster bards as to what race "that terrible cognizance" belonged by ancient right.

An O'Neill bard maintained that it belonged by right to the Clanna Neill, but he was called to order for saying so by Dermot, son of Lisagh Ward an Irian, who wrote a poem of seventeen quatrains in which he endeavours to prove that it belonged by right to the Irians, of whom Magennis was at that time the most distinguished.

This poem begins :

"O'Cormac ! remember what is right,
Take not from the Irian blood its honour,
Justice is the best argument,
The race is not now in bountiful affluence."

To this Owen O'Donnelly replied in a clever poem of many stanzas. He claims the Red Hand for the O'Neills, and deals severely with his opponent. In the third stanza of his poem he says :—

"Three strings not of sweet melody,
I perceive in the middle of thy tympan;
Small their power, bitter their sound;
They are no proof for the mighty great hand."

The Red Hand is popularly believed to have been the cognizance of the Irian King's of Ulster, who reigned down to the time of Eoghan in the 5th century.

This, like the bard with the long beard, and a good many other popular beliefs, is however entirely wrong, for we have the best authorities for stating that their badge was a lion rampant.

The tract on the *Battle of Magh Rath*, which was taken by O'Donovan from the *Book of Leinster*, a work compiled by Finn O'Gorman, Bishop of Kildare, who died in 1160, states that the cognizance of Congal Squint Eye (*a quo* Trian Congal) who led the Irians in that battle (*a*) was "a yellow lion on green satin." :—

"Great symbol of plunder flitting from his staff
Is over the head of Congal advancing towards us
A yellow lion on green satin,
The insignia of the Craebh Ruadh
Such as the noble Conchobhar bore
Is now held by Congal."

This we are assured, was the ancient royal standard of Ulster, and had been since the days of the renowned Conchobhor or Conor M'Nessa,—King of

Ireland, the greatest of the Irian Kings—and his Craebh Ruadh or Red Branch Knights.

It is confirmed by the arms of the Magennises, and by part of an inscription on the tomb of an ancient Irish Chief in the Abbey of Multyfarnham, given by Moore in the early editions of his melodies. It reads, translated :—

"A yellow lion on green satin
The standard of the heroes of the Red Branch,
Which Connor carried in battle,
During his frequent wars for the expulsion of foreigners."

It was this inspired the lines in "Let Erin Remember the Days of Old" :—

"When her kings with standards of green unfurled,
Led the Red Branch Knights to danger,
Ere the Emerald gem of the western world
Was set in the crown of a stranger."

Turning to the arms of the Magennises we find that, according to Sir Bernard Burke (*General Armory*), they bore the very same cognizance "vert a lion rampant or," but with the *addition* of the Red Hand ; "On a chief argent a dexter hand erect couped at the wrist gu."

This is clearly an addition to the simple badge of the Red Branch Knight's and the Irian King's who doubtless would have been much puzzled to know what a " chief argent " was.

O'Donovan (Battle of Magh Rath), writing on these innovations, says that he "is satisfied that the Irish families first obtained the complex coats of arms which they now bear from England, retaining on the shield in many instances those simple badges which their ancestors had on their standards, such as the Red Hand of O'Neill; the cat and salmon of O'Cahan, etc., with such additions as the King of Arms thought proper to introduce in order to complete the escutcheon after the Anglo Norman system of heraldry, according to the rank of the family for whom the coat was manufactured."

From the earliest times in Ireland, the various septs and tribes were known by the different symbols on their standards which were borne before them when going into battle, or on their marches; a custom De Jubainville (*La Civil. des Celts*) states was common to the Celts and Romans; but unknown to the Homeric Greeks.

In the reign of Ollave Fola, many years before the Christian era, Keating states it was enacted at the Feis of Tara, that every nobleman and great officer should be known by his particular badge to be assigned to him by the heralds according to his rank.

The Gal-greina, or sunburst; and the serpent and rod of Moses, which is said to have been borne in memory of his curing the great Nial's son Gael of the serpent bite, were favourite devices.

The symbols of some of the Ulster Chiefs at this time, as we gather from Burke (*Armory*) were, for O'Donnell : a red cross on a yellow field. This, according to the *Trip. Life*, was marked on Conal Gulban's shield at his conversion by St. Patrick. The Chiefs of Fermanagh bore on a green field a white charger fully caparisoned, thereon a horseman or Knight fully accoutred, brandishing in his right arm a sword. M'Mahon bore on a white field a sable ostrich ; O'Hanlon's device was a boar passant ; and O'Gallagher's a lion rampant ; O'Doherty, on a white field a stag springing. This differs from the ancient device mentioned by an old writer (*Battle of Magh Rath*), "a lion and bloody eagle, on a white sheet of silken satin."

Few family badges are so widely known as the Red Hand of O'Neill—to which, as we have shown, the Irians had as much right as King James's Baronets, and few are so celebrated in song and story. The motto was *Lamh Dearg Eirinn!* or *Lamh Dearg Abu!*—"the Red Hand for Ever"—to the cry of which the Cinel rushed on the foe :—

"Proud Lords of Tir Owen ! high Chiefs of Lough Neagh !
How broad stretched the lands that were ruled by your sway
What eagle would venture to wing them right through,
But would drop on his pinion ere half o'er he flew,
From the hills of Mac Artan and waters that ran
Like steeds on Glen Swilly to soft-flowing Bann,
From Clannaboy's heather to Carrick's sea-shore.

And high Armagh of seats to wild Inismoe,
From the cave of the hunter on Tyrconnell's hills
To the dells of Glenarm all rushing with rills—
From Antrim's bleak rocks to the woods of Rostrevor,
All echoed thy war shout—*The Red Hand for Ever!*"

The badge was worn by the household troops of the princes of Ulster and Clannaboy; and in 1876 a hauberk of chain mail with its silvered badge, which belonged to one of their gallowglasses, was found in the Phœnix Park. In the 14th vol. of the *Journal of the Kilkenny* (now the *Royal*) *Archæological Society*, Robt. Day, Esq., M. R. I. A., F. S. A., writes: In June, 1876, the workmen employed on the line of Railway, known as the North Wall Extension which was being made through the Phœnix Park, Dublin, turned up the coat of mail and silvered bronze badge now in my collection. The armour is of that kind called grains d'orge, from the resemblance of the rings of mail to barley corns: it is singularly perfect, and has been well preserved in spite of the wetness of our soil and the decaying effect of damp and exposure upon steel or iron-work; as will be seen by the engraving, the back part of the hauberk is perfect, the front is injured and more or less defective . . . but what adds much to the historic interest of this hauberk is the armorial badge, here figured, that was found with it, by which it can be assigned to one of the O'Neill Septs. The badge is made of bronze, overlaid with

silver, and although it is shield shaped, it cannot be called a shield, for it is inverted, having the point uppermost; it bears upon a base of three steps a dexter hand couped at the wrist . . . the hand is within an inverted heater-shaped shield, and has supporters very boldly pourtrayed, namely two lions. From the shape of this badge and character of its work, and from examples of chain armour with armorial badges figured in published works and on sepulchral effigies, we may assign it to the middle of the fifteenth century.

We shall now close our remarks on the Red Hand with the following metrical form of the legend, which is generally believed to refer to Heremon, the first O'Neill King of Ireland, and the first to touch Irish soil.

The Red Hand of Ulster.

BY MINNA IRVING.

With plume and lance and pennon gay,
And all his fearless band
The wild and warlike Hugh O'Neill
Set sail for Erin's land.
He looked across the frothing waves
And a mighty oath he swore,
That he would be the first to touch
That green and lovely shore.

For other Chieftains bold as he
In ships as swift and strong,
Kept even with his plunging bow
Or followed all day long;
And when at night the fog came down
He heard upon the deep
Their songs of dear one's left behind,
To wait and watch and weep.

The way was long, the sea was rough
The wind blew chill and loud.
And many a man went overboard,
With white foam for a shroud,
Short-handed soon the gallant ship
Began to drop astern,
And Hugh O'Neill, to fret and feel,
His oath within him burn.

Up rolled the curtain of the dawn,
And lo! before them lay,
Folded in flowers the longed-for land,
A cable's length away.
Hugh cast his glittering sword aside,
And toiled among his men
The beads of sweat stood on his brow,
His strength was that of ten.

"Look! yonder lies the pebbly strand,
Straight on, my sturdy crew,
And every one shall drink to-day,
His full of mountain dew,
O! for the brawny arms we left
Beneath the salt blue sea,
Pull! or the banshee weird shall wail
This very hour for me."

But faster through the boiling surf,
On swept the other boat,
And Hugh O'Neill stood up to see,
With curses in his throat,
He seized his sword, cut off his hand,
And held it dripping red,
Then flung it on the beach,
That curved so close ahead.

'Twas thus the Prince of Ulster kept
His oath of dreadful fame,
And thus the daring Hugh O'Neill,
Into his Princedom came,
Red symbol of a dauntless soul,
The arms of Ulster show,
The imprint of the severed hand,
That bled so long ago.

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NOTES.

(*a*) The standard of the King of Aileach of that day, who was of the Sept of the M'Cawells of Cinel Farry, is stated to have been black and red :—

"The standard of the majestic King of Feabhail (Foyle),
(I have not seen such another)
Is over his head (no treachery does he carry with him),
Black and red certainly."

See p. 181, Vol. 1.

CHAPTER XVI.

DEATH OF OWEN AND HUGH OF CLANNABOY.—THE O'NEILLS OF THE FEWS.—1434 TO 1456.

IN 1434 Owen, with O'Neill of Clannaboy, O'Donnell "and the whole forces of Ulster," advanced against the English of Louth, to punish them for invading Tyrone, and plundering the monastery of Armagh.

After burning the plain of Louth, he set out for Dundalk; but he was met on his way by the townsmen, who sued for peace, paid him his tribute "and gave him much valuable articles besides." "Many other contributions," the Annalists add, "were got on that day by him from the English of Meath."

While a party under his sons, Henry and Hugh of the Fews, were burning Nobber, in Meath, they were surprised by Stanly, the Deputy, but they made their escape without losing a man, by covering the retreat with their horse. O'Donnell, however, who was foraging in another direction, was surrounded and taken prisoner to Dublin.

Owen, some time before this, at the request of O'Donnell, marched into Cinel Main to oust Naghten O'Donnell, his brother, who had quarrelled concerning the death of a kinsman.

Failing to take Castlefinn by assault, Owen encamped west of the territory, in a place called the Rosses, where he was surprised by Naghten, and his ally, Brian Oge O'Neill, Chief of the Slut Henry.

"O'Neill," say the Four Masters, "his sons and M'Donnell Galloglagh felt shame and disgrace at their expulsion from this position," which they had taken so much pains to fortify; for even when halting for the night, careful arrangements were made as to tents, sleeping accommodation, cooking, bathing, etc. The tents and huts, which were constructed of wattles and branches, were arranged in streets with roads and paths in every direction, and the whole was surrounded by circumvallations having trenches and palisades.[1]

To be surprised and driven from such a position, which was now occupied by Naghten and Brian, was by no means pleasing to O'Neill and his officers. "The resolution they adopted at the request and solicitation of Henry O'Neill," the Four Masters record "was that they should attack the camp and use their boldest efforts to retake it. Henry's exhortations had great effect upon the minds of the youths, and they attacked the camp, silently, vigorously, and fiercely, Henry being the foremost in the van, until they made their way into the very centre of their enemies. M'Donnell Galloglagh and

[1] Joyce: *Social History.*

M'Sweeny Fanad then came to an engagement in which heroes were mangled and slaughtered on both sides, and such was the confusion that prevailed, owing to the darkness of the night and closeness of the combatants to each other, that friend could not be distinguished from foe. Sparks of fire flashed from the helmets of the heroes, and the armour of the champions. Hugh O'Neill and Brian O'Neill came to a personal encounter with each other, and Hugh made a thrust of his spear at Brian and wounded him severely, after which Brian and Naghten withdrew from the contest, and left their gallowglasses behind them. When M'Sweeny (Constable of the Gallowglasses), perceived that Naghten and Brian Oge had gone away from him, he sent his people before him, and remained himself in the rear to cover their retreat, and left the place without O'Neill's knowledge, but when Henry and his kinsmen observed this, they pursued M'Sweeny to Slieve Truim (in the territory of the Slut Henry), and there defeated him, and took himself, and many of his people prisoners."

Brian Oge was afterwards taken and deprived of a hand and foot by Owen, who, in the following year, took the crannoge of Lough Leary from his sons, who were assisted by the Clan Kenna, or M'Kennas of Trough, in Oriel, now the barony of Trough in the north of the Co. Monaghan. In the British Museum, as appears from the *Catalogue*

of Irish MSS. by Standish O'Grady, is still preserved a poem of twenty-one quatrains on Brian's mutilation, headed *Conor Roe M'Namee cecinit.* It begins: "Brian's beheading in Down, Brian Oge's spoiling through jealousy. . . . In them you have the two capital affronts of Ireland."

From Naghten O'Donnell, Brian had received as a reward the Castle of Ballyshannon, erected in 1423 as a protection against the incursions of the Connacians, and a check on the O'Conor's castle, erected on the banks of the Bundrowse in 1420.

A small portion of the walls, five feet thick, is still to be seen on the north side of the market yard. Round the castle stretched the park which extended to the hill on the north.

Dr. Villanueva, Chaplain to the King of Spain, in his *Shepherd's Farewell*, translated by Dr. Sigerson in Mr. Allingham's interesting work on Ballyshannon, refers to the village:—

"Ballyshannon, flowery village,
Flowery village, once my home!
Peaceful rest among thy mountains,
That afar off see me roam."

Hard by was the "Abbey Assaroe" founded by O'Canannan, in 1179:—

"The boor-tree and the lightsome ash across the portal grow,
And heaven itself is now the roof of Abbey Assaroe."

In 1439, the Chief of Fermanagh, who was taken

prisoner by a kinsman, Donal Ballagh Maguire, was released by Henry, who led a force to Portora, between Devenish and Enniskillen. Maguire had apparently failed to keep an agreement with Donal, who received Enniskillen with other securities and hostages, which included Maguire's lady, daughter of M'Geoghegan, of Westmeath.

At Enniskillen, Maguire had his chief fortress, which stood at the western side of the town, and commanded the lake. The original quadrangular keep is still to be seen, while the curtain walls and towers, erected in 1611, and which figure in the arms of the town, are in a good state of preservation. In the *Life of Hugh Roe O'Donnell*, an engraving of the castle as it was in 1616, is given. The demesne consisted of nearly 1,000 English acres, according to Davis, who (*Historical Tracts*), gives the following interesting account of the mensal lands of the Maguire of his day (1600).

"Touching M'Guyre's mensal lands, which were free from all common charges and contributions of the country, because they yielded a large proportion of butter and meal and other provisions for M'Guyre's table. Albeit the jury and other inhabitants did set forth these mensal lands in certainty, which lying in several baronies, did not in quantity exceed four Ballibetaghs (*see* pp. 196-7),[1] the greatest thereof, being in the possession of one M'Manus and

[1] Vol. I.

his Sept. Touching the certainty of the duties or provisions yielded unto M'Guyre, out of these mensal lands, they referred themselves unto an old parchment roll, which they call an indenture, remaining in the hands of one, O'Brislan, a Chronicler and principal Brehon of that country, whereupon, O'Brislan was sent for, who lived not far from the camp, but was so aged and decrepit as he was scarce able to repair unto us. When he was come, we demanded of him the sight of that ancient roll, wherein, as we were informed, not only the certainty of M'Guyre's mensal duties did appear, but also the particular rents and other services which were answered to M'Guyre, out of every part of the country. The old man seeming to be much troubled with this demand, made answer that he had such a roll in his keeping before the war, but that in the late rebellion it was burned, among other of his papers and books, by some English Soldiers.

"We were told by some that this was not true; for they affirmed they had seen the roll in his hands since the war. Thereupon, my Lord Chancellor (being then present with us) did minister an oath unto him, and gave him a very serious charge to inform us truly what was become of the roll. The poor old man, fetching a deep sigh, confessed that he knew where the roll was, but that it was dearer to him than his life; and therefore he would never deliver it out of his hands, unless my Lord Chancellor

would take the like oath, that the roll should be restored to him again. My Lord Chancellor, smiling, gave him his word and his hand, that the roll should be restored unto him again if he would suffer us to take a view and a copy thereof. And thereupon, the old Brehon drew the roll out of his bosom, where he did continually bear it about him. It was not very large, but it was written on both sides in a fair Irish character; howbeit some part of the writing was worn and defaced with time and ill keeping. We caused it forthwith to be translated into English, and then we perceived how many vessels of butter, and how many measures of meal and how many porks did arise unto M'Guyre, out of his mensal lands . . . The quantity thereof, though it were great, in respect of the lands out of which these provisions were taken, which being laid together, did not exceed four Ballibetaghs, as I have said, yet such commodities in those parts are of little or no value. M'Guire had 240 beeves, or thereabouts, paid to him yearly out of all the seven baronies, and about the Castle of Enniskillen, he had almost a Ballibetagh of land which he manured with his own churls, and this was M'Guyre's whole estate in certainty, for in right he had no more, and in time of peace he did exact no more.

"Concerning the free lands . . . possessed by the Irish officers of this country, viz:—chroniclers,

gallowglasses and rimers, the entire quantity of it, laid together, as it is scattered in sundry baronies, doth well nigh make two Ballibetaghs and no more." In the territory there were over 200 freeholders.

"The natives," he adds, "of this country are reputed the worst swordsmen of the North, being rather inclined to be scholars, or husbandmen, then to be kerne, or men of action." They are thus satirized by Angus O'Daly :—

"The men of Fermanagh though certes no fools
Are a race that search bread crums as ducks search
the pools,
Of all shabby acts, I know nothing forlorner,
Than their practice of hiding the cake in the corner."

In 1440, O'Donnell, Naghten, made his submission on succeeding his brother, Nial Garve, who died the previous year in the Isle of Man, where he had been brought captive by the English after his defeat by Stanly the Deputy, in 1435.

Naghten now surrendered the territory of Cinel Main, with Castlefinn and Inishowen, which were held for some years by Henry.

In 1442 O'Neill of Clannaboy invaded M'Quillan, who had routed O'Kane with the loss of thirty-two men ; but he was prevented from chastising him by Owen, "who rose up to assist M'Quillan."

The Prince of Clannaboy—Hugh Boy—judging by the records of his death, was, without exception, the

most popular of the Ulster princes of his time; and had it not been for his untimely death two years later, he would most probably have succeeded Owen in the Kingship. Owen was well aware of this, which was the secret of the great enmity which he bore to the Clannaboy, whom, as the *Annals* record, he made a determined attempt to destroy after Hugh's death, which is thus given in the *Four Masters*: "A.D. 1444. Hugh Boy, the son of Brian Ballagh O'Neill, Roydamna of Ireland (and Ulster), the most renowned, hospitable, and valourous of the princes of Ireland in his time; and who had planted more of the lands of the English in despite of them, than any other man of his day, was wounded by the cast of a javelin in Iveagh; and he continued in the agonies of death for 24 days, *i.e.* from Spy Wednesday to the second day of summer, when he expired on Saturday precisely, having vanquished the world and the devil."

This passage is given in M'Firbis's *Annals:* "A.D. 1444, Aedh Boy FitzBrian Ballagh O'Neill, who was thought (fit) to be King of Ireland, and the most famous prince, and the liberalest, and hardiest in martial deeds, and the only man (in his own days) that most planted of English lands against their wills, that was in Ireland was, by one cast of a spear, killed in Magennis's country, of whose wound being sick for 25 days space, that is the Wednesday in which Christ was betrayed, until the Saturday the

2nd of May; and we never heard since Christ was betrayed in such a day of a better man." Hugh, according to M'Firbis, was at war with Magennis, whom in the beginning of the year he took prisoner, and forced to surrender his castle, 200 kerne, as well as pledges or prisoners.

He married Finola, widow of Nial Garv O'Donnell, and daughter of Calvagh More O'Connor Faly, whose father, Murrough, founded the Franciscan Convent at Killeigh, where he was buried in 1458. Finola retired to the nunnery there in 1447, "after," M'Firbis says, "renouncing all wordly vanities," and "embracing the eternal glory which God reserves for his blessed angels, virgins, widows, and saints." "The blessings of guests and strangers, and poor and rich of both poet-philosophers and archi-poet-philosophers," he adds, "be on her in that life." Her death is recorded in the *Annals* 46 years later.

In M'Firbis's *Annals* many remarkable traits are given of Finola's mother, Margaret, daughter of Thady O'Carroll, Chief of Ely, and Joan, daughter of the Earl of Ormond. She made a pilgrimage to the Shrine of St. James at Compostella, and gave two great feasts to the *literati* of Ireland, which are thus mentioned by M'Firbis in the notice of her death:—

"A.D. 1451. A gracious year this year was, though the glory and solace of the Irish was set; but the glory of heaven was amplified and extolled therein.

And although this is a year of grace (Jubilee) with the Roman Church, it is an ungracious and inglorious year to all the learned of Ireland, both philosophers, poets, guests, strangers, religious persons, soldiers, mendicant or poorer orders, and to all manner and sorts of the poor in Ireland, also for the general support of their maintenances decease, to wit, Margaret, daughter of Thady O'Carrol, King of Ely, O'Conor Faly, Calvagh's wife. . . . It was she that twice in one year proclaimed to, and commonly invited (in the dark days of the year, to wit, on the feast of Da Sinchell in Killachy), all persons, both Irish and Scottish, or rather Albaines, to two general feasts of bestowing both meat and moneys, with all manner of gifts, whereunto gathered to receive gifts, the number of two thousand and seven hundred persons, besides gamesters and poor men, as it was recorded in a roll to that purpose, and that accompt was made thus, *ut vidimus*, namely, the Chieftains of the learned Irish, was by Gilla-na-naomh Mac Egan's hand, written in that roll, the chief Judge to O'Connor, and his adherents and kinsmen, so that the aforesaid number, 2,700, was listed in that roll with the Arts of Dan, or poetry, music or antiquity. And Maelin O'Maelconry, one of the chief learned of Connaught, was the first written in that roll, and first paid and dieted, or set to supper, and those of his name after him, and soforth.

"Everyone as he was paid was written in that roll, for fear of mistake, and set down to eat afterwards. And Margaret on the garrots of the great Church of Da Sinchell (at Killeigh), clad in cloth of gold, her dearest friends about her the clergy and judge (brehons) too, Calvagh himself on horseback, by the Churches outward side, to the end that all things might be done orderly, and each one served successively. And first of all she gave two chalices of gold as offerings that day on the altar of God Almighty, and she also caused to nurse or foster two young orphans. But so it was. We never saw nor heard neither the like of that day, nor comparable to its glory and solace. And she gave the second inviting proclamation to every one that came not that day on the feast of the Assumption of our Blessed Lady Mary in harvest, at or in, the Rath Imayn (Rathangan), and so we have been informed that that second day in Rath Imayn was nothing inferior to the first day. And she was the only woman that made most of preparing high-ways, and erecting bridges, churches, and mass-books, and all manner of things profitable to serve God and her soul, and not that only, but while the world stands, her very many gifts to the Irish and Scottish nations shall never be numbered. God's blessing, the blessing of all Saints from Jerusalem to Inis-Gluair be on her going to heaven, and blessed be he that will read and hear this, for blessing her

soul. Cursed be that sore in her breast that killed Margaret." She had a son, Conn O'Conor, who was elected "in his father's place before he was buried."

Hugh Boy, by Conn's sister, Finola, left a son and heir, another Conn, a minor, who succeeded his uncle, Murtagh Roe, the now Chief, who was compelled to make "full peace" with Hugh Boy in 1443.

Hugh's popularity, as remarked, was a menace to Owen and his son Henry, who after Hugh's death, "marched with a numerous army to plunder and destroy the Clan Hugh Boy." [1]

Murtagh Roe, however, with his brother Henry, and M'Quillan, and other auxiliaries, assembled to oppose him in Dufferin, where he cut a passage through the wood in the direction in which he conceived Owen would appear. Owen took the bait, and led his men through the passage, where he was trapped by Murtagh, who slew M'Donnell of the Gallowglasses. Owen surrendered unconditionally "and delivered up to the sons of Mac O'Neill Boy, all such hostages as they chose to select, namely, Hugh (of the Fews), the son of O'Neill, the son of Henry O'Neill, the son of M'Mahon, the son of O'Mellan and fifteen other hostages besides." He then took his way homeward "in sorrow and disgrace."

To retrieve his reputation he soon after marched

[1] *Four Masters.*

against the English of the plain of Oriel, and exacted from the townsmen of Dundalk prompt payment of his tribute of sixty marks and two tuns of wine, "as a recompense," says M'Firbis, "for not burning the town." From the settlers of the county he received "a great reward for making peace for half a year."

On this expedition his grandson, Brian, son of Donal, was killed "by one cast of a stone," and Edmund M'Mahon, with many of his men, was taken prisoner, but released.

Considering how reduced the English were at this period, it is surprising that the Ulster princes—the O'Neills—made no serious attempt to expel them altogether from the island like some of their predecessors, in the 13th and 14th centuries, who had accomplished so much in that direction under far less favourable circumstances.

To such forces as they could command, Father D'Alton believes, "an army of 200 men could offer no effectual resistance, and this was as large a force as the Pale could supply. (*a*) Like an old crumbling ruin the whole structure of English authority was tottering to its fall, and one vigorous blow would have levelled it with the dust, but the blow was not given." The opportunity was come. Yet .there is little reason to think that much could have been made of it, considering the conduct of the Irish Chiefs in the reigns of Brian

of Down, of Shane, and of his great successor, Hugh.

Being no longer a power, the English were possibly viewed in a different light to what they were formerly; and the O'Neills doubtless felt satisfied with their position as provincial kings, and the tribute which they received in recognition of their supremacy from the English, clergy and laity, as well as their monarchs, whose "donative" is referred to further on.

The settlers were now confined to Louth, or Uriel, as it was styled by the English, and in this century were driven from Monaghan and Armagh. They held about one-fourth of the former county, now included in the Barony of Farney, which the M'Mahons occupied in the reign of Nial Oge. In 1402-4 the Deputy, making a virtue of necessity, granted these lands to Eochy M'Mahon at the rent of £10. Shirley, the Historian of Monaghan, gives an account of this territory in his *Dominion of Farney in the Province and Earldom of Ulster.*

Owen about this time recovered an extensive tract in Armagh, called the Fews, which was held by the descendants of his son Hugh, the first Chief, down to the 17th century.

This territory, now included in the Baronies of Armagh, and Upper and Lower Fews in Co. Armagh, extended to within a few miles of Dundalk, where it

[1] M'Geoghegan: *History of Ireland.*

appears to have been defended by a fortress. It formerly, it appears, belonged to the O'Hanlons, but the English must have rendered it debatable ground, as in 1450, an act passed by the Palesmen "orders" O'Neill to evacuate the position which he held in the vicinity of Dundalk, and to remove with his men from certain lands of Bellew of the Rock, called the Fews, into which he had forcibly entered.[1] It appears to have formed part of the "plain of Oriel," which received such frequent visits from Owen.

There is no record of O'Hanlon suffering any loss of territory at this time, though an inquisition taken 10th July, 1588[2] recites that: "Fews was and is possessed by a sept of the O'Nialls, called the sept of Hugh M'Owen, which sept paid duties and services from time to time to O'Niall, Chief of the O'Nialls. By the space of 140 years last past, namely, from the coming of the said Hugh M'Owen O'Niall into Fews, who was the first of the O'Nialls who possessed it; and during the time aforesaid the said country of the Fews was reputed to be parcel of the said county of Tyrone, but before the time aforesaid, the jury say, by virtue of their oaths, that the aforesaid County of the Fews was parcel of the country called O'Hanlon's country, and not part of Tirone aforesaid." It was never satisfactorily settled, the terms on which these lands.

[1] *History of Dundalk.* [2] *Calendar of State Papers.*

should be held from O'Neill, who claimed his kinsman of the Fews as his sub-chief, like O'Cahan, and part of his territory as his demesne lands. Prince Hugh in his declaration of grievances in 1607, complains that the Fews, which had been enjoyed by his ancestors time out of mind, was given by the procurement of the Deputy to Sir Turlough M'Henry, the then Chief.

Camden says: "the Fewes heretofore belonging to Turlough M'Henry, of the family of O'Nial, is full of woods and impassable fens. It is a long ridge of mountainous waste."

The Chief maintained a force of about 600 horse and foot; and according to the *Description of Ireland*[1] in 1598, 50 horse and 200 foot, which is the same allowed to O'Hanlon, and, which as we have had occasion to remark, errs on the side of modesty.

North of the Fews was the territory of the Hy Niallan, now the Baronies of O'Neilland, east and west, the patrimony of the O'Niallans and their corelatives, the O'Brassils and M'Canns. West of the Fews was the ancient Tyrone, and the territory of the M'Mahons, and east, Orior, the patrimony of O'Hanlon, O'Neill's hereditary standard bearer, who is thus satirized by O'Daly:—

"O'Hanlon the tattered, I saw in the Glen,
Getting ready a dinner for Orior's thin men;
He was roasting it brown on two bars of a narrow
Old gridiron there: 'twas the leg of a sparrow,

[1] Edited by Fr. Hogan.

I called at his house next, but found it was shut,
It stands on the Mullagh, a cob-web-walled hut ;
Without milk, bread, or cattle, 'tis odd how the braggart,
Can boast as he does of his grain kine and haggart."

The head of the family in O'Daly's time was Sir Eochy of Tanderagee, who was considered so Irish that Spenser, in speaking of some great houses of the English in Ireland, said : " they are now grown as Irish as O'Hanlon's breech, as the proverb there is."

O'Hanlon chiefly resided at Tanderagee, where the Duke of Manchester now lives. He had another seat at Mullagh near Forkhill. Also one at Mullaghglass par., Killevy, in the same Barony.

In 1821, when George IV. visited Ireland, Colonel O'Hanlon, the then Chief, claimed, and was ceded, the office of hereditary royal standard bearer, north of the Boyne, In the *Dublin Penny Journal*, new series (1904), the history of this Sept is given by Mr. H. M. J. O'Hanlon.

Of Hugh, the now Chief of the Fews, who died in 1475, and his successors, we shall have more to say as we go along.

In 1446, Rory, son of Ardgal More M'Mahon, son of Brian More, died,when his son, Hugh Roe " was elected his successor by O'Neill." Owen was married to a sister of this Rory, Catherine (*ob.* 1427), by whom he was father of Henry, Owen Oge, Hugh of the Fews, Donal (*ob.* 1432), Nial (*ob.* 1436), and other sons.

In 1449 Brian Oge, the unfortunate Chief of the Slut Henry, died; also Mor, daughter of Hugh, son of Philip Maguire of the Battle Axe, and wife of Art, son of Owen O'Neill. She was niece of Thomas Mor, or Gilla Duff, the Chief of Fermanagh, who died in 1429, and whose son was installed in his place.

In this year, too, Owen, son of John O'Reilly, Chief of Muntir Maelmora in East Breffny, died, when his son John was elected in his place, "by O'Neill and by the Sept of John O'Reilly." And on "thother" part M'Firbis says, Fergal O'Reilly was proclaimed Chief by the Sept of Mahon O'Reilly, and by the English under the Lord Deputy, and the Earl of Ormond, who were defeated with the loss of 40 or 60 men. Cathal O'Reilly, Chief of Breffny, who lived at this period, and died in 1467, left a son, John, his successor, who married, according to Burke (*Landed Gentry*), "Catherine, daughter of Con, son of Dowel (Donal ?) O'Neill, prince of Tryone."

About this time Owen made another attack on the Clannaboy, and inflicted "a sudden defeat" on their prince, Murtagh Roe, whose Constable, the son of Malmorey M'Sweeney, with Angus, son of M'Donnell of Scotland, and others, were slain; but in the following year Murtagh, joined by Owen, son of Brian Oge, Chief of the Slut Henry, routed a force under Nial, son of Owen, who had seized on preys, and who was slain with "two thrusts of a spear," by Owen M'Brian. He was interred at Armagh with great honour.

In 1450, the year of the Jubilee, M'Firbis records, many of the Irish went to Rome, including Maguire, and O'Flanagan of Tooragh, who died there.

In 1451 Margaret, daughter of Brian, son of Henry O'Neill, and wife of Rory Caech or the Blind, son of Thomas Mor Maguire, died.

In 1452 O'Donnell (Naghten) having fallen in a dispute with his nephews, Donal and Hugh Roe, sons of Nial Garve, his son, Rory, was elected through the influence of Henry, O'Neill's Tanist, who got half the territory for the sons of Nial; and for himself Cinel Main, and Inishowen, which he appears to have surrendered some time before.

In this year Owen led his men into the Fews to war on the English, who had invaded the territory. His son Owen Oge went ahead, and with some of the Maguires, made a foray into the English territory, from which he returned with a prey to the camp, where he was pursued by the English, joined by M'Mahon. In the battle which ensued, Sorly Mor M'Donnell, Constable of the Gallowglasses, and many others, were slain; but the English and their ally were driven off.

O'Neill was furious at the defection of M'Mahon, who however, repented, and came into the camp, when he was pardoned on paying an eric for the death of M'Donnell; and another for dishonouring his king.

This M'Mahon (Hugh Roe) died soon after, when his kinsman Felim, son of Brian, succeeded

In 1454 the Clannaboy suffered a great defeat from the English of Ulidia and Dublin under the Savages at Ardglass.

Some Welsh pirates having invaded Dublin with a fleet, and carried off the Archbishop, were pursued by the men of Dublin with another fleet to the north channel, off the coast of Antrim.

On landing at Ardglass, they were joined by the settlers south of Clannaboy, the Chief of which sent a force against them under his brother Henry, who was routed with the loss of 520 of his men, including Culadh Roe, Tanist of Iveagh, son of Caffar Magennis ; Hugh Magennis ; M'Artan of Kinel Arty, and our captains from the territory of the Route.

Murtagh Roe must have underestimated the forces at the disposal of the citizens of Dublin, or he would doubtless have advanced against them with his whole strength. The Dubliners were valiant warriors, and did such good service against the Irish, that in 1487 Henry IV. granted their Mayors the privilege of bearing before them a gilded sword, in the same manner as the Mayors of London.

They, as remarked, could muster one or two thousand warriors, and on them the Deputies chiefly depended for their supplies.

In 1423-4 we read of the Mayor and citizens receiving £60 towards their expenses in accompanying with their forces, the Deputy against O'Neill and the Ulster Irish.

Harris, in his edition of Ware's *Antiquities*, and Leland (*History of Ireland*), assert on the authority of M'Firbis's *Annals*, that on the above occasion the Archbishop was taken prisoner by the Clannaboy, but they have totally mistaken the passage which refers to the Welsh, as stated above. (*b*).

Henry, who had been taken prisoner, and fettered, made his escape in the following year, about the same time that Owen resigned the sovereignty to his son Henry.

In the *Annals of Ulster* this is recorded: "A.D. 1455: O'Neill, that is Henry, son of Eoghan, son of Nial O'Neill, Junior, was made King this year over Ulster, a month before Lammas precisely. O'Kane and Maguire and M'Mahon, and all the O'Neill Septs, and the successor of Patrick (Archbishop of Armagh), went with him to Tulach Og, and he was made King there by them honourably, by the will of God and men." In the following year we read of "a great tale in Ireland, this year, to wit O'Neill died, that is Eoghan, son of Nial Juinor, son of Nial Mor, namely father of Henry, The O'Neill." In Owen's reign flourished Brian Roe M'Namee, author of the poem of 156 verses showing that to the O'Neills belonged the sovereignty of Ireland. It reads: "Tara is every town where a king is," etc. O'Reilly (*Irish Writers*) remarks that a copy of this is "in the collection of John M'Namara, Esq."

NOTES.

(*a*) In 1474 under the government of the Earl of Kildare the nucleus of a small standing army was formed of 200 men. But the Pale could supply a good many more than that. Dublin alone, we believe, could muster one or 2,000 men. In the reign of Edward IV. (1461-83) the Mayor of Drogheda, at the head of 500 archers, and 200 pole-axe men, assisted in the defeat of the O'Reillys.—Lewis : *Topographical Dictionary*. The English barons, and towns outside the Pale, were as ready as ever to support the Deputy—against the Irish—who was strong enough in 1467 to attaint the Earls of Kildare and Desmond, and to have the latter executed.

(*b*) M'Firbis's account is as follows :—" A great defeat given to the sons of Aedh Boy O'Neill, at Ardglassy by the Savages and by the English of Dublin. A great fleet sailed on the sea northward, after the skippers of the Briton's, by whom the ships of Dublin were stolen, and by whom the Archbishop was taken prisoner, until misfortune brought them in their unhappy meeting to Ardglassy, wherein their General (*i.e.* the General of the Irish) was taken prisoner, namely Henry, sons son to O'Neill Boy, and wherein was slain Culadh fitz Cathbarr Magenis, that ought to be King of Iveagh in Ulster, Aedh Magennis, and Mac Airtnen, and fourteen Captains of Rowta Mac-evilin, with them also slaine, all their losses being 520 persons."—*The Annals of Ireland*, 1443-68, in the *Irish Archæological Miscellany*, Vol. I.

CHAPTER XVII.

HENRY, SON OF OWEN, KING OF ULSTER—CON, THE HOSPITABLE, SON OF HUGH BOY II., PRINCE OF CLANNABOY, A.D. 1456 TO 1483.

FROM an entry in the registry[1] of Archbishop Mey we learn some particulars of Henry's election. On the 4th of August, it appears, Owen, perceiving his bodily strength to fail, so that it was necessary that another should succeed to his care and lordship, his first-born son, Henry, was elected principal and captain of his nation in the presence of the Primate in the Archiepiscopal residence in Armagh Abbey.

The Primate, believing the Chief-elect to be a good man and useful for his Church and for the people of Ulster, ratified the said person so elected, as The O'Neill, principal of his nation, before all those assembled, as well clergy as laity, in very great numbers. He then accompanied him to Tullahoge, where he was crowned, "by the will of God and men," on the Leach-na-Righ. O'Reilly mentions an ode of 188 verses beginning "Thou hast obtained

[1] *Ulster Journal;* Lynch: *Feudal Dignities*

thy request, O Erin," and composed by Henry's Chief Bard, John O'Fialan, on this occasion, as being preserved in the collection of John M'Namara, Esq.

Primate Mey, who was succeeded by John Prene, was promoted in 1444 in succession to John Sweyn, whose predecessor Nicholas Fleming was appointed in 1404, on the death of Primate Colton, referred to in the reign of Donal.

Mey, as appears from the above, was duly received in Ulster on rendering to O'Neill a tribute of six yards of good cloth for his investiture, and three yards of like cloth for his lady's tunic, as well as a certain measure of coarse cloth.

In return for this recognition of his regal authority, O'Neill covenanted for himself, his brethren, kindred and subjects, to yield all assistance, and to show all favour to the lord Primate, to his Church, his officers, ministers and clerks, as well secular as regular. He likewise bound himself to preserve the liberties of the Church, to levy the primatial rents, and to impose no slavery on the Archbishop's clerks, tenants, etc.

On these conditions the English Archbishops of Armagh appear to have been received in Ulster after the death of Nicholas M'Maelissa in 1303. Henry's agreement, which is dated 14th November, was witnessed by, among others, his Chief Brehon, Arthur M'Cawell.

After his installation he proceeded to Tyrconnell to depose Donal, son of Nial Garve O'Donnell, who had assumed the Princedom, to the prejudice of the sons of Naghten, with whom Henry encamped at the Castle of Cuilmactrein, now Castleforward in Inishowen, near the Church of St. Baithen, whose feast was June 9th.

O'Donnell, with his brother Hugh Roe, and M'Sweeney of Fanad, came on horseback to view the camp as far as the green of the castle, where he was sighted by Turlough Roe and Rory, sons of Henry, who gave chase, slew O'Donnell, and captured Hugh Roe and M'Sweeney.

Turlough O'Donnell, surnamed the Carbrian, son of Naghten, was then installed, "and he gave large donations to O'Neill, and to his sons of Kings, and to his sub-kings, and favourites; and lordship was humbly granted to O'Neill from that out by O'Donnell." [1]

In 1458 Henry aided O'Donnell in extending his sway over Lower Connaught, carried off its hostages, and burned O'Rorke's Castle of Dromahaire in Leitrim, or West Breffny, on his refusing submission.

About this time died Henry's brother, Art, son of Owen. Art, by his wife, daughter of Hugh Maguire, whose death has been noted, was progenitor of the Slut Art, who held the Castle of Oghmagh, or Omagh, with the surrounding lands.

[1] *Annals of Ulster.*

In 1461 Hugh Roe O'Donnell, who had been released the previous year, was, in succession to Turlough, "made King over Tir Conal by O'Neill, and by the religious superiors of Tir Conail, unanimously, by the will of God and men."

Entries like this in the *Annals of Ulster*, or *Loch Ce*, it is curious to note, are omitted by the Four Masters, the Chief of whom, the O'Clerys, were bards to the O'Donnells, who at times claimed independence of the O'Neills. For this reason they refuse the title of King, or lord, of Ulster, to the Cinel Owen princes, as in later times the English refused to style them, The O'Neill, which the Act for extinguishing the name and title tells us, "in the judgments of the uncivil people of this realm, doth carry in itself so great a sovereignty as they suppose that all the Lords and people of Ulster should rather live in servitude to that name, than in subjection to the Crown of England."

So long as the O'Donnells ruled Tyrconnell there could be no O'Neill Kings of Ulster in the opinion of the Four Masters. They lay great stress on this; and though they are most careful to enumerate the territories over which the Cinel Conal princes happened to rule, or even claim sway at the time of their deaths, and had no scruple in styling them Lords of these territories—as Fermanagh, Cinel Enda, Cinel Main, and Inishowen,—they were conscience-stricken when they came to the O'Neills,

whom they felt bound to confine to Tyrone. Shane, who imprisoned O'Donnell, and assumed the Lordship of Tyrconnell was the nearest approach to a King of Ulster in their opinion; and "he might *with propriety* have been called the Provincial King of Ulster *were it not for the opposition of the English.*" Even the hated foreigner had as much right to the title as O'Neill!

In this year (1461) Henry's brother, Felim, died of a fit in his bed. He was "a man of hospitality and prowess, and head of the bardic bands and pilgrims of Ireland. One that most bought of poetry and erudite compositions; and he was the greatest rhymester that was in Ireland in his time, and sorrowful were the bardic bands of Ireland after him." The Four Masters say he had "a larger collection of poems than any other man of his time." At this period, according to O'Reilly, flourishd the bards Tiege Oge, son of Gillacolum O'Higgins, "first preceptor of the poets of Erin and Alba," and author of a poem of 144 verses on the mighty deeds of Nial Oge O'Neill; and John M'Namee, author of a poem of 296 verses on the death of the same prince.

In 1462 Henry was obliged to march against his nephews, sons of Art, who were joined by O'Donnell, whose territory of Fanad was wasted. The Slut Art revolted after their father's death, but when Henry arrived before their Castle "peace was made."

They appear to have been as turbulent as their neighbours, the Slut Henry, who in 1470 were driven to the protection of Con of Clannaboy, with whose assistance they invaded Tyrone, and defeated a detachment sent against them, under Rory Baccagh, son of Henry, whom they slew. The same day Rory's brother, Con More, went against them with another army, and gave them an overthrow, when Henry and Brian, sons of Art, and four of the Slut Henry, were executed.

Omagh, the fortress of the Slut Art, was then besieged. Sile or Sheela, daughter of Nial Garv O'Donnell, and wife of Nial M'Art, Chief of the Slut Art "was in the Castle with a body of troops. Nial himself and his brother had gone over to O'Donnell and the Cinel Conal, and O'Neill remained before the Castle from the beginning of Autumn to the end of Spring. The sons of Art afterwards came from Tir Conal to O'Neill, and delivered the town up to him; and he (O'Neill) gave it up to his son Con (More) and then returned to his own house." [1]

In 1463 "the King of the Saxons sent the donative unto O'Neill, Henry, son of Eoghan: to wit eight and forty yards of scarlet cloth and a collar of gold." [2]

This monarch Edward IV. was the son of Richard, Duke of York, who succeeded Mortimer as Earl of

[1] *Four Masters.* [2] *Annals of Ulster.*

March and Ulidia. He was Viceroy in 1449, when he returned to England to begin that struggle for the crown known as the "Wars of the Roses." After his defeat at Ludlow he retired to Dublin, whence he returned with a great force of English and Irish, some of whom were apparently supplied by Henry and the Prince of Clannaboy; for the *Book of Howth* says that: "During his government he so gained the hearts of the Irish nobility that divers of them, especially those of Ulster, Clandeboy, and the Glinnes and Ardes—which at that time was better inhabited by English than any part of Munster or Connaught—came over with him against Henry VI., to divers famous battles."

At Wakefield in 1460, where the Duke perished, 3,000 Irish are said to have been left on the field. His head, adorned with a paper crown, was fixed upon the walls of York; but his son, the above Edward, swept the Royalists before them in the following year at Mortimer's Cross, after which he was proclaimed King.

In 1463, Henry extended his sway over Thomond, when Tiege, son of Turlough O'Brien, accepted a stipend as a vassal.

From this it would appear that O'Neill's supremacy was now acknowledged over the West as well as the North of Ireland, and Meath, which was reduced by Owen some years before.

In 1464, O'Donnell having refused to give satis-

faction for the death of Conn O'Donnell, Henry, with the sons of Naghten, invaded his territory and burned the country as far as Ballyshannon, in the neighbourhood of which Brian, son of Conor Oge, son of Conor Roe Maguire, with twenty-seven others, were slain.

In the following year Henry's Queen, Gormly, daughter of M'Murrough Kavanagh, Prince of Leinster, died. Henry does not appear to have lived on good terms with this lady, as in 1452 we read of the Earl of Ormond inducing him to put away the daughter of M'William Burke, whom he had taken to wife after the death of her former husband, O'Donnell (Naghten) and "to take back to him again his own wedded wife, the daughter of M'Murrough, and the Earl's own step sister."

She was a daughter, or sister, of Donal M'Murrough Kavanagh, "Lord of all Leinster," surnamed Reagh or the Swarthy, who flourished about this time, and from whom the Kavanaghs of Borris, Co. Carlow—now represented by Walter M'Murrough Kavanagh, Esq., D.L.—descend.—See Burke's *Landed Gentry*.

At a meeting of the *Royal Archæological Society* for January, 1880, Dean Graves, by permission of the Marquis of Ormond, exhibited from the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle, an original deed by the above: "Donaldus Fuscus Kevanach Mac Morchu Dominus totius Lageniae," granting

8d. lawful money of England from every plough-land in his dominion to the Abbey of Duiske, founded on lands granted by O'Ryan of Idrone. This grant, by O'Ryan, was confirmed by the luckless Dermod M'Murrough, ancestor of the Kavanaghs. The foundation charter is in possession of the Marquis of Ormond.

The above deed is dated at Enniscorthy, April 3rd, 1471. Appended to it is a fine seal three inches in diameter, bearing within a quatrefoil a shield charged with a lion passant, with two crescents beneath, supported at each side by lions rampant, and above and below by demi angels with the legend: SIGILLVM DONAL MEIC MVRCHADA REGIS LAGENIE.

By this Gormly, Henry was father of Con More, his successor and Tanist; Donal; Henry Oge; Turlough Roe (*ob.* 1467), and other sons.

About this time his sister, Una, wife of M'Cawell of Cinel Farry, died, and in 1467 his kinsman, Owen M'Rory M'Mahon, who succeeded Felim M'Brian in the Lordship of Oriel the previous year. Owen was succeeded by his brother, Redmond.

In 1468 Conn, son of Hugh Boy O'Neill, of Clannaboy, who was now of age, led an army against his uncle Murtagh Roe, to battle for the Chieftainship, which Murtagh probably agreed to hold only during his minority, as he seems to have made some agreement with Conn's father, Hugh Boy, shortly before his death.

Conn, who was supported by most of the Clan, obliged Murtagh to seek refuge with the English of Lecale, who advanced to Benn-namha—the peak of the Cave—now Benvadigan near Belfast, where they were routed by Conn, who slew the son of their lord, Robert Savage. Many others, both English and Irish, were slain, including Ængus, son of Alexander M'Donnell. Murtagh himself was taken prisoner.

In the succeeding year "Mac-an-Sabhaoisigh," or Savage (Patrick Oge) was taken prisoner by the Whites, whose Chief, Patrick, by the aid of Conn, assumed the Lordship of Lecale, "and they banished all the Savages who survived." In later times, as observed, the Whites were given in exchange for this the Lordship of Dufferin, which at this time was held by a M'Quillan, who had taken sides against Conn. Conn set out to invade his territory; but he was opposed by Henry, who joined with M'Quillan and defeated him, taking prisoner his brother, Hugh Oge, his Constable M'Sweeney of the Wood, and Owen and John Roe M'Sweeney.

Art, son of Donal Cael, or the Slender, O'Neill, was slain, and the Castle of Sgathdeirge, now Sketrick Island in Strangford Lough, which commanded Dufferin, was taken and given to M'Quillan, after which Henry returned, "with triumph of victory and rout." The above Donal Cael had another son, Charles, mentioned in Prene's

Registry in 1441, with Hugh Boy, Murtagh Roe, and "Terentius Clericus O'Neill," as a principal parishioner of Ahoghill. He is styled Charles "filius Donaldi Gracilis."

In this year died John Bole, the Primate, who succeeded John Prene about the year 1458, in which year Henry "Captain of his nation," and "Prince of the Ulster Irish," granted and confirmed to him and his successors, and to the Church of Armagh, forever, all his lands and possessions in Moydoyn in his lordship of Moydoyn Clandawyll in the diocese of Armagh in honour of God, the Virgin Mary, and St. Patrick Apostle and Patron of Ireland, for the health of his soul and the soul of his parents, and for obtaining the special blessing of the Church of Armagh for ever. On the occasion of his making this grant he entertained the Archbishop to a splendid banquet in his fortress of Dungannon.

Moydoyn, from which Nial Oge addressed his letters to Richard II., is probably the modern Moydown, some miles south of Dungannon, near Moy.

Stuart (*History of Armagh*) remarks that the Church appears to have forgotten totally this donation, and the special blessings by which it was to have been commemorated.

About this time, Murtagh Roe, Prince of the Clannaboy, died, when (in 1471) Conn assumed the Chieftainship of Clannaboy, "and all its Chiefs came

and submitted to him," as M'Neill, M'Quillan, Henry, son of Brian Ballagh O'Neill, and others.

On hearing of Conn's accession Henry marched into Clannaboy to take its hostages. He first proceeded through Coill Ichtarach (*i.e.* the Lower Wood) now Killitragh in the Barony of Loughinsholin, Co. Derry, laying waste the land with fire and sword. Then he crossed Toome and went through the Feevagh (Fidhbadh) or woods, in the territory of the Clan Donal Don in the Barony of Toome, to Edenduffcarrick, Conn's fortress, or, as it is called, "the town of Conn, son of Hugh the Tawny." Here he remained two nights, and received the submission of Henry, son of Brian Ballagh, mentioned above. Felim, son of Murtagh Roe, and Brian, son of Niall Gallda, *i.e.* the Foreign or Anglicised, grandson of Brian Ballagh, "and obedience and homage was got from them all, and peace was established by him between them and M'Quillan."

From Conn's uncle, Niall Gallda, mentioned here, the O'Neills of Kilultagh derived their pedigree. They were known by the tribe-name of the Muntir na Coille Ultaigh—the family of the wood of Ulster. Niall's son Brian, whose death is recorded in 1493, was father of another Niall (*ob.* 1515), whose son, Cormac, is referred to in the reign of Henry, King of Ulster, and first prince of the Clannaboy.

Cormac was father of Nial, whose son, another Cormac, was father of Phelim Duff, who appears

to have succeeded Brian M'Art, a nephew of the Earl of Tyrone, in the Chieftainship.—See *Calendar of State Papers*, 1575-84; M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus*, pp. 36, 292; and M'Firbis's *Pedigrees*, p. 121. In Kilultagh were the castles of Lisnagarvey and Portmore. North of the latter was the priory of Dundesart in the parish of Killead near the Crumlin river. The ruins, 60 feet long, and 25 feet wide, are situated on top of the old fort with its double entrenchment, faced in front with stones, and paved over the top. In cleaning the trench several articles were found, including a gold brooch six inches long with a swivel on top, and silver coins with a cross on one side and an impression not intelligible on the other. In the interior of the intrenchment was an ancient burying-place, wherein were several human skeletons enclosed in oak coffins, others were found coffinless in the priory, from which it is supposed that it was levelled by the English in 1641 on the people, a cannon ball having been found near the house. All the Churches in this district are said to have been destroyed by the English in the 16th and 17th centuries.—*Survey of Antrim.*

We cannot say who exactly the above "Henry, son of Brian Ballagh," was, as in the *Annals of Ulster* the death is recorded in 1465 of another "Henry, son of Brian Ballagh O'Neill." Perhaps this is a mistake, and that it is Conn's uncle, Henry, son of Brian Ballagh, who is referred to.

Brian Ballagh appears to have been the progenitor of the Muntir na Coille Ichtarach—the Family of the Lower Wood. Con or Conladh, son of Brian, was father of Nial Carragh, father of Eoghan, father of Felim, father of Nial Carragh.

The above is the first mention of Edenduffcarrick, north of Lough Neagh, the remains of which are still in possession of the representatives of Shane, great-greatson of Conn, from whom it got its modern name of Shane's Castle.

From the ruins which remain it is evident that it was a fine spacious building. The vaults, which are still entire, and extend to the very verge of the lake, merit particular notice. Several turrets and towers are still standing, and from their tops a fine view of the interesting scenery, amid which the ruins lie, may be obtained. A number of cannon, are, or were, mounted on the fort which is boldly situated. Early in the last century (1815) it was destroyed by fire, but restored by Lord O'Neill. It has still the advantage of being clothed with its native woods. The oaks are numerous and very fine.

The following lively representation of the feelings which this romantic scene is calculated to awake is taken from a very interesting paper read before the Natural History Society of Belfast in 1824 by R. Patterson, Esq. :—

"It fills one with melancholy ideas of departed grandeur, where the stately pile has gradually

crumbled beneath the touch of time, where the fox-glove, the moss, the lichen, the thistle, the long luxuriant grass and the ever verdant ivy :—

> Group their wild hulls with every stain,
> The weather-beaten walls retain.

The moralist may find a pleasing object of contemplation, the painter a glowing subject for his pencil, but here where the ruin is not sufficiently old for this, where time has not brought the fall, where the white walls stained occasionally by the dark smoke-wreaths alone meet the eye—one cannot but deplore the untimely fall of the noble and venerable palace. Some slips of ivy have been planted about it, but as yet the cultivated spots around render only more striking the ruined mass in the centre."

Close to the castle, which is pictured in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, and in Miss Adams' work,[1] stood the town or village, which was removed in the last century, and the inhabitants accommodated on other parts of the demesne. Not a vestige of it now remains.

This was Conn's capital, as Dungannon was the capital of his kinsman Henry, and here doubtless he gave those sumptuous feasts which earned for him the title of Con an Einigh—the Hospitable, or "Conn of the Recognitions;" for he was "generous, welcoming, and princely, and one who recognized every man."

Castles of Ireland.

The town, marked on Mercator's Map, like all ancient towns, was built close to the castle, and was inhabited by his servants and employees, as smiths, carpenters, workers in leather, bakers, butchers, tailors, harness-makers, armourers and other craftsmen, who had their dwellings built side by side for the safety that lies in numbers.

Many modern towns and villages owe their existence to the erection of the fortresses of the Chiefs as Lisnagarvey, now Lisburn; and Belfeirste or Belfast in Clannaboy; Omagh, Dungannon, and Strabane in Tyrone; Lifford, Ballyshannon, and Donegal in Cinel Conal; Enniskillen in Fermanagh; Muinechan, or Monaghan, in Oriel; Rathfriland in Iveagh, and Tanderagee in Orior.

The monasteries too, were responsible for a good many; but they were generally built near the forts, as Armagh, Clogher, Downpatrick, Maghera, and Derry, near Aileach.

Conn, after his installation, attempted to reinstate the Slut Art O'Neill, who had been driven to Clannaboy by Henry, with whom, as recorded, they were compelled to make peace, when they were restored to their possessions.

In 1471 Henry's brother, Murtagh, son of Owen O'Neill, died.

In the succeeding year Conn of Clannaboy marched into the Route with Godfrey O'Cahan, whose brother Rory, The O'Cahan, had been treacherously slain

there. In the engagement which ensued Godfrey himself "a man full of charity, hospitality, and nobleness," fell by the hand of Rory M'Quillan.

Conn was compelled to retire, but next day he brought his whole forces into the Route, defeated and slew M'Quillan (Cormac), and set up his brother or kinsman, Rory, who made an appointment for a conference with the O'Cahans. On landing, however, from his cott, or boat, at the mouth of the Bann, he was set upon by O'Cahan's followers, who drowned him in the river.

Soon after this a meeting and engagement took place between O'Neill (Henry) and O'Donnell; and O'Neill defeated O'Donnell easily and successfully, and a complete victory was obtained by him at the mouth of the ford of Castlemoyle, where M'Sweeny of Fanad (Malmorey) and many others fell..

Two years later O'Donnell again invaded Tyrone, and committed great depredations "upon the people of O'Neill, *i.e.* of Hugh Ballagh, the son of Donnell (Hugh M'Donnell)."

O'Neill (Henry), accompanied by Con of Clannaboy in return, marched into Tyrconnell and wasted Tir Hugh, in the south of Donegal, after which he "returned unharmed."

In 1475 Hugh, Chief of the Fews, "son of Eoghan, son of Nial O'Neill, Junior, died this year; to wit a man that was eminent for knowledge and for hospitality and for leadership."

Hugh left several sons, namely Art; Felim (*ob.* 1491); Culadh (*ob.* 1494); Tool (*ob.* 1475); Nial and Carbery (*ob.* 1495).

He was succeeded by his eldest son Art, who died in 1514. His son, Felim Roe, was father of Henry, surnamed na nGarthadh *i.e.* of the Cries, who married Joan, daughter of Conn Maguire, and widow of Mathew Baron of Dungannon, by whom he was father of Sir Turlough, the last Chief of the Fews, who died in 1639. The Marquis de la Granja of Seville, a lineal descendant of this Turlogh, is the present representative of the family.

In this year O'Neill (Henry) led an army against his kinsman Conn of Clannaboy who had taken prisoner Felim "grandson of O'Neill," apparently Felim of the Fews, and Savage of the Ards—who had placed himself under Henry's protection—shortly before.

On this occasion Conn's fortress of Belfast was taken and "broken," or dismantled. This castle, which was afterwards repaired, was built on or near the site of another castle said to have been held by the Mandevilles in 1300, and to have occupied the spot where St. George's Church now stands.

Benn, in his *History of Belfast*, gives a Map of the vicinity, drawn about the year 1570, in which the Castle is marked "Bellfaste." West and south of it was a great wood which bordered on the fortress of Castlereagh, marked a little over a mile to the S.W.

A note on the map informs us that along the Lagan for 26 miles "groweth much wood, as well oaks for timber, as other wood which may be brought in the Bay of Carrickfergus by boat or drag."

Lord Chancellor Cusack in a letter written in 1553 mentions these Castles. He says: "The country of Clandeboy is in woods and bogs for the greatest part, where lieth Knockfergus (Carrickfergus), and so to the Glinnes, where the Scots do inhabit. As much of the country as is near the sea is a Champion country of twenty miles in length, and not over four miles in breadth, or little more. The same Hugh (O'Neill) hath two castles, one called Bealefarst, an old castle standing upon a ford that leadeth from the Arde to Clandeboy, which being repaired, being now broken would be a good defence against the woods, and Knockfergus. The other called Castlellrioughe is four miles from Belfast, and standeth upon the plain in the midst of the woods of the Dufferin."

It was taken by Sir James Crofts the Deputy in 1551; but was restored in 1552; and in 1603 was granted to Sir A. Chichester, with the appurtenances, etc., situate "in the Lower Clandeboy." [1]

In Father M'Canna's *Itinerary*, edited by Dr. Reeves for the *Ulster Journal*, Vol. II., it is mentioned in 1643:—

"'Loch Laodh' (Belfast Lough) bounds either

[1] Benn: *History of Belfast.*

Clannaboy, at the head of which when the tide is out may be crossed a ford called Beall-fearst. Beside it formerly stood the Castle of the Lord of these territories, in the navel, as it were, and central point of the two regions. Previously to the present war that old Castle of the O'Neills was repaired by Lord Chichester, an Englishman, who made it his own residence. The town which is built there is no mean one, accessible to the inhabitants of either district, as well as from Scotland. From the Ford of which I have just spoken, it takes the name of Beall-ferst (the mouth of the ford), where the river empties itself which is called the river of the Lagan, or of the valley, which yields a plentiful supply of salmon, and divides in its course the two regions of Clannaboy on the North and South. The lands on either side of the river are pleasant and fertile." A French writer in 1672 says in this place "is a very fine Castle and two or three large streets as in a new built town." [1]

Not far from Belfast was the hill of Benvadegan, now Cave Hill, in the great cave of which in times of war was stored the treasures of Clannaboy. Lord Deputy Sussex in 1556 says "On the hill of Banne, Vadgane is a great cave, wherein is the treasure of the country of Clanneaboy." [2]

There are several caves on this hill, two recently discovered are extremely difficult of access, one 30 feet long by 20 broad and 10 high.

[1] *Idem.* [2] *Id.*

In 1479 the Slut Art again revolted, and with the Clan Felim betook themselves to Cinel Conal "to make war upon O'Neill," who followed them up, took Brian, son of Felim (of the Fews ?) Chief of the Clan Felim prisoner, and carried off their flocks and herds.

They returned, however, with O'Donnell, who resented O'Neill (Henry) favouring the sons of Naghten for the Tanistship of Tyrconnell.

On the Cinel Farry they committed great depredations, slaying Brian, son of Turlough Roe, Henry's grandson, and the son of M'Cawell, who attempted to oppose them.

Henry happened to be in the neighbourhood at the time with his sons and M'Cawell, whom he sent in pursuit. They slew the son of Art O'Neill, a distinguished Captain, who was along with O'Donnell, who "held a conference with the sons of Naghten and Conn (More) O'Neill," son of Henry, at Castlefinn, where peace was made, and the Tanistship was given to Egnechan, son of Naghten O'Donnell.

Soon after this Conn More was taken prisoner by his namesake of Clannaboy with Savage of the Ardes, whom he deprived of his Chieftainship.

Conn More was given into the custody of O'Donnell, who, notwithstanding the peace which he had made, held him captive, till after the death of the Prince of Clannaboy, which took place in 1482: "Conn,

son of Hugh Boy O'Neill, fountain of hospitality, and general patron of the literati of Ireland and Scotland, head of the war, and protector of the rights of his tribe, and Roydamna of the province, died." [1]

In the *Annals of Loch Ce* he is styled "the royal torch of the hospitality, humanity, liberality, and generosity of the entire North."

This Conn, "son of Aedh the Yellow, and grandson of Speckled Brian," was renowned for his hospitality, which is the subject of a poem by his bard, written on his return from a visit to his kinsmen in Alba :—

"A thousand welcomes to thee, O Conn!
To thee on the wave to thy own country,
O Son of Honour of the brown eyelids
O pleasant salmon of the Clan of Nial.
It was not cakelets that were in thy house;
But beef of spoils and ale;
Drinking of wine and exchanging of steeds,
The victory of thy race with thee, O Conn."

This, literal translation by Dr. Hyde, is thus paraphrased by Stuart (*History of Armagh*) :—

"Hail prince of Erin—HONOUR'S noblest son!
A thousand welcomes greet the dark eyed Conn!
Soft heave the waves—the breezes waft him o'er,
And give our Chieftain to his native shore.

[1] *Four Masters.*

O'Niall, offspring of a noble race,
In all thy acts a liberal soul we trace,
The heart of HOSPITALITY commands
Thy doors to open—wide the portals stand—
Enter, O people! 'tis no miser's hoard,
That crowns so sumptuously yon festive board;
But GENEROSITY whose hand divine
Bears the rich viands and laughing wine,
Tamer of steeds, O Con," etc.

Conn, like his grandmother, the Lady Margaret O'Conor, appears to have had a taste for building and improving; and an ancient bridge (*a*) which he erected over the stream, still known as "Conn's Water," yet stands. It led from his Castle of Belfast to Castlereagh. The ancient paved road to the Castle was to be seen down to the last century.

Knox (*History of Down*) states that a Map of this and other ancient Irish roads, which were paved like the Roman roads, "was made by Mr. Frazer, formerly Surveyor for Co. Down, exhibiting their course converging at the one spot on the Lagan, opposite the old Castle; but on recent examination of the place it appeared that they had all been removed in the construction of new streets.

In the townland of Cushendun in the Glyns is a small mound called Cruike-na-Dhuine, where, according to local tradition, O'Neill and O'Donnell fought in single combat. This doubtless refers to Conn, who in 1465, had some dispute with the M'Donnells,

when, the *Annals of Ulster* state, many of them were slain with their Chief, John, son of Alexander, son of John More M'Donnell, whose death alone is recorded by the Four Masters. "John, the son of Alexander, son of John More M'Donnell, was slain by Conn, the son of Hugh Boy O'Neill."

Conn was married to a lady of this family, Mary, daughter of Sir Donald Ballagh M'Donnell Lord of the Glyns and Cantyre, and great grand-daughter of the Princess Margaret Stuart, daughter of the Scottish Monarch Robert II., who succeeded David, son of Bruce.

By this lady (*b*)—"Mary, daughter of Domnall Mac Domnaill the Freckled, namely, wife of Conn, son of Aedh O'Neill the Tawny"—who died of the small pox in 1488, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, he was father of Nial More, Prince of Clannaboy; Art, mentioned in 1489; Donal and Owen (*ob.* 1509).

Conn, who was succeeded by his brother Hugh Oge, had a brother, Brian, who died of the small pox in 1488, and who, according to some, was the progenitor of the Clan Donal Don of the Bann side, of whom mention has been made.—See Dr. Reeves' paper in the *Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. VII., p. 163. According to M'Firbis Conn had another brother, Eoghan, progenitor of the Slut O'Neill, whose territory has been described in the reign of Henry, King of Ulster and Prince of the Clannaboy.

This Eoghan was father of Con, father of Eimhir, father of Felim, father of Tool, and Conn.—See M'Firbis, p. 121.

After Conn's death his kinsman, Con More, was released by his father, who paid a large ransom to O'Donnell, and the Clannaboy Prince, Hugh Oge. In the same year Henry resigned the crown in his favour and "he was inaugurated by the will of his father and all Tir Eoghan."

Henry's death is briefly recorded in the *Annals* six years later: "A.D. 1489, O'Neill, *i.e.* Henry, son of Eoghan, son of Nial O'Neill, Junior, died."

NOTES.

(*a*) This, formerly called "King Conn's Bridge," is now known as the King's Bridge.—*History of Belfast.* A drawing of it, and the ford of Belfast, is given in *Old Belfast.*

(*b*) In the M'Donnell Pedigrees—in the *Peerage* (*Earls of Antrim*); Hill's *M'Donnells of Antrim*, and Laing's *History of Scotland*—this marriage is reversed, and Conn is made the father-in-law of Donald Ballagh. There can be no better authority, however, than the *Annals of Ulster*, which were compiled at this time by Cathal Maguire at the isle of Senait in Lough Erne. He brings them up to 1498, the year in which he died of the small pox. They were continued by Rory O'Cassidy to 1541, and by others to 1604.

Sir Donal Ballagh, who died in 1476, in the 70th year of his age, was father of John of Islay, whose son Sir John, surnamed Cathanach, from having been fostered by the O'Cahans, was executed at Edinburgh. His son, Alexander, married a kinswoman, Katherine, daughter of John Mac Ian M'Donald, by whom he left five sons :—

1. James, married Agnes Campbell, daughter of Colin 4th Earl of Argyll; and was slain at Glenshesk in 1566.
2. Angus, slain, 1566.
3. Coll, whose great grandson was Sir Alexander M'Coll Kittoch, the celebrated warrior.
4. Sorly Boy, who dispossessed the M'Quillans of the Rout; and resided at Dunluce Castle. He married a daughter of Conn Baccagh, Prince and Earl of Tyrone, and by her (*ob.* 1590) was father of Randal, first Earl of Antrim.
5. Alexander Oge.

See Hill's *M'Donnells of Antrim.* The present Chief of the Clan Donnell—"Mac Domhnaill nan Eilean"—is Lord M'Donald of Skye, who descends from John, last Lord of the Isles, which title was forfeited about this time by rebellion, when M'Donald was given a peerage, the king appropriating the honours and prerogatives of the ancient dignity, which remained with the Scottish crown till the reign of James VI., when it became an appanage to that of Great Britain. It is at present one of the Scottish titles of the Prince of Wales.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CON MORE, PRINCE OF ULSTER, AND HIS BROTHERS, HENRY OGE AND DONAL.—HUGH OGE, PRINCE OF CLANNABOY.

CON had so many enemies to contend with, and had such difficulty in keeping them in check, that he never succeeded in establishing himself in the province like his father Henry, or his grandfather Owen, who at times could lord it over the men of Meath and Connaught, as well as Ulster.

Against O'Donnell and O'Neill of Clannaboy, who combined against him, he or his successors could no more than hold their own, so that from this period the Tyrone princes no longer figure as Lords Superior of the province, till the reign of Shane, who successfully tackled and reduced in turn his English, Irish, and Scottish enemies.

Together O'Donnell and O'Neill of Clannaboy now "proceeded directly on their march (without thanks to any enemy that was before them) on the way to Traghbhaile of Dundalk, and they plundered and burned the town (which was under Conn's protection). The Lord Justice (Conn's brother-in-law), the Earl of Kildare, with a great English army

pursued and overtook them. They, however, undauntedly sustained the attack of their powerful pursuers, routed them, and slew a great number of the English; but M'Quillan and the son of Turlogh Carragh O'Conor were killed on their own side. O'Donnell then parted with Hugh Oge, the son of Hugh Boy, who proceeded towards Trian Conghail. O'Donnell proceeded on his way through Tyrone until he arrived at the river of Abhann-Mhor (the Blackwater); and here his forces cut down and felled dense and impervious woods which impeded his progress on the brink of that river, so that he formed a free and open passage for the army through these woods. He ordered his army to construct a strong wicker bridge across the river, which being done, his whole army, both infantry and cavalry, crossed the stream without man or horse being drowned. They then let the bridge float down the stream, so that their enemies could only view them from the opposite side."—(*Four Masters.*)

Some think the Four Masters err in stating that O'Donnell passed through Tyrone before reaching the Blackwater, which bounds the present county; but they forget that Tyrone at this time included the Fews—a great part of Armagh—and extended to within a few miles of Dundalk. In the sixteenth century the whole of Armagh, except the Church lands and Orior, was included in Tyrone.—See *The Description of Ireland.*

Hugh Oge, the "Lord of Trian Conghail" and "royal heir of the descendants of Brian Ballagh," as he is styled, fell in an expedition against his tributaries of Lecale in 1485. He, who was succeeded by his nephew Nial More, son of Conn of the Recognitions, left three sons: Donal, Murtagh, and Ever, whose deaths are recorded with those of their kinsman Felim, son of Murtagh Roe, in 1497.

Hugh's nephew and successor, Nial More, had so much trouble with his own clansmen and tributaries, that O'Donnell, left to himself, was obliged to submit, when "a charitable and amicable peace was made."

In this year, Owen, son of Brian Carragh O'Neill, who slipped on the snow going from the town of O'Neill to his own house, died; also Colla M'Donnell, Constable of the Gallowglasses.

In 1486 Conn's uncles, John Boy and Brian, sons of Owen, son of Nial Oge, died. The former opposed his election as Tanist in 1480, when "an English army came into Tyrone with Conn O'Neill to take the castle of John Boy O'Neill (Kinnaird). The army consisted of the Earl of Kildare, the King of England's Deputy in Ireland, and the English of Meath. John Boy himself was in the castle, and kept and maintained the town in despite of the army, and the army returned; and John Boy O'Neill afterwards made peace with O'Neill."

His sons revolted after his death, when they were

taken by Conn and imprisoned with their Chief, Nial, whose two sons, Owen and Hugh, were afterwards hung. Before this, Nial was released by Conn, who brought him before "the castle of John Boy O'Neill in the expectation that he would obtain the castle of him"; but he was disappointed, and remained encamped around it "from the Feast of the Cross to the Feast of Mary, in the Autumn." Formal peace was at length agreed upon, by which Conn was to obtain the castle, but the Clann John Boy repenting, held on for some years longer, by forming an alliance with their neighbours Glasny and Brian M'Redmond M'Mahon. Conn, giving up all hopes of possessing himself of the castle, released Nial and his brother Henry in 1488.

In 1487 Conn marched to the assistance of the Chief of the Fews, and against the English of Louth, "and caused great conflagrations and injuries."

In 1489, the year in which his father died, he erected a Franciscan Friary near his fortress of Dungannon, which he richly endowed, with another founded, according to Ware, at Ballinesaggart. Perhaps this is the same Friary founded by Conn, the remains of which are yet to be seen in the parish of Errigal. The former, Lewis says (*Topog. Dict.*), was situated near the present distillery. Some fragments of it were remaining a few years since; but, like the castle, every vestige has now disappeared.

In 1621 Sir A. Chichester had a grant of "the

dissolved House of Franciscan Friars near Dungannon," with the towns and lands of Mullanehaye, Tanagh, Moylaboy, and Killnemaddie, "the estate of the said Friary."—*Old Belfast.*

In this year (1489), the O'Cahans being in arms, Geoffrey, the son of their chief—John, son of Aibne, son of Dermot—with many others, was taken prisoner by Conn in an expedition which he made against them. This John O'Cahan, the chief, who was succeeded by his brother Thomas, was father of Donogh, surnamed *An-einigh*, or the Affable, from whom the Mac Aneinighs, Mac Anenys, or M'Nenys (*a*) traced their descent.—*See* O'Hart.

John, it appears, had another son, Donal, father of Richard, who, by Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander M'Donnell of Antrim, left five sons: 1. Conbhach the Freckled; 2. John, ancestor of the Lords Kingston; 3. Donal, ancestor of the Keanes, Baronets, of Cappoquin, Co. Waterford, where they settled in 1738; 5. Magnus, ancestor of O'Cahan of the south of the Co. Derry.

John's father, Aibhne, or Evenie, mentioned in 1432, was the grandson of Cooey, who was taken prisoner by the English in 1376, at the battle of the Roe, which is the subject of the poem.(*b*)

Loud the signal shield resounded,
Shrill the horn of battle blew;
From the hill O'Cahan bounded,
And along the valley flew.

This Cooey, who died in 1385, was the grandson of Cooey na Gall, referred to in the reign of Hugh Boy, in the 13th century.

In 1491 O'Neill of Clannaboy (Nial More) suffered a defeat at the hands of a kinsman, Felim—the son apparently of his granduncle Murtagh Roe—when one of his chiefs, Geoffrey Mulcreeve, was slain, and Edenduffcarrick dismantled.

About the same time Conn More and O'Donnell were at loggerheads respecting the tribute of Inishowen and the territory of Cinel Main, held by O'Donnell, to whom he addressed the following missive :

" O'Donnell, Pay me my tribute, or if you don't——."

To which he replied :

" O'Neill, I owe you no tribute, and if I did——."

After much war and debate they submitted their differences to the Earl of Kildare, Conn's kinsman, for arbitration ; but they returned " without agreeing to terms of peace or armistice." The question of this tribute was, as remarked, long a bone of contention between O'Neill and O'Donnell, who held Inishowen and Kinel Main by charter at a certain rent. Sometimes O'Donnell forgot about the rent, and O'Neill overlooked the charter, and this gave rise to much bickering. In 1512 it is recorded that O'Neill relinquished his claim to the rent,

which his successor, Art, son of Con, demanded in the following year. Great war arose in consequence, and the opposing forces encamped opposite each other, when, "by the grace of the Holy Ghost and the advice of their Chieftains," peace was made and new charters were given by O'Neill to O'Donnell, (together with the confirmation of the old charters) of Kinel Main, Inishowen, and Fermanagh. O'Donnell, it appears, at that time claimed sway over part of Fermanagh, adjoining Cinel Conal.

In 1543 St. Leger and the Privy Council, to whom the question had been submitted for arbitration, decided as follows: "1. Whereas the Earl of Tyrone claims Inishowen, and because O'Donnell before the Lord Deputy and Council exhibited divers writings, confirmations, or releases of that Lordship made by O'Neill's ancestors to O'Donnell's ancestors, it is ordained that O'Donnell shall enjoy the dominion; 2. As to the Manor of Chinalmaghan (Cinel Main), the Earl and O'Donnell shall each hold his part of the same, according to the partition made thereof between them; 3. Whereas the Earl alleges that O'Donnell refuses to pay him an annual rent of 60 kine issuing out of the dominion of Inishowen, since the Earl submitted to the King, it is ordained that the Earl shall henceforth enjoy the said rent with all arrears."

From this it would appear that Inishowen, now held by O'Doherty, was finally ceded to the

O'Donnells some time in the 14th century. Nial Cualanagh, brother of Hugh Boy, appears to have been the last O'Neill Lord of Inishowen. Cinel Main was debatable ground, more often than not in possession of the Cinel Conal, who had their castles of Lifford and Castlefinn there. The rent of Inishowen was paid down to 1607.

Conn More had no sooner settled with O'Donnell than he was assailed by a party under his brother Henry Oge, whom he had left in charge of the territory, and who took him at a disadvantage, when he fell by the hand of Henry's son, Rory, in the tenth year of his reign (1493). Along with him fell Colla, son of Sorly Mor M'Donnell.

Conn, "the bestower of jewels and riches," who was interred with great pomp in the Friary of Dungannon, which he founded, left several sons, the chief of whom were :

1. Art Oge, Prince of Ulster, 1513-19. His son, Nial Oge, or Nial Conallagh (*ob.* 1544), Tanist to Conn Baccagh, was father of Turlough Luineach, or Leynagh, who succeeded Prince Shane in 1567.

2. John of Kinnaird, Art Oge's Tanist (*ob.* 1517), from whom descended the celebrated Phelim O'Neill of 1641.

3. Conn Baccagh, who succeeded Art Oge in 1519, and reigned 40 years, when his son Shane succeeded.

Conn More was twice married. By his first wife, of whom there is no record, he was father of Art Oge and other sons. His second wife, Elinor, daughter of Thos. Fitzgerald, seventh Earl of Kildare, (*c*) by Joan, daughter of the Earl of Desmond, was mother of John of Kinnaird, now Caledon; Conn Baccagh, Turlough and Judith or Joan (*né.* 1493, *ob.* 1534), wife of Manus O'Donnell. She was renowned for her hospitality and piety, and was buried in the Friary of Donegal with the O'Donnells.

On the occasion of his marriage with the above lady, Elinor, in 1480, an Act (19 & 20 Edw. IV., c. 8) was passed for the naturalization of Conn and his father "Harry" as Palesmen, a rather superfluous proceeding, considering that the privilege had been conferred on the family centuries before by an English monarch. It does not appear to have been very highly valued, and probably Conn and his kinsman Kildare, the Deputy, had forgotten all about it.

Some time in the 13th century The O'Neill, for himself and his sept, was given the benefit of the English laws, as a representative of the ancient Kings of Ireland, with O'Melaghlin of Meath, Chief of the Southern Hy Nials; O'Conor of Connaught, O'Brien of Thomond, and M'Murrough of Leinster. They were known to English lawyers as "the five bloods," and were, they say, the only Irish septs

entitled to sue in the English Courts (*see* Davis's *Discovery*). It was of little benefit to the O'Neills at least, who had no property in the Pale, save perhaps in early times, when the English had possession of Ulidia.

Some humble individuals of the name, however, living in the Pale, appear to have taken advantage of it; for in the 28th year of Edward III. we read of Simon Neal, of Clondalkin, Co, Dublin, claiming to sue in the English Courts as one of the five bloods, namely, of the O'Neills of Ulster, "who by grant of the ancestor of our lord the King" ought to enjoy "and do use English law and are esteemed freemen." Simon was probably of the sept of the O'Neills of Leinster, of the race of Cahir More, who held a little territory in Co. Carlow. There was another sept of the name of the line of Heber in Munster—the O'Neills of Tradry.

The feuds ensuing on Conn's death, and the struggles of the rival chiefs for supremacy, kept the province for years in a state of turmoil, exhausted its resources, and left it, as in the 12th century, an easy prey for the English.

As observed, till the accession of Shane, the power of the Cinel Owen princes declined, while that of the Cinel Conal, supported by the Clannaboy and the Scottish mercenaries—whom they first introduced in large numbers—rose in proportion, till at length they claimed, as the strongest, the sovereignty

of the province. By every means, questionable and unquestionable, they endeavoured to make good their claim; but the Cinel Owen again uniting in the reign of Shane, put an end to their hopes, so that sooner than take their accustomed place under O'Neill, they joined with the English, whose staunchest allies they became till the reign of Hugh Roe, who was the first to join with O'Neill against the English in 1593.

Donal, Conn's brother, who had been imprisoned for a week in the Castle of Monaghan, by the M'Mahons in 1492, was installed by O'Donnell (Hugh Roe) in opposition to Henry, who was set up by O'Cahan and O'Mellan of Donaghmore, the keeper of St. Patrick's Bell.

Donal, as the senior, is mentioned as the lawful Chief by the Annalists; but Henry was the strongest, and soon after they fought a battle, which is thus recorded by the *Four Masters:* "The two O'Neills, *i.e.*, Donal and Henry Oge, the two sons of Henry, son of Owen, fought a battle with each other at Glas Dromain, where Donal and his people were routed. In this battle was slain M'Donnell (*i.e.* Randal), Constable of O'Neill's Gallowglasses, and his three sons, Sorly, Rory, and Tuathal; Edmund, son of M'Donnell More, *i.e.*, son of Colla, son of Turlough, son of Gillespick; the son of Rory, son of Hugh Ballagh M'Donnell; Dowell and Donagh Oge, the two sons of Donagh M'Donnell; Edmond, son of

John Boy O'Neill; Hugh of Breffny, son of John, son of Art, with a great many others. Nial, son of John Boy O'Neill; Hugh, son of Donal, son of Henry O'Neill, and many others, were taken prisoners in this battle."

While it was in progress O'Donnell, with an eye to his own aggrandisement, hurriedly collected his forces, and, accompanied by his sons, Conn and Hugh Oge, marched into Connaught to secure the aid of the chiefs of that province. "He was joined by O'Rorke and by Donal, son of Owen O'Conor, Lord of Lower Connaught," with whom he proceeded eastwards to Clannaboy, where he received support from his son-in-law, Nial More, the Chief. From Clannaboy he marched into Lecale and through Iveagh and Orior, ravaging and plundering every territory through which he passed that was hostile to him.

In the meantime Henry Oge, joined by M'Mahon and Magennis, marched into Ulidia to give him battle, and overtook him at Beann Boirche, or the Mourne Mountains, south of Iveagh, where he encompassed him in the van and rear. O'Donnell, however, led his men safely through the pass, but on reaching a level plain, a sanguinary and obstinate battle was fought, when Henry was routed. The Cinel Conal encamped on the field, and on the morrow proceeded to their homes "after having gained victory and sway over every territory through which they passed."

This event is recorded at length by the Four Masters, the O'Donnell historians, who say nothing of that chief's shabbiness in deserting Donal—whom he had inaugurated—and taking advantage of his defeat to gain "victory and sway" for himself. They magnify the forces at Henry's disposal into "a numerous army" and "countless host," though it only included a section of the Cinel Owen, with the M'Mahons, Magennises, and O'Hanlons, opposed to whom were the whole forces of Cinel Conal; of Lower Connaught—under O'Conor Roe, O'Conor Don, MacWilliam Burke of Clanrickard, and M'Dermott of Moylurg;—and of West Breffny, under O'Rorke, not to mention a force of the Maguires of Fermanagh, and, we may be sure, of the O'Neills of Clannaboy.

In 1495 Henry, with his allies, marched against Maguire, who adhered to Donal, and who obliged him "to give him his own terms of peace."

Two years later, after great depredations had been committed, "the two O'Neills" made peace. Donal, despairing of success, surrendered his rights, when, in consideration, he received from his rival "great gifts in steeds and armour" with his son Hugh, who had been taken prisoner in the first contest.

Henry had still to reckon with the sons of the late Prince, Con Mor, who were not inclined to let him rest.

In 1496 his chief, M'Mahon, Hugh Oge, son of

Hugh Roe, died, when Brian M'Redmond took his place. Hugh Roe, son of Rory, and grandson of Ardgal More M'Brian, was elected by O'Neill in 1446, and died in 1453. In 1467 his brother Redmond succeeded; and in 1484 the above Hugh Oge.

After making peace with Donal, Henry marched into Cinel Conal against O'Donnell and wasted Fanad. O'Donnell (Conn Oge), who had just been installed in succession to his father, Hugh, came against him; but he was routed and slain with 160 of his men at Belladary, near Rathmelton, where his brothers, Nial Garve and Donal, with M'Sweeny of Fanad and sixteen others were captured. On his way back, Henry took Castlederg in the territory of the Slut Art, and left it in possession of Nial O'Neill, after which he returned "with victory and spoils."

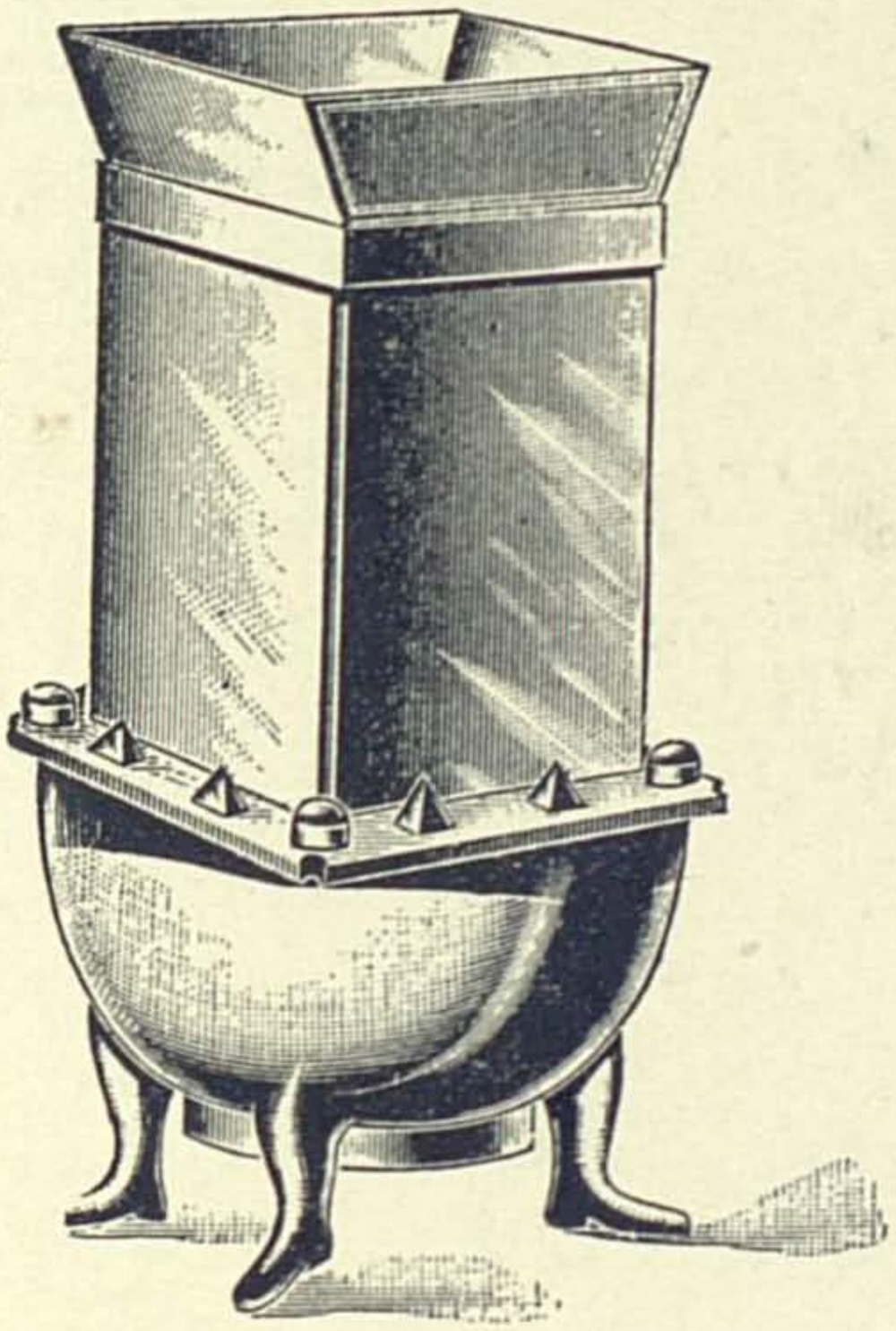
In 1498 his kinswoman, Sabia, daughter of Art O'Neill, and wife of Redmond, son of Philip M'Thomas Maguire, died. This Redmond was brother of Shane, or John, who succeeded his uncle Edmund, son of Thomas Oge, in 1488. Shane, son of Philip, son of Thomas Oge—who was buried in the monastery of Cavan in 1480—son of Thomas More, *alias* Gilladuff (*ob.* 1430), was married to another O'Neill, apparently Henry Oge's sister, for whom the celebrated Dunvegan Cup, mentioned by Sir Walter Scott in his *Lord of the Isles*, was made.

This mether, or drinking cup, is now treasured as an heirloom in the family of MacLeod of Dunvegan

Castle, on the northern coast of Skye. When the Irish Society of Antiquaries visited the castle a few years ago during a cruise in the Hebrides, the Chieftain himself received them, and exhibited the cup with great pride.

A model of it was lately exhibited by Messrs. Johnson of Grafton Street, Dublin, at the loan collection of modern work in the Kildare Street Museum. The upper part of the vessel, which is made of wood, is square, the lower changing to the ordinary shape of a drinking goblet. A flat silver rim, with interlaced knot work and small pyramids, marks where the change begins from the square to the circular form. It has four supports in the shape of human legs. The whole of the mounting is in silver, and it is elaborately ornamented with niello, gilding, silver filigree work, and freestone. Round the silver rim runs the inscription in contracted Latin : *Katherine Ni Nial, wife of Shane Maguire, Chief of Fermanagh, caused me to be made A.D.* 1493. *The eyes of all hope on thee, O Lord, and Thou givest them meat in due season.* Shane appears to have been succeeded by his son Conor, who fell in 1527, when his cousin Cuconnaught, son of Brian, and grandnephew of Shane, was inaugurated.

In 1498, O'Neill, Henry, who is described as "a man full of dignity and high prosperity," was slain in an affray with his nephews, sons of Con More, in the house of Art M'Hugh, Chief of the Fews, in Tuath



THE DUNVEGAN CUP.

Made for Katherine, daughter of O'Neill, and wife of
Shane MacGuire, Lord of Fermanagh,
A.D. 1493.

To face p. 394, Part II.

Eachadha, now the Barony of Armagh. On an old map of Ulster in the State Paper Office it is marked "To Aghie," the country of "Owen M'Hugh M'Neal M'Art O'Neill." This district gave name to the present Manor in the parish of Derrynoose. In 1609 an Inquisition finds that Sir Henry MacTirlogh O'Neill, Kt., held the district in virtue of a grant made to his ancestors by the Primate. It was included in the Fews, which was ruled alternately by the descendants of Neal More M'Art and his brother, Felim Roe M'Art M'Hugh.

After Henry's death, Donal proceeded to make good his claim to the supremacy, and to possess himself of Dungannon, the capital, which was in the hands of Henry's sons.

Accordingly he assembled his followers, and encamped at Cross Cavanagh, not far from the castle, where he was surprised by Henry's son, Felim, who was accompanied by Nial M'Art, Chief of the Slut Art, when his son Henry, M'Cawell (Gillpatrick) of Cinel Farry, and Felim M'Redmond M'Mahon were slain. Felim himself, however—Henry's son and Donal's nephew—was mortally wounded by the cast of a dart; but his brothers held the castle till, at the instance of O'Donnell, Hugh—who had reassumed the Chieftainship on the death of his son—Turlough, son of Con More, and Maguire, *i.e.*, Shane M'Philip, the Deputy, Kildare, brought his guns into play, when the fortress was

taken and given to Donal, who was now the recognized Chief. Henry's prisoners, Donal, son of O'Donnell, and Art Oge, son of Conn More, were released. After this they all—"foreigners and Gaedhill"—went towards the Castle of Omagh to take it from Nial M'Art; but he met them on the way and gave hostages, "to have his country and his castle." Before this, O'Donnell took Castlemoyle, in the territory of the Slut Henry, from which he carried off 17 suits of armour and 15 prisoners, including Felim and Hugh, sons of Henry Baccagh, son of Rory, son of Owen O'Neill.

The above was the first occasion on which firearms were employed in Ulster. Harris, in his *History of Dublin*, says that in 1489 "the first muskets or firearms that were perhaps ever seen in Ireland were brought to Dublin from Germany, and six of them, as a great rarity, were presented to Gerald, Earl of Kildare, the Deputy, which he put in the hands of his guards as they stood before his house in Thomas Court." To the introduction of firearms some attribute the downfall of the tribal system. A great gun, bound with hoops, and dug up near Dundalk in the 18th century, is pictured in Grose's *Antiquities*.

The Earl and his "great guns" were in much request in Ulster at this time. In 1500, at the instance of his nephews, and apparently without the consent of Donal, he besieged and took the Castle of Kinnaird from the sons of John Boy O'Neill, when

Turlough, son of Con More, got possession. Donal, who had no great love for his nephews, or their uncle, Kildare, retook the castle and deprived Turlough of his creaghts, which "gave rise to much war."

Cean Ard, *i.e.*, High Head, now Kinnaird, *alias* Caledon or Dromorrie, south of Dungannon, and about eight miles west of Armagh, is shown on the map of Ulster referred to by O'Donovan, close to the boundary of the territory of the M'Kennas of Trough, Co. Monaghan, and near a lake with a small island. The site of the castle is pointed out by the natives on a hill to the right of the road leading from the village to Aughnacloy.

According to tradition, the name was given to the castle from its loftiness, and O'Donovan says this seems true, as the hill on which it stood is not high enough to merit the appellation *Cean Ard*. The lake, shown on the map, is now nearly dried up.

On the castle, after Felim's death in 1650, the following was inscribed on a slab by some Sassenach :—

"These mouldering piles behold with reverend awe
Dire consequence of virtue's injured law.
Here proud O'Neill once placed his lofty seat,
A son of violence who was truly great.
There rose the towers, and here the palace stood,
Whose dreary courts were stained with guiltless blood.

But view these glories, sunk, disgraced, and gone,
And the vain rock of Phelim's power o'erthrown.
Such fate shall still on cruelty attend,
And pride and tyranny in ruin end."

The slab, according to a writer in the *Royal Arch. Journal*, 1883-4, was transferred to "Caledon Hill" demesne when the castle was demolished. Lord Caledon possesses or possessed a sword which was found near by. It was enclosed in a leather scabbard, and is supposed to have been of Spanish manufacture. On the blade appeared the word *Sahagon*. It was probably during Donal's absence at Kinnaird that O'Donnell, with Turlogh's brothers, invaded Tyrone, burned the crannoge of Loch Leary, with the town of Dungannon, and dismantled "the old castle."

Turlogh, who was "the best son of a lord of Ireland of his time," fell in the following year in Oriel, in aiding the sons of Redmond M'Mahon against their Chief, Rossa, son of Manus, and the descendants of Hugh Roe M'Mahon. In 1502 Donal's brother, Art, died; also Owen, son of Nial, son of Henry. This chief, surnamed the Poor (*Bocht*), left a son, Felim, whose death is thus recorded in the *Annals of Ulster*: "A.D. 1532, Fedlimidh, son of Eoghan O'Neill, the Poor, died: to wit, the man who took oaths that there would not come into Tir Eoghan in his lifetime a Connacian host of which he would not kill a man or horse, and that was fulfilled."

The Connacians at this time, as allies of O'Donnell, were frequent and by no means friendly visitors to Cinel Owen, the disturbed state of which and the weakness of Donal's rule encouraged the Clannaboy Prince—Nial More, son of Conn—to enter into a contest for supremacy.

NOTES.

(*a*) In 1745 died Patrick M'Neny, grandson of Col. Patrick, who was Secretary of State and War to the Emperor Charles VI., and whose sons filled high posts of honour in the Netherlands and Vienna.—M'Geoghegan. Count O'Neny of Brussels appears to have been of this sept. O'Brien, in his *Irish Dictionary*, states on the authority of O'Duggan, that his ancestors held Cinel Neny, in Tyrone, but we do not recollect to have seen this ourselves in O'Donovan's copy of O'Duggan's poem.

Another branch of the O'Cahans were the Monroes, of whom was the celebrated Scotch General of that name whom Owen Roe vanquished at Benburb.—*See* the *Irish Warr of* 1641-52.

(*b*) *See* Montgomery's *Specimens of Native Poetry*.

(*c*) Gerald More, the 8th Earl, brother to the Lady Elinor, died in 1513, and was succeeded by his son, Gerald Oge, who died in the Tower of London in 1534. Gerald Oge was father of Silken Thomas, 10th Earl. Gerald, 11th Earl, and Edward, the father of Gerald, the 14th Earl, from whom the Dukes of Leinster descend.—*See* Burke.

CHAPTER XIX.

NIAL MORE, PRINCE OF CLANNABOY, AND HIS DESCENDANTS.—ART MORE, GREATSON OF OWEN II., AND ART OGE, SON OF CON MORE, PRINCES OF ULSTER.—THE O'NEILLS OF KINNAIRD AND KILULTAGH.—A.D. 1503 TO 1519.

AT the head of a great army, which included his English tributaries and "Irish Confederates," Nial crossed the Bann at Toome, marched triumphantly through Cinel Owen, and returned through Iveagh to Clannaboy without meeting any opposition or losing a man.

Donal, who could command little more than a majority of the Cinel, was not in a position to dispute his progress; and on this occasion he might easily have made good his claim, but seeing the miserable state of the country, which had been harassed and wasted for the past ten years, he wisely decided on retiring.

Meanwhile the Deputy, Kildare, in his nephew's interest, and with the English and Irish of Leinster, marched against him into Clannaboy. Arriving at Carrickfergus, he set up "the son of the Sandal" as

Constable, and thence proceeded homewards by Belfast, where he demolished or dismantled the castle, from which the Chief of Kilulta was driven. In 1486 this castle was in possession of Nial More's uncle, when it was taken by Felim, son of Murtagh Roe O'Neill, with the Savages under Robert M'Seimicin, and Brian, son of Nial the Foreign, Chief of Kilulta, who appears to have been left in possession till now, when he advanced to Carrickfergus and defeated the English there, with the loss of many of their chiefs. This Brian, who was succeeded by his son Nial (*ob.* 1515), had a standing dispute with the English of Carrickfergus, who took him prisoner in 1492 with his son Ever.

In 1506 they captured Nial More himself, when he was detained till he gave sixteen hostages. On being released, however, he assembled his forces, stormed the town and citadel, released his hostages, and took captive the Mayor. The town, in which he erected a Franciscan Friary, where he was interred, remained in his possession till his death.

Soon after the above event, Donal, of Cinel Owen, and O'Donnell,—who had burned Dungannon, besieged the castle, and took Castlederg some time previously—made peace.

This O'Donnell, Hugh Oge, who succeeded his father, Hugh Roe, son of Nial Garve, in 1505, was a brother-in-law of the Prince of Clannaboy, with whose aid he became the most powerful Chief in the

province. His sway extended over north Connaught and a small part of Fermanagh, ordinarily. But he now not only claimed Lordship over O'Neill's tributaries, but actually possessed himself of a good slice of Tyrone adjoining Cinel Main, or at least rendered it debatable ground.

Donal, as remarked, could offer no effectual opposition; for he never got complete control over the Cinel. Even the members of his own household were disaffected, as appears from the following entry in the *Four Masters* under 1504: "A treacherous attack was made upon O'Neill (*i.e.* Donal) by Tiege O'Hagan and his sons in O'Neill's own castle of Dungannon, and they took the castle. But God took immediate vengeance on them for that act; for the castle was retaken from them, and Tiege and his sons were hanged, and his third son was maimed." This O'Hagan was evidently his Rechtaire—House Steward or Seneschal. There were several septs of the name in Tyrone, as appears from O'Duggan's poem.

In 1507 Donal's Ollave, M'Namee (Solomon, son of John, son of Solomon), "an adept in rhyming, general literature, and poetry," died. He was also a Biatagh, or keeper of a house of hospitality. (*a*) O'Donovan says a lineal descendant of this poet now lives in the village of Draperstown, Co. Derry. Some years later the *Annals* record the death of Solomon's brother, Ollave to Conn Baccagh.

In 1509 Donal, "a man who (of all the Irish chiefs) had destroyed most men; and about whom the most had been destroyed; and who carried on the most war and committed the most depredation in contending for the lordship until he finally gained it, died." Had the Annalists and Shanachies always expressed their opinions of these wars and depredations as frankly and impartially as this, the history of Ireland might well have been different. But unhappily they did not; and while the Four Masters have nothing but blame for Donal in pushing his lawful claims in the face of such opposition, they have nothing but praise for their O'Donnells, who, in their insane attempts to usurp the Lordship of the province, carried on more war and committed more depredations than a dozen Donals. After Donal's death, his Tanist, Art, son of Hugh Tanist of Cinel Owen, son of Owen Oge, brother of Henry, and son of Owen, was inaugurated. In 1507 the Annalists record the death of Henry, son of Hugh O'Neill, "an eminent leader and a person who had best knowledge of every science in his own time." He was evidently Art's brother.

Art is mentioned as Tanist of Cinel Owen in 1504, when he appeared at Knockdoe, on the side of the English, with O'Donnell, Magennis, M'Mahon, and O'Hanlon. He it was who objected to the presence of the English Bishops at the council of war, declaring that he understood it was the Bishops

duty "to pray, to preach and to make fair weather, and not to be privy to manslaughter." O'Conor Faly, at the same time, objected to the lawyers, expressing great contempt for pen and ink and "the weak and doubtful stomachs of learned men." They never, he added, gave good council in matters of war, "for they were always doubting and staying and persuading, more in frivolous and uncertain words, than Ector or Launcelot's doings." [1]

Art, the Annalists tell us, was elected without opposition, though he disappointed the sons of Con More, who, shortly before Donal's death, took possession of Dungannon, with the aid of the Earl of Kildare.

That Art should have been without an opponent, and in a position to restore the prestige of O'Neill in Ulster, was not at all pleasing to O'Donnell, who released Art Oge, Conn More's eldest son, from captivity, in the hope that he would prove a formidable rival to his namesake. He was disappointed, however, for Art Oge wisely submitted to his chief, from whom he accepted a taurcrec, or stipend, in token of his inferiority.

This Art Oge, according to the *Four Masters*, was treacherously taken prisoner in 1509, and delivered to O'Donnell by his kinsman and gossip (*b*), Art of the Castle of Omagh, son of Nial M'Art M'Owen O'Neill, who had invited him to his castle,

[1] *Book of Howth.*

which soon after,—doubtless at the instance of his brothers—was taken by the Earl of Kildare, who made prisoners of Turlough M'Nial M'Art and Owen Roe M'Sweeny.

Art M'Hugh being undisputed Prince of the Cinel Owen, now proceeded to make good his claim to the sovereignty of the province; and marching into Tyrconnell, he burned the vale of the Finn, and the country from the river Swilly northwards, and forced O'Doherty of Inishowen to give him hostages.

Manus, son of O'Donnell (Hugh Oge), who was at this time a pilgrim in Rome, attempted to oppose him, "but O'Neill passed on with his army from the mountain eastward, and returned to his home without prey or battle." O'Donnell was no match for him with his own forces of Cinel Conal; but soon afterwards he (Manus) hired 1,500 gallowglass mercenaries, and with these and the men of Lower Connaught and Fermanagh, he marched to Dungannon, where he obliged Art to forego the rents of Kinel Main, Inishowen, and all Fermanagh. After this, in the space of a week, he re-edified the Castle of Omagh, where he left a garrison, which was shortly afterwards driven out by Art Oge, who demolished the castle.

In 1512 Nial More of Clannaboy, Roydamna of Ulster, "son of Conn, son of Hugh Boy (II.), son of Brian Ballagh O'Neill, Lord of Trian Conghail, a man of general hospitality, exalter of the religious

orders and of the churches; a successful and triumphant man, who had not paid tribute to the Clan Neill, or Clan Daly (O'Donnells), or to the Deputy of the King of England—a man of very long prosperity and life; and a man well skilled in the sciences, both of history, poetry, and music, died on the 11th of April." Nial was a highly accomplished prince, and the *Annals of Ulster* call him "the ornament of the east of Ireland"; and add that he died in Carrickfergus "after communion and sacrifice; and he was buried honourably in the Monastery of the Friars Minors" there.

Nial, there is enough to show, was not undeserving of the praise bestowed on him by the Annalists. From him his chief poet, O'Gnive, the hereditary bard of the Clan, received large grants of land by letters patent.

The O'Gnives derived from Eoin, or John M'Donnell, surnamed Gniomhach, son of Angus More, Lord of the Isles. John of Dunfian, grandson of Eoin, was the first to assume the name Ua Gniomhach, or O'Gnive, now changed to Agnew. (*See* O'Hart's *Pedigrees*). The O'Gnives held the Castle of Ballygalley on the coast of Antrim and gave their name to Agnew's Hill in that neighbourhood, in Clannaboy.

In writing of the Church of St. Columba, founded and endowed by Nial, Father M'Canna, in his *Itinerary*, says: "Between Conor and the estuary

of Loch Laodh (Belfast Lough), which flows by the town of Carrickfergus and Belfast, is a church dedicated to St. Columba, which Nial O'Neill, Chief of Trian Conghail, endowed with valuable lands and many privileges. I saw the letters patent which the said Nial granted to his chief poet, wherein he styled himself Lord of Trian Conghail. The King of England also consented to the same, and those letters patent were read before the Council in Dublin, on which occasion the members present professed their admiration and high feeling of the great man who settled possessions of such worth on his chief poet and his descendants who should succeed him in the same calling." In 1679, Lhuyd informs us, he acquired from the then chief of the name some ancient Irish writings.

The above church of St. Columba stood on the spot marked on Speed's map "Columbkille."

The Monastery of Carrickfergus Nial re-edified and endowed in 1494, according to the *Four Masters*: "A.D. 1494. The monastery of the Friars in Carrickfergus was obtained for the Friars Minors de Observantia by rescript from Rome, at the instance of Nial, son of Conn, son of Hugh Boy O'Neill; and sixteen brothers of the family of Donegal took possession of it on the vigil of the first festival of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Autumn." According to Ware and Archdale, this monastery was originally founded for Friars Minors in 1232 by De Lacy.

Being within the English "sphere of influence," it suffered at the Reformation; and in 1552, when Nial's grandson, Hugh M'Nial Oge, submitted to the English monarch, he petitioned to have a lease of it from the king, that he might place two secular priests there for ministration of Divine Service, as his ancestors, he says, were buried there, and "in all the country there is not so meet a place for burial." This petition was granted, and doubtless he restored the monastery to its old proprietors.

In the reign of James I. Sir Arthur Chichester received a grant of this Friary, which grant was confirmed by patent in 1663. In this it is described as "the late Abbey, Monastery, or Priory of Carrickfergus, called St. Francis Pryorie, and lately named the Palace, with the site and all the estate thereof in the County of Carrickfergus." The site is now occupied by the county gaol. In the Stowe Library there is a volume of fifty-two pages, transcribed from an ancient MS. belonging to this house, which contains the lives of sixteen saints, written in Irish. At the end is the subscription: "Fr. Bonaventura Mac Dool Guardianus de Carrickfergus theologiae lector."—O'Conor: *Stowe Catalogue*, Vol. I., p. 158.

In the town or neighbourhood, according to Reeves (*Eccl. Antiq.*), there were several other religious houses, as St. Mary's Abbey, St. Nicholas's Church, St. John's, St. Mary's, St. Bridget's, Killyan, Carnrawsy, White Abbey, etc.

Near his "Castle of the Shrubbery"—Castlemoney—Nial (or some of his kinsmen) founded, about the year 1500, according to a MS. list of the Irish Franciscan Friars in the British Museum (No. 4814, p. 2), another house of the Order, which he endowed with the lands of Ballydonaghy. This was known as the Friary of Masaregna or Massareene, and from it the present Baronies were named.

The ground adjoining the town of Antrim at the other side of the bridge is still called Massareene, and here, Reeves states, in a fruit garden beside the Six-Mile Water, and adjoining Lord Massareene's demesne, is shown a trace of the old foundations of the Friary. The Inquisition of Antrim in 1605 finds that to this Friary belonged the townland of Ballydonagh and a parcel of thirty acres south of Owenna-view river; and that near it were the foundations of the castle called Castlemony, *alias* Cloghanambree, then nearly prostrate.

In Chichester's patent, referred to above, and given in Young's *Old Belfast*, it is mentioned as "the old religious House called the Friery of Massareene." Mention is also made of the fortress lately occupied by the (English) garrison there, and near surrounded by an old foss or ditch extending from Lough Neagh, near Owenview, *alias* Six-Mile Water. The little hamlet is pictured in Mr. Young's work.

In the reign of Nial's granduncle, Murtagh Roe, the Franciscans were installed in the Abbey of

Bangor in South Clannaboy, by direction of Pope Paul II. On this Abbey was dependant the Franciscan Friary of Hollywood, founded about the same time and endowed with five townlands.

Near the Friary of Massareene was the ancient monastery of Muckamore, founded originally by St. Colman Elo, an Hy Nial saint, in the 6th century. It flourished down to the close of the reign of Henry VIII., when Brian Boy O'Maghallan (? O'Mulholland), the last Prior, was found to be in possession of eight townlands around the monastery, as well as the Manor, etc., of Massareene.

Many years ago, it is said, two silver candlesticks were found here; and two golden tables, two feet long, and various other articles, besides money.

The ancient Registry of this house, written by Laurence, the Prior, in 1356, was extant in the time of Sir James Ware, who made some extracts from it, 25th February, 1624, which are preserved among his MSS. in the British Museum. They contain several grants of land from different donors.

This churchyard is still used; but the great part of the site of the priory is under the garden of "Muckamore House."

The Franciscans were much favoured in Ireland in the last century; and the Third Order counted well nigh fifty houses in various parts of the country, most of which were then erected. The Friars de Observantia was a reform of the Order established

in 1370 by St. Bernardine of Sienna.—*See* Rohrbachers *Hist. de l'Eglise*, Paris, 1872.

The Friars lived in common; observed strict discipline; discharged pastoral duties, such as attending the sick and dying; and devoted themselves to educating the youths of the circumjacent districts. The munificence of the Irish princes and chiefs enabled the monks to diffuse learning among the poorer classes, who were always addicted to booklore, as English writers like Campion and Spenser testify.

Nial More's lady was a kinswoman of his own, Ineen Duff, or the "Dark Damsel," daughter of O'Donnell (Hugh Roe) by his first wife, Nuala, daughter of O'Conor Faly. This Nuala was responsible for the erection of the celebrated Franciscan Friary of Donegal, where the Four Masters compiled their *Annals*.

They chose the monastery's site
Upon a bluff above the bay
Beside the Esk, streamed blue and bright
By wooded deeps and castles grey,
Into the fierce Atlantic spray.

The following is the story of its foundation, written in 1617, and paraphrased by Fr. Meehan (*Ir. Francisc. Mon.*): "It was in the year 1474, when the Franciscans were holding a provincial chapter in the monastery of Rosse Rial (now

Rosserely, Co. Galway), that Nuala O'Conor, daughter of O'Conor Faly, one of the most powerful of the Leinster Princes, and wife of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, came, accompanied by a brilliant following of noble ladies and a goodly escort of Kern and Gallowglasses, to present an humble memorial, to the assembled fathers. When the latter had duly considered the prayer of the Lady Nuala's memorial, they deputed the provincial to inform her that they could not comply with her request at that moment, but that at some future time they would cheerfully send a colony of Franciscans to the principality of Tyrconnell. 'What!' replied the princess, sorely pained by the refusal. 'I have journeyed one hundred miles to attain this object, which has long been dearest to my heart, and will you now venture to deny my prayer? If you do, beware of God's wrath; for I will appeal to His throne, and charge you with the loss of all the souls which your reluctance may cause to perish in the territory of Tyrconnell.' Earnest and energetic was the lady's pleading; so much so that she ultimately overcame the hesitation of the friars, some of whom professed themselves ready to accompany her to Tyrconnell. Proud of her success, the Lady Nuala then set out on her journey homewards, followed by a goodly number of Franciscans, who, when they arrived in the Barony of Tir Hugh, immediately commenced

building the far-famed monastery at the head of the lovely Bay of Donegal. The site indeed was happily chosen; and nothing could surpass the beauty of the prospect which it commanded. Hard by the windows of the refectory was the wharf where foreign ships took in their cargoes of hides, fish, wool, linen cloth, and folding; and there, too, came the galleons of Spain, laden with wine and armour in exchange for the merchandise which the Lord of Tyrconnell sent annually to Brabant marts, then the great emporium for the north of Europe. The Lady Nuala died before the building was finished, and good reason had the friars to cherish lasting remembrance of her piety and munificence. Her remains were interred in a vault which her widowed lord caused to be constructed almost under the grand altar; and he also determined that henceforth all his posterity should rest in the same crypt." Father Mooney tells us how, previous to the year 1600, when he was sacristan of the convent, he had under his charge forty sacerdotal garments, with everything pertaining thereto; many were of gold and silver texture, and even the least were of silk. The sacred vessels consisted of 16 chalices of silver of large dimensions, and two gilt ciboriums.

Art, son of Nial M'Art, Chief of the Slut Art, whose mother was an O'Donnell, was interred here in 1513; also Judith, daughter of Conn More, and wife of Manus O'Donnell. Lord Deputy Sydney,

DESCENT OF

THE O'NEILL KINGS OF ULSTER AND PRINCES OF TYRONE AND CLANNABOY,

FROM A.D. 1166 TO 1513.

HUGH O'NEILL, surnamed THE LAZY, succeeded his kinsman, Conor, son of Murkertac, King of Ireland, as Prince of Tyrone and King of Ulster in 1166. Slain 1177.

HUGH, THE BLACK, King of Ulster and Roydamna of Ireland, A.D. 1196 to 1230

DONAL OGE, King of Ulster, 1230-34

HUGH BOY I., King of Ulster, (*a quo* Clan Aedh Boy, or Clannaboy), 1260-83

BRIAN II., King of Ulster and Prince of the Clannaboy, 1291-5

HENRY, King of Ulster,—deposed by Hugh More 1344—and Prince of Clannaboy *ob.* 1347

MURKERTAC THE STRONG-MINDED, Prince of Clannaboy and Roydamna of Ulster. Succeeded his brother, Brian, 1369-95

BRIAN BALLAGH I., Prince of Clannaboy, and Roydamna of Ulster, 1395-1425

HUGH BOY II., Prince of Clannaboy, and Roydamna of Ulster, 1425-44

CON, THE HOSPITABLE, Prince of Clannaboy, and Roydamna of Ulster. Succeeded his uncle, Murkertac the Red, 1471. *Ob.* 1482

NIAL MORE, Prince of Clannaboy, and Roydamna and contender for the Sovereignty of Tyrone. Succeeded his uncle, Hugh Oge, 1485. *Ob.* 1513. *See* Table, Vol. III.

NIAL CUALANA, Lord of Innishowen and King of Ulster. Deposed Donal 1286. Sl. 1291

NIAL OGE, King of Ulster, 1397-1403

OWEN, King of Ulster, 1432-1455

HENRY, King of Ulster, 1455-83

CON MORE, Prince of Ulster, 1483-93. *See* Table, Vol. III.

NIAL THE RED, Roydamna of Ulster. *Ob.* 1223-5

BRIAN I., King of Ulster, and of "the Irish of Ireland." Sl. at the battle of Down, 1260

DONAL II., King of Ulster 1283-6 and 1295-1325, Crowned Edward Bruce

HUGH MORE, King of Ulster, 1344-64

NIAL MORE, King of Ulster 1364-97

HENRY THE CONTENTIOUS Roydamna of Ulster, *ob.* 1392

DONAL III., King of Ulster, 1403-32

OWEN OGE, Roydamna of Ulster

DONAL, Prince of Tyrone, 1498-1509

* *

HENRY OGE, Prince of Tyrone, 1493-8. Deposed his brother Donal

HUGH of the Fews, *a quo*. O'Neill of the Fews. *Ob.* 1475

HUGH, Tanist, father of Art, Prince of Tyrone, 1509-13

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writing in 1566, mentions the "fair groves, orchards, and gardens" around the monastery.

Hugh Roe, who built the Castle of Donegal, which Sydney says was "one of the greatest" he ever saw in Ireland, in the neighbourhood of the monastery, remarried in the same year (1474) with Fingalla, daughter of Conor O'Brien, Prince of Thomond, by whom he was father of his successor, Hugh Oge, the now Chief. The Lady Nuala was evidently the mother of Ineen Duff, whose death is recorded in the *Annals of Ulster* under 1494: "The daughter of O'Donnell, namely, daughter of Hugh the Red, son of Nial the Rough, son of Turlough of the Wine, and wife of Nial, son of Con, son of Hugh O'Neill, the Tawny (that is, the dark damsel), died."

Niall left four sons, from whom the subsequent Princes of Clannaboy descended:

1. Hugh, his successor (1512-24), whose line is extinct.
2. Brian Ballagh II., who succeeded Hugh, and was slain in 1529. From his son Murtagh, the last elected Prince of the Clannaboy, descends His Excellency The O'Neill, Grand Chamberlain to His Majesty, the King Carlos of Portugal, and the present chief and senior representative of the O'Neills of Ulster.
3. Nial Oge, *ob.* 1537, Brian's successor. From his son Brian descended the O'Neills of Castlereagh, the last of whom was Donal, or Daniel, Chamberlain and Privy Councillor to Charles I. and II.

From his uncle Toole descended the O'Neills of Banvale, now extinct.

4. Felim Baccagh (*ob.* 1533), from whose son Brian the O'Neills of Shane's Castle—now represented in the female line by the Rt. Hon. Lord O'Neill—derive. The late Charles H. O'Neill, B.L., of the Feevagh, was of this branch.

Of these chiefs and the septs which they founded we shall have more to say as we go along.

After Nial More's demise, the Lord Justice, the Earl of Kildare, doubtless with the object of weakening the Clannaboy in his nephew's interest, marched into the territory against Hugh, son of Nial, took the Castle of Belfast and that of MacEoin Bisset of the Glens ; and after wasting a great part of the country, led Hugh away captive. Hugh was no sooner released in the following year than he was attacked by his kinsman, Art M'Hugh, the Chief, whose son Hugh, who was overtaken by the Clannaboy, with part of the army, was slain. Another incursion was made in the same year by Con M'Nial M'Art O'Neill, when John, son of Nial, son of Brian Boy O'Neill, fell.

In 1514—according to the *Four Masters*—"O'Neill (Art, son of Hugh, son of Owen Oge) died. He was an intelligent, powerful, noble, scientific, brave and majestic man. Seldom indeed had the son of a Tanist been Lord in Kinel Owen before him." He died "a death of unction and penance in Dun-

genain ; and Art Junior, son of Con O'Neill, was made King in his place at Tullagh Oge, by O'Cahan, and by a very great part of Cinel Eoghain ; and the Castle of Dungenain was got by him from the sons of Art, son of Hugh ; and the Earl of Kildare went with a host to Dungenain to aid him."

This Art Oge, son of Conn More, was not unanimously elected, so the old feuds still continued. It would be impossible to make anything readable or interesting out of the numerous records of these petty conflicts, of which the following is a sample : "A.D. 1514. An irruption was made by Hugh, the son of Donal O'Neill, and Conn, the son of Nial, into Cluain Dabhaill (*c*) against John, the son of Conn O'Neill ; and they burned John's town, and they sent the preys of the country before them. O'Neill (Art Oge) and M'Donnell, with a strong body of troops, overtook them, deprived them of their preys, and routed them in a conflict in which were slain five of the (Slut, or) descendants of Art O'Neill, *i.e.*, Turlough, the son of Nial, son of Art ; Failghe, son of Nial ; Rory, son of Hugh, son of Art ; Donal Ballagh, son of Art-an-Chaislen (of the Castle) ; and Hugh, son of Edmond, son of Art O'Neill," etc. On this occasion he demolished Omagh, the Castle of the Slut Art ; and humbled his rival Hugh, son of Donal, so that, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, the Lordship of Tir Eoghan remained with him from that out.

John, whose castle or town was burned on the above occasion, was John of Kinnaird, Art Oge's brother and Tanist, whose death is recorded in 1517 in the *Annals of Ulster*: "John, son of Conn O'Neill, Tanist of Tir Eoghan, and royal heir of his own sept without dispute, and one who was of most perspicacity and nobility of the blood of Erin, died in Cennard." This John, or Shane, was the progenitor of the O'Neills of Kinnaird, whose territory included the present Barony of Tiranny in Armagh and the district adjoining in Tyrone. In it were the castles of Ardgonnel, Glasdrummond, and Portneligan, with the Friaries of Tynan and Brantry.

To the latter belonged Fr. O'Mellan, O.S.F., Sir Felim's chaplain and historian, whose journal is given in *Old Belfast*.

In Carnteel, in the bosom of an almost perfect amphitheatre, surrounded by vast hills, lies the "Friary Lough," near which stood the old Friary. Banished from their parent house in Armagh, the expelled Friars, under the protection of the O'Neills of Kinnaird, chose this lovely spot as their new homestead, and erected a house with proper dormitories, chapel, etc., as also a small brewery at a little distance, the site of which is still called the Brewery Field. To the west stretched the hills of Carrowcashel, where tradition points out a ravine in which, in periods of great persecution, the friars celebrated Mass. Tradition reports that when the

friars were at length and suddenly compelled to abandon their new home, they sank their most costly and sacred vessels in the lough; and since that various but fruitless attempts have been made by the neighbouring peasantry to recover these buried treasures. On one occasion a peasant lad fished up a silver chalice, and numerous other relics of antiquity have been found from time to time. After the Cromwellian dispersion it is said that the surviving friars, with new brethren, returned to the old house of their adoption.

John, or Shane of Kinnaird, left a son, Henry, father of Sir Henry Oge, who, by his lady, Catherine, left four sons: Sir Turlogh, Brian, Cormac, and Conn. The eldest son, Sir Turlogh, was father of Sir Turlogh Oge, and Sir Phelim, who is said to have been inaugurated Prince of Ulster in 1641.[1] To return to Art Oge.

In 1515 he marched into Clannaboy against Hugh M'Nial, the Chief, who was troubled by the pretensions of a kinsman, Nial M'Brian, Chief of Kilultagh (*d*), greatson of Brian Ballagh, who fell in an expedition which he made against him soon after. Taken now at a disadvantage by Art Oge, he was obliged to give hostages and accept stipends in token of submission.

This was in violation of an agreement which Art had made with O'Donnell, Hugh's brother-in-law

[1] *See* Part III.

and ally, shortly before, when, on the bridge of Ardstraw, he gave new charters for Cinel Main and Inishowen, and received his son, Nial Oge, or Nial Conallagh, who had been a long time before in O'Donnell's custody.

In consequence of this breach "great war arose between O'Neill and O'Donnell, and each Lord hired a great number of men," when Tyrone and Tyrconnell were wasted with fire and sword. To add to the confusion, Art's half-brother, Conn Baccagh, after the death of John of Kinnaird, entered into a contest for the Tanistship with Art Oge's son, Nial Conallagh, when, "at the instance of the sons of the Earl's daughter," the Lord Justice came into Tir Eoghan and battered the Castle of Dungannon. On this occasion Conn Baccagh appears to have been elected Tanist to Art, whose death is recorded two years later: "A.D. 1519: O'Neill, *i.e.*, Art Oge, son of Con, a distinguished captain and humane man, died, and his brother Conn (Baccagh) was inaugurated in his place.[1] In the same year died Art's brother, Brian, and in the previous year another brother, Hugh Balbh, or the Stammerer.

Art's descendants, who inhabited the territory of Magh Itha in the Barony of Raphoe in Donegal, and held Strabane, Castlederg, and Loch Leary, were known as the Slut Art Oge. Their territory

[1] *Four Masters.*

is marked on Norden's map "Slut Art Oge." Nial, son of Art, who was Tanist to Conn Baccagh, and whose death is recorded in his reign, was father of Turlough Leynagh, who succeeded Shane the Proud. Nial was surnamed Conallagh from having been fostered in Cinel Conal.

NOTES.

(*a*) *See* p. 196, Part I.

(*b*) When a man became sponsor, or godfather, to another's firstborn, he was called a gossip. This formed a most sacred tie of religious relationship in ancient Ireland.—*See* Joyce's *Social History*.

(*c*) Clandawell (now Glenaul) was the name of a large district on the Armagh side of the Blackwater, lying along its side, from Kinnaird to Blackwater town. It is described in the Appendix to the *Ulster Inquisitions*, and was probably included in that part of the Lordship of Moydoyn Clandawell granted to the Primate by Henry in 1458, as it belonged to him.

(*d*) THE O'NEILLS OF KILULTAGH.—In 1600 Nial's descendant Cormack M'Nial, was Lord of Kilultagh. Phelim Duff, son of Cormac, served under Sir Phelim in 1641 with his kinsman, Cormac M'Con Roe. Phelim, according to tradition, was the last Lord of Kilultagh. He married Mary, daughter of Conn O'Neill of Castlereagh, and left a daughter, married to Col. Felim O'Neill, ancestor of the O'Neills of Portugal, and a son, an officer in the French service, who is said to have been assassinated in the Dwarf Orchard at Portmore on his return to Ireland.—*See* Laverty's *Down and Connor*. The castles and forts of Portmore Lisburn, Castlemoney, and Inishlochlan were in this territory, which, after the defeat of Prince Hugh in 1600, was given over to the planters—Fulk Conway, created Lord Kilultagh; Clothworthy, created Lord Massareene, and others.

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